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fabulous rumours of wealth in Calcutta continually reached his ears.

His demands were preposterous, and naturally being refused, he prepared an attack, and put it into execution. His task was more difficult than he had imagined and he was twice repulsed with great slaughter. But the Fort did not contain powder enough for three days and the third attack was successful.

Roger Drake the younger, then Governor, in a moment of deep self-scrutiny discovered that he was a Quaker and must take no part in the unjust horrors of war; acting up to the tenets of his peaceful persuasion, he beat a hasty retreat with the ladies,—who had taken refuge in the Fort,—and took possession of one of the ships. It was the metallic maxim of "every man for himself," and Roger Drake was delirious with alarm. One hundred and forty-six persons were left behind, so precipitate was his retreat, and their expectations of mercy or even humane treatment were very small. Three days previous to Mr. Drake's discovery, Mr. Holwell had sent for his friend Verelst, and advised him to remain at the Fort. He took the advice, and on the afternoon of the 20th June 1756 the two friends found themselves, with the others of the captives, on a melancholy march to the Black Hole.

It was not a Hole nor was it black. Many a Bishop's son has slept away a night's loss of liberty in a drearier apartment. The only objection to it was that it could not hold a hundred and forty-six people without a disastrous loss of life. It was not probable that Mr. Verelst who passed the night there would ever forget the likeness of his prison house, and he described it to his relatives as an ordinary "round-house" twenty feet in diameter with *several* small openings for ventilation. But had it been roofless the results would in all probability have been the same. The victims were crushed in at the point of the bayonet. When night fell, as well it might upon that scene of misery, the dense heat and poisonous effluvia drove many of the prisoners mad, and they died screaming with agony, and for very want of space, the corpses could not sink to the ground.* There was little hope for the mercy

* In Major D. L. Richardson's admirable little work published by him on the morning of the first centennial commemoration of the "Black Hole" calamities, and eulogised by Macaulay, he says.—"The pestilential steam and stench from both the dead and the living, became now so overpowering that when Mr. Holwell turned his face for an instant from the window he felt his only chance of life was in maintaining his post there. But his position, though much envied by some of his fellow sufferers, was attended with extreme discomfort. For several hours he sustained the

which the survivors begged frantically for, as the only living beings near them were the guard who had placed them in confinement. When the morning dawned upon that sickly crew, one hundred and twenty-three had travelled beyond the bar which separates life and death.

Judging from what we know of such extreme cases of suffering, we would scarcely expect a very impartial statement from any of the survivors of the "Black Hole" calamities, but Mr. Verelst, of whose character in this as in other estimable respects many men are yet to speak, always gave it as his opinion that Suraj-ud-Dowlah was comparatively innocent of this atrocious massacre. "His orders were, secure them for the 'night, and further directions could not be expected. The hor-'rors of that imprisonment must be laid at the feet of his officers."

But we read that the "tyrant's behaviour to the few survi-'vors when brought before him next day showed that he cared 'as little for the past as he experienced anxiety about the fu-'ture. They were cast into more airy prisons, and fed upon 'grain and water. This done, he wrote a pompous letter to 'his nominal sovereign at Delhi, in which he boasted of having 'extirpated the English out of Bengal; and, leaving a garrison 'in Fort William with strict orders that no European should be 'permitted to settle in the neighbourhood, he gave up the town 'of Calcutta to plunder and marched back with the bulk of 'his forces to his own capital."*

weight of a heavy man who fixed his knees on his back. Another man had seated himself on his shoulder. He could not relieve himself entirely of either of his burdens, though he frequently dislodged the man on his shoulder by a sudden movement, and by driving his knuckles into his ribs. The man on his back was immoveable, like that terrible incubus, the old man of the sea, on the back of Sinbad the Sailor. * * * * * * * * Mr. Holwell kept his mouth moist by sucking the perspiration from his shirt sleeves, and caught at the large drops that now fell from his head and face like heavy rain. Mr. Lushington, one of the few survivors,—probably then without a shirt of his own—being one of those who had stripped themselves, said he owed his own life to his having robbed Mr. Holwell of a portion of his perspiration. By eleven o'clock about a third of the prisoners had been relieved by death. Many of the remainder became delirious. It was like a scene in Bedlam. They cursed both God and man; with blind presumption they called upon their Maker to behold the sufferings that he had put them to, and vehemently demanded instant death, as if it were an unquestionable right which was tyrannically and unjustly held from them. They did their utmost by vehement abuse to provoke the guards outside to put an end to their agonies, by firing through the bars. But these brutal wretches held up torches to the windows and laughed with inhuman merriment at their maniacal exclamations and contortions."

* Gleig's Life of Clive.

An argument certainly somewhat strained has been urged by Mr. Mill, he says, "some search was made for a convenient 'apartment, but none was found; upon which, information was 'obtained of a place which the English themselves had employed 'as a prison, and into this, without further enquiry, they were 'impelled. It unhappily was a small ill-aired and unwhole- 'some dungeon called the "black hole," and the English had 'their own practice to thank, for suggesting it to the officers of 'the Subadar as a fit place of confinement."

The innocent Mr. Mill seems to have been oblivious to the laws of space, and to the fact that room for twenty, is scarcely sufficient for seven times that number in an Indian June with the thermometer in the coolest rooms at 85° to 90°. Leaving Calcutta in the hands of the natives we turn to Clive, and find him, as our readers know, organizing in unison with Admiral Watson a strong force intended for the recovery of the town, Clive and Watson being then at Madras, where Mr. Pigot the Governor gave them every assistance.

The expedition which they conjointly prepared sailed from Madras on the 16th of October, and on the 2nd of January 1757 after considerable delay and manœuvring which we need not enter more fully into, Calcutta became once more a British Settlement. But another strife, worse than any but for a timely check, arose in the English force. Admiral Watson was "His Majesty's" servant, Clive belonged merely to the Company. It was a distinction in which the Admiral recognized a difference, and he lost no opportunity to exalt his own superiority over his heroic rival. Clive saw and severely felt this. "Between friends," he observed in a letter to Mr. Pigot,* "I cannot 'help regretting that ever I undertook this expedition. The 'mortifications I have received from Mr. Watson and the gentle- 'men of the Squadron, in point of prerogative, are such, that 'nothing but the good of the service could induce me to submit 'to them. The morning the enemy quitted Calcutta, a party 'of our sepoys entered the fort at the same time with a detach- 'ment from the ships, and were ignominiously thrust out; upon 'coming near the fort myself, I was informed that there were 'orders that none of the Company's officers or troops should 'have entrance. This, I own, enraged me to such a degree, 'that I was resolved to enter if possible, which I did, though 'not, as maliciously reported, by forcing the sentries; for 'they suffered us to pass very patiently upon being informed 'who I was. At my entrance, Captain Coote presented me 'with a commission from Admiral Watson, appointing him

* Sir John Malcolm.

'Governor of Fort William, which I knew not a syllable of 'before; and it seems this dirty, under-hand contrivance was 'carried on in the most secret manner, under a pretence that 'I intended the same thing, which I declare, never entered my 'thoughts. This affair was compromised by the Admiral con-'senting that I should be Governor, and that the Company's 'troops should remain in the fort. The next day the Admiral 'delivered up the fort to the Company's representatives in the 'King's name."

By 1757, Mr. Verelst had worked out one section of his ambitious project, and we find him become an important servant to Government, trusted and talked about, characterized by Clive as a gentleman upright, amiable, and intelligent, and one who had done the Company good service once more with his sword—for he alternated when he could between the desk and battle field and unsheathed his sword at the capture of Hooghly, and Chandernagore.* It was Clive's opinion then that the latter victory was of more consequence to the Company than the taking of Pondicherry, it was considered a "magni-'ficent and rich colony; the garrison consisted of more than five 'hundred Europeans and seven hundred blacks all carrying 'arms; three hundred and sixty were prisoners, and nearly one 'hundred had been suffered to give their parole."

All these incidents were the component parts of the great mosaic known as Clive's handiwork. The fact of his remaining at Chandernagore with his troops, led to the battle of Plassey, and Plassey to the ignominious death of the foolish tyrant Suraj-ud-Dowlah. It has taken one hundred years to obliterate the stain which sullied the glory of that victory. For a Colonel to interpolate a duplicate deed was something so foreign to the British notions of right, that even the fact of his three thousand men pitched on the bank of the river to meet next morning sixty-eight thousand of a foe, was not potent enough to obscure it. Clive's deeds in the field received a soldier's best incentive and reward, the acclamations of his countrymen. They did not wonder that for the first time in his life Colonel

* Lord Clive had paid Verelst the highest compliments. "Remember me to him in the kindest manner" he says in a letter to Mr. Sykes,—"tell him the Company and myself have no other dependence but upon the justness of his and your principles." Mr. Verelst was then supervisor of Burdwan and Midnapore, and in every circumstance of emergency Clive reposed his confidence in him and relied upon the help he received from him. He chose him in the negociations at Patna, and when Mr. Sumner, acting for Clive during the latter's absence from Calcutta, appeared to be working imprudently, Clive commissioned Mr. Verelst to hasten down from Burdwan and remonstrate with him on the weakness of his conduct.

Clive should call a council of war, and meditate retreat; nor did they fail to honor him when he banished his despair on that night at the river's side, when his spirits grew high, so high as to win the victory which inaugurated the English policy in Hindostan; but they did condemn him for the ignoble act which drove the greedy Omichund into a state of fatal idiocy. More than that Harry Verelst was at Plassey, we do not know, but we find that he was as ignorant of Omichund's treatment as the fleet camel which bore the defeated Soubahdar from the field.

We have hastily passed through those years to which Mr. Verelst owed all his experience, and upon which any future successes were based, and must stride rapidly on to the year 1767, without even a notice of 1763, which saw the ambitious Harry Verelst a member of Council. It was a case of self-help; he had no tangible influence in high places. His only grand friend, Clive, was an Omrah with a splendid jaghire of £30,000 per annum, but he was too much engrossed in the matters of his increasing empire to take much heed of the struggler whose grandfather had stood uncovered in the Royal presence; all he could afford to do was to take note of Verelst's worth and turn it to account at a future day. We doubt if the Hero of Assaye ever monopolized the adulation of Britain as much as the Hero of Plassey. We are told that "his name was in everybody's 'mouth at Court and everywhere else; and the most forward 'to load him with praise seems to have been George the Second 'himself. In the year 1758 when disaster attended all the mili- 'tary operations of England by land and sea, and the Duke of 'Cumberland was forced, by public opinion, to retire from the 'office of Commander-in-Chief, Lord Ligonier, who succeeded 'him, took occasion one day to ask the King's permission for the 'young Lord Dunmore to serve as a volunteer in the army of the 'King of Prussia. Leave was refused, upon which the Comman- 'der-in-Chief went on to say, "may he not join the Duke of 'Brunswick then?" "Pshaw" replied the King "what can he get 'by attending the Duke of Brunswick. If he desire to learn the 'art of war, let him go to Clive." But higher renown befel him than this, when the illustrious Pitt spoke of him as "a heaven- 'born General,—as the only officer who by land or sea had sustain- 'ed the reputation of the country and added to its glory." Then the young "writer" received his Irish peerage, and was chafed by its not being an English one, and he hesitated in accepting his Queen's offer when she proposed to stand Godmother for one of his children. He had gone to England to be lionized, and lionized he was. Crœsus was a mendicant to him. Fretful in his obscure boyhood, he was overbearing at thirty-four, and exorbitant

for the worship of the world. Homage was not paid to him so bulkily as he could have wished; it did not pour in as his lakhs had done, he saw around him jealousy and envy; even the Company's Directors stood ominously aloof from him. He cast them all into chancery because they coveted his rich jaghire, and then in the face of that outrage demanded the trinitarian appointment of Commander-in-Chief, President, and Governor of Bengal. The length, and breadth, and height of that Shropshire boy's ambition cannot be measured. His fights in the fairs of Market Drayton were all small Plasseys. He who had bestridden the dragon gurgoil of the church steeple, two hundred feet above his terrified spectators, simply to procure a certain smooth stone, maintained the allegory inviolate. He was on the gurgoil through his whole life. Can we marvel that he taxed the timid shopkeepers of Drayton in small pence and trifling articles, in compensation to himself and the little band he led for abstaining from breaking their windows? Was he not breaking larger windows all his life?

The year 1767 which witnessed Clive's return to England, when a feather in the scale of public opinion would have made him either a hero or charlatan, saw Harry Verelst fairly engaged upon the third section of his life. There was nobody to whom Lord Clive felt or evinced more attachment than to him who had worked boldly but silently at his side, and upon his retirement Harry Verelst became Governor of Bengal. Before Clive left, he administered to his friend and successor advice so sound and earnest, that there was no doubting the sincerity of either his friendship or his hopes of India. In a letter to Mr. Verelst he says, alluding to the Batta disputes—"There 'was a committee to each brigade sworn to secrecy, and I have it 'from undoubted authority, that the officers thought themselves 'so sure of carrying their point, that a motion was made and 'agreed to, that the Governor and Council should be directed 'to release them from their covenants. The next step would, 'I suppose, have been the turning me and the committee out of 'the service. In short I tremble with horror when I think 'how near the Company were to the brink of destruction. 'The plot hath been deeply laid, and of four months' standing. 'I can give a shrewd guess at the first promoters. One of them 'I have already mentioned to you, who will ere long, I hope, be 'brought to condign punishment. Remember again to act 'with the greatest spirit; and if the Civilians entertain the 'officers, dismiss them the service; and if the latter behave 'with insolence, or are refractory, make them all prisoners,

'and confine them in the new Fort.* If you have any thing 'to apprehend write me word, and I will come down in-'stantly, and bring with me the third brigade, whose officers 'and men can be depended upon." The following month he wrote to the same gentleman. "The spirit of civil as well as mi-'litary mutiny that has lately appeared in Calcutta, deserves so 'much of our attention, as to mark the most turbulent, whe-'ther Company's servants, or free merchants, and resolute-'ly send them to Europe, for Bengal never can be what it 'ought to be, whilst licentiousness is suffered to trample upon 'authority."

Besides this advice which was not lost upon Mr. Verelst, Lord Clive sprinkled with the utmost pleasantness admonitions of a kind not likely to be treated with disregard. "I would strongly recommend you," said he, "to remain in India until you have increased your fortune," urging somewhat strangely that unless he did so, his friends at home, upon his return, would be disappointed and annoyed. Clive himself during his first eighteen months in England spent sixty thousand pounds. Why Verelst should keep aloof from the gold and be alone as an exception, was a question Clive was unable to answer.† India was Pactolian ground, albeit the treasury at Calcutta was so

* "The foundations of the new Fort were laid by Lord Clive in 1757, soon after the battle of Plassey. It cost two millions of pounds sterling. Some Military critics have objected to it that it is much too expensive to be easily defended by a small force, and that a force large enough to defend it could keep the field. It would require in war time to be garrisoned by 10,000 men. But then it is to be remembered that it could hold on an emergency all the Christian population of Calcutta, and sometimes unmilitary people, comparatively inefficient in the open field, may do good service under the protection of the ramparts."—*Major D. L. Richardson.*

† Time has changed the customs and habits of the Europeans in India in various ways, and if large fortunes are yet to be acquired with comparative rapidity and ease, still the disappearance of that marvellous monopoly of a century ago has called for an energy and activity, for thew and sinew, which then had scarcely an existence. They of Verelst's time engaged in commerce or in higher avocations were nothing more than a time-killing race of men, who diversified their slothful routine of life with excesses in wine—cooled not by ice but saltpetre—or poisoned themselves with the nauseating numdungus which their Hookah-Burdars palmed off upon them as the genuine leaf or Bilsah. But the Hookah at that period was seldom out of the hands of the Europeans, its use was as general as it was pernicious, and a servant, or sometimes two, were considered necessary, whose duty was to take charge of the pipe and prepare it whenever their masters required it. One hundred Rupees per month was not at all an unusual item attached to the smoking expenses.

And those were the days too of unrestrained Suttee when the infatuated Hindoo widows exceeded the wild fanaticism of the Crestonians of Herodotus, and followed while yet in the vigour of youth, and sometimes beau-

often empty. The French General Bussy, careful of his own interests as he was of those of his country, had gone back to France with an immense fortune, with which he dazzled a niece of the Duc de Choisel into wedlock. Duplcix had once been the richest of them all. Clive returned wealthy, and "Tory Harry" was not less poor. Mr. Scrafton says of the latter gentleman, "he goes about boasting of your Lordship's con- ' version, abuses Mr. Pitt, impeaching his patriotism and honor, ' because a private gentleman has left him an estate which he ' swears he has no right to,* and that the will should be set aside, ' for that the man who made it must have been *non com;* ' trumps up the Duchess of Marlborough's legacy, the Hanover ' Millstone, &c. &c., swears Lord Bute is the only man of ' merit, and tories the only true patriots." Mr. Pigot made a stately and triumphal march through a baronetcy to a peerage, and though he died unworthily in a prison house, had saved his forty lakhs. Mr. Vansittart was found lamenting his lot, having secured only three thousand pounds per annum, forgetting the deplorable state of the treasury while he was Governor, the threatened outbreak of the troops, and the intrigues and invasion. The presents of money and jewels, and in many cases land, made by the wealthier natives to the Europeans who were at all concerned in the administration of the country almost surpass belief.† They were great enough to have inspired Camoens when he sang of India in his Lusiad. Meer Jaffier's grant to Clive was the spontaneous impulse of a sentiment believed to be scarce in Orientals, he was grateful for his timely deliverance from the snares of Alumghir the second, and to the romantic extent of

ty—the husbands whose deaths were, from a melancholy custom, merely the herald of their own.

The prohibition of this revolting spectacle advanced the native population one generation in point of civilization.

* In addition to what he had before.

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† Cowper has given us a severe view of India in two lines less than a sonnet

"Hast thou, though suckled at fair Freedom's breast,
Exported slavery to the conquered East?
Pulled down the Tyrants India served with dread,
And raised thyself, a greater, in their stead?
Gone thither armed and hungry; returned full
Fed from the richest veins of the Mogul,
A despot big with power obtained by wealth,
And that obtained by rapine and by stealth?
With Asiatic vices stored thy mind.
But left their virtues and thine own behind?
And, having trucked thy soul, brought home the fee
To tempt the poor to sell himself to thee?"

thirty thousand pounds sterling a year. Yet for all this Clive pronounced the system to be a "great evil," and he drew up a covenant for all the civil and military servants of the Company to sign, which would prohibit them from henceforth listening to these tangible blandishments of the native princes. When General Carnac was requested to write his name at the foot of the bonds he stood in a more awkward position than the reader can imagine. The emperor had offered him two lakhs of rupees, and he looked upon the gift with a kindly emotion, but after a little delay the authorities considered his case and allowed him to accept the gift, upon which decision the General signed the covenant with precipitate pleasure. These new covenants, says Mr. Verelst, a short while after, had excluded the receipt of presents; while the increased investment of the Company, after the Dewanny was obtained, absorbed the trade of individuals, and removed all prospect of advantage in a foreign commerce. No other fund remained for the reward of services, and without proposing a reasonable prospect of independent fortunes, it was ridiculous to hope that common virtue could withstand the allurements of daily temptation, or that men armed with power would abstain from the spoils of a prostrate nation.* But Lord Clive in his admirable minute considered a state of independence and honor must be highly eligible to a Governor, and in his opinion, it could only be acquired by cutting off all possibility of his benefitting himself either by trade, or that influence which his power necessarily gives him in the opulent provinces. Clive writes, "although by these means a Governor 'will not be able to amass a fortune of a million, or half a million, in the space of two or three years, yet he will acquire a very 'handsome independency, and be in that very situation which 'a man of nice honor and true zeal for the service would wish to 'possess. Thus situated he may defy all opposition in Council, 'he will have nothing to ask, nothing to propose but what he 'means for the advantage of his employers. He may defy the 'law, because there can be no foundation for a bill of discovery; 'and he may defy the obloquy of the world, because there can 'be nothing censurable in his conduct. In short if stability can 'be insured to such a Government as this, where riches have been 'acquired in abundance in a small space of time, by all ways and 'means, and by men with or without capacities, it must be effect-

* Sujah-ud-Dowlah wrote to Mr. Verelst on the 1st of August 1768, "I cannot express my thanks for the favor you have done me in putting and end to the English trade in my territories. May the Almighty long preserve you, *for I have still greater expectations from your friendship.*" The benediction is accounted for in a thoroughly Asiatic manner.

'ed by a Governor thus restricted; and I shall think it an honor 'if my proposal be approved, to set the first example."

This proposal being approved by the Council, a deed between Lord Clive and the Company, correspondent with the oath, was executed and registered in the Mayor's Court, by which the Governor bound himself to the faithful performance of every clause in the penal sum of £150,000 to be forfeited in case he should act contrary to that indenture; one-third to the informer, and two-thirds to the Company; recoverable upon proof given in the Court of Chancery, Exchequer, the Mayor's Court at Calcutta, before the Court of Directors, or the Council of Bengal. We must now consider the memorable trading, the unparallelled monopoly, in salt, betel nut, and tobacco, to have vanished away, so far as the servants of the East Indian Company were concerned. On it they *had* fattened; untold thousands—for we do not wish to make this brief and imperfect sketch, a handbook to private incomes—had been drained from the fabulous profits of that bartering. We must also consider the singularly splendid career of Clive to have ended too. We will quote from one whose eloquent manly echo has not yet died out—and whose pen not only won a peerage for himself, but in its wonderful power, dispelled the obloquy which attached itself to Clive's. Unbiassed in any way, based only upon the laws of fairness and justice, mellowed in the spirit of comprehensive charity, Macaulay stood forth twenty years ago, and in the obscurity of an anonymous contribution to a Northern magazine, set the world a thinking, forced the people on its surface to sift the truth, and straightway there rose Phœnix-like from the ignoble gloom, the man Robert Clive, who, with all his faults and shortcomings, had incontestably raised British India to the foremost rank in the category of those dominions upon which the sun never sets. Macaulay cannot be too often quoted, when speaking of Clive, and "he says that when he landed in Calcutta in 1765 Bengal was regarded as a place to which Englishmen were sent only to get rich, by any means, in the shortest possible time. He first made dauntless and unsparing war on that gigantic system of oppression, extortion and corruption. In that war he manfully put to hazard his ease, his fame and his splendid fortune. The same sense of justice which forbids us to conceal or extenuate the faults of his earlier days compels us to admit that those faults were nobly repaired.

"If the reproach of the Company and of its servants has been 'taken away, if in India the yoke of foreign masters, elsewhere 'the heaviest of all yokes, has been found lighter than that of 'any native dynasty, if to that gang of public robbers, which

'formerly spread terror through the whole plain of Bengal, has 'succeeded a body of functionaries not more highly distinguished 'by ability and diligence than by integrity, disinterestedness, 'and public spirit, if we now see such men as Munro, Elphinstone, 'and Metcalfe, after leading victorious armies, after making and 'deposing kings, return, proud of their honorable poverty, from 'a land which once held out to every greedy factor the hope of 'boundless wealth, the praise is in no small measure due to Clive. 'His name stands high on the roll of conquerors. But it is 'found in a better list, in the list of those who have done and 'suffered much for the happiness of mankind. To the warrior, 'history will assign a place in the same rank with Lucullus and 'Trajan. Nor will she deny to the reformer a share of that 'veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot, 'and with which the latest generations of Hindoos will contem-'plate the statue of Lord William Bentinck."

Leaving Lord Clive that he may retire to England,—there to kiss the King's hand, and become a Lieutenant over the proud Salopians, and in the same year the Lord Lieutenant of Montgomeryshire, we return to Mr. Harry Verelst, Lord Clive's successor as the Governor of Bengal, and with some of the events of his administration will conclude this retrospect.

The anti-trading covenants had entirely changed the character of India. It was no longer one vast mercantile house, but had stept into the dignity of a sovereign power. The head partners of the old firm had left the business to younger men as it were, contented with the sixteen anna share which had resulted from their toils. They did this, because they saw no more massive profits to be gained.

While the French and English were busy with their strifes in the Carnatic, Hyder Ali, one of the most talented of Asiatics though merely the son of a petty chief at Dinavelli, raised himself by steady degrees until he deposed the royal family and founded the Mahommedan kingdom of Mysore. In the year of Mr. Verelst's accession the dominions of Hyder Ali contained 70,000 square miles, but his temperament was innately aggrarian, and he seemed only to reign that he might conduct never ending feuds with the English and Mahrattas. He was proud of his enmity with the former, as it gave him a distinction, but when he discovered the English were joining the Nizam by agreement, Hyder immediately veered round and entered into friendly conditions with the latter. His next move was to attack the English conjointly with his new and sudden ally, and Mr. Verelst found himself at the head of a people embroiled by the incessant annoyances of such attacks. These attacks were al-

ways followed by victories for the English when the real fighting began, and the Nizam commenced to think that he had surely chosen the weaker side, and his object was to be found with the winners. His suspicions being confirmed, he emerged from the difficulty in the simplest manner, by hastily breaking off all connection with Hyder Ali, and renewing his treaty with the Madras Presidency.

The Madras Government seeing then that the Nizam was wholly in its power, and that it might do anything it chose with Mysore, conferred the title of its sovereignty upon Mohammed Ali. Finding that Colonel Smith who then had chief command, had formed a correct estimate of this strange act of the Government, the Council recalled him, and in his stead appointed Colonel Wood, a man as unversed in Indian matters, as Smith was experienced.

This blind act was not kept secret from Hyder Ali, who immediately encountered Wood, and so signal was the defeat which the English had to endure that day, that not even the baggage was saved. By continued strategy which displayed Hyder's soldierly capabilities in a high degree, he succeeded in tempting his enemy away from the capital, and then made an extraordinary forced march upon the town, accomplishing the distance of one hundred and twenty miles in three days.

Placing himself in command of six thousand horse he appeared like an apparition, filling the town with fear and despair, upon Mount St. Thomas.

The effect was instantaneous, for, to save the city, peace was made with Hyder upon his own terms, "a mutual restitution of 'conquests, and a treaty of mutual alliance in defensive wars."

Hitherto the enemies of former Governors had invariably been troops in the battle field bent upon territorial aggrandizement, but a distinctively new one in the form of a single individual arose under Harry Verelst's rule, to the waste of his own wealth, and of his Governor's time.

This individual was a Mr. William Bolts, who was many years in the service of the Company of Bengal, was an Alderman or Judge of the Mayor's Court at Calcutta, and all along, a merchant. Mr. Bolts arrived in India about the year 1758 and we soon find him a principal figure among the group of traders. The extent to which this gentleman engaged, and the moderation with which he conducted himself, will be best known from his fortune of ninety thousand pounds gained within six years, together with the extreme eagerness with which he endeavoured upon all occasions, to degrade the authority of the Government, and prevent any effectual protection being given to the natives.

Among the private persons who usurped the office of their superiors Mr. Bolts was very early distinguished, who wrote in his own name to the Fouzdar of Purnea threatening the Nabob's officers with the effect of the English power. Mr. Vansittart observes, "of course every merchant will take the same 'authority," and very justly adds, that this entire levelling and equality will not be for the good of the Company's affairs.

To level all distinctions, to intimidate the Governor and Council, and, by clamour, to confine them within the strict letter of laws, calculated for a very different state of society, has ever been the constant object of those, who from motives of private interest, wished to abuse that influence which the name of Englishman was alone sufficient to confer.

Notwithstanding Mr. Bolts was reprimanded by order of the Court of Directors in the general letter to Bengal, received in July 1764; yet, in the year 1765, we find him exercising summary jurisdiction in his own cause, and confining a merchant for three days, whom, at length he was compelled to release. He was soon after this suspended from his appointment at Benares, but the trade of a country, yet unexhausted, was too lucrative to be easily relinquished. The November following, Mr. Bolts resigned his station in the service, and was about this time elected an Alderman and Judge of the Mayor's Court in Calcutta. Here therefore commences his furious zeal for reformation, and, in the beginning of the next year, he was actively engaged in the complaint against Nobokissen, which ended with little honour to the authors. The public concerns of Mr. Bolts never intruded upon his private cares, and infinite arts were tried to prevent the dismission of his agents from the dominions of Surajah-Dowlah. The great distance from Calcutta gave to falsehood the weight of truth. Various rumours were therefore propagated, which Mr. Bolts endeavoured to support by his correspondence. At one time, Mr. Bolts was returning to Benares with the most extensive powers. At another time, these people were taken into Mr. Rumbold's service, and a letter was on the road from the Council, that none should be licensed as English Agents but themselves. While such arts were employed to influence the mind of the Nabob of Oude, the war upon the coast had drained the Treasury of Bengal, and the most alarming accounts were industriously spread of the instability of the Company's affairs. Allured by the tempting occasion, Surajah-Dowlah began to listen to the voice of ambition. Coja Rafael, for the sake of intelligence, was taken into his service, through the influence of Meer Mushallah (formerly physician to Meer Cossim, and, at this time, retained by the Nabob of Oude) who likewise corresponded with our pa-

triot at Calcutta. When the storm blew off, the dread of our power revived. Surajah-Dowlah, again regarding the English Agents as a source of contention, applied to our Commanding Officer at Allahabad, for their removal; and both parties being now equally sincere, it was soon effected.

That Mr. Bolts was a party to these practices cannot be doubted, when the reader is informed of a confidential letter written by that gentleman to Monsieur Gentil, a Frenchman, high in Surajah-Dowlah's confidence, in which he says, "I have 'written a letter to the Nabob, to whom I beg you will give 'my humble respects. There is arrived an English ship, and 'another French one. The affairs of our Company are in great 'agitation before the King and Parliament of England; and 'according to the letters I have received, there is great proba-'bility that my partner Mr. Johnstone will come out Governor 'on the part of the King."

Such was the conduct of Mr. Bolts and his Agents, which produced at length the removal of the latter from the territories of Oude; and after every other expedient had been tried to reclaim a man, who appeared determined to sacrifice all public duties to his own interested pursuits, and who had actually presented to the Grand Jury an information against the Governor, Council, and Commander-in-Chief, for endeavouring to restrain his pernicious practices Mr. Bolts himself was sent to England. Instead of punishing Coja Gregory and Johannes Padre Rafael, at times his agents, as they deserved, such was the idle lenity of our Government, that they immediately received their liberty, and every assistance was offered to collect their effects, an assistance probably unnecessary, as they chose to depart for Europe.

That the measures of our Government were sufficiently vigorous and decisive upon this, as upon other occasions, it might be difficult to prove; but, when Mr. Bolts had been indulged with nearly two years, after his resignation of the service, to collect his effects; when the public authority had been employed, and letters written by the Governor to Bulwunt Sing, and the Nabob of Oude, requesting their assistance for the settlement of his affairs; it was surely no very ruinous oppression to send away that gentleman by force, whom the most solemn promises, repeatedly given, could not engage voluntarily to depart for Europe. The Governor and Council were indeed criminal. It was criminal for a moment to suffer the residence of a man, who, independent of other demerits, had corresponded with every rival, and every enemy of the Company; who had engaged with Mr. Vernet, the Dutch Governor, to monopolize the cloth trade of Dacca; who had scandalously evaded

the execution of covenants, which, as a servant of the Company, he was bound to subscribe; who had attempted one, and actually succeeded in seducing another, inferior servant, to betray his trust, in delivering papers out of the office; who had, from his first arrival in India, carried on a trade destructive to the peace of the country; who, in support of this trade, had threatened the officers of the Nabob, and had issued his proclamation in the style of a Sovereign; whose Agents, by their intrigues in the dominions of Surajah-Dowlah; and by false intelligence received from their master, had endangered the peace of India. To suffer such a man in Bengal, was surely criminal enough.

The unfortunate victim who sat on Mr. Holwell's shoulders during the night of the "Black Hole" could not have been a greater infliction to his supporter than this Mr. Bolts was to Mr. Verelst, the members of Council, and the Company itself. It would be false charity to designate his actions mere eccentricities, though such some of them were. Had our readers been passing the door of the old Calcutta Council House in September 1768, for it was the habit in the city then to use conspicuous places, for advertisements to be affixed, they would have seen the subjoined notice.

To the Public.

"Mr. Bolts takes this method of informing the Public that the 'want of a printing press in this city being of great disadvan'tage in business, and making it extremely difficult to communi'cate such intelligence to the community as is of the utmost im'portance to every British subject: he is ready to give the 'best encouragement to any person or persons who are versed 'in the art of printing, and will undertake to manage a press; the 'type and utensils of which, he can produce.

'In the meantime, he begs leave to inform the Public that hav'ing in manuscript many things to communicate which most in'timately concern every individual, any person who may be in'duced by curiosity, or other more laudable motives, will be per'mitted at Mr. Bolts' house, to read, or take copies of the same. 'A person will give due attendance, at the hours of from ten to 'twelve every morning."

Never in the history of any Government has one single man of low station, made himself such a gigantic nuisance. What Mr. Bolts wished or wanted, no living being ever knew or guessed. He was a Lope de Vega with his pen, and Jack Cade was pleasant compared to him. There was a method about the madness of the Kentish rebel which let men know his demands, and which Mr. Bolts had not. Perkin Warbeck was not a gnome;

he bore an unaccountable facial resemblance to Edward the Fourth, and lived in the convenient days of Tyburn and easy law; but this Mr. Bolts, according to Mr. Verelst at whom he levelled the majority of his abuse, was enough to make a man's hair turn prematurely grey.

"Now while Lord Clive had bestowed," says Sir John Malcolm, "the highest and most merited praise on Mr. Verelst's honor, 'worth, and disinterestedness, he asserts that the too great tender-'ness of his disposition had made him govern with too lenient a 'hand; that he himself by his farewell letter to the Select Com-'mittee had done all in his power to guard him against this 'error, and to prompt him to vigorous measures."

Where Lord Clive failed, William Bolts, merchant, succeeded. The poodle in the rustic story which had barked for six months at the Haberdasher's newfoundland, was dropt into the well by the latter after all. It was in vain that Mr. Bolts was cautioned, advised, admonished. He had a great imaginary grievance and he would let the inhabitants of the earth know it. But it was also in vain that the Governor and Council endeavored to be heedless. The man had got his printer and his printing press; and Machiavel set the type up, as Lope de Vega wrote his countless pages which were "intimately to con-'cern every individual."

The climax arrived. On the 19th of September 1768, the following document signed by the Governor and Council was delivered to Captain Robert Coxe, a "Military Captain."

"Sir,—You are hereby ordered to deliver the accompanying or-'der to Mr. William Bolts, which if he refuses to comply with, you 'are to use all methods in your power to take him into custody, 'and carry him on board the *Cuddalore* schooner belonging to 'the Honorable Company, and carry him down the river, with 'a guard on board, and put him on board the ship *Valentine*, 'Captain Charles Purvis, but not till such time as they are ac-'tually weighing anchor. But you are to observe, that you are 'not to break open bolts, locks, doors or windows; but to use all 'other methods you possibly can, to put this order in execution; 'in which you are to use as little violence as the nature of the 'case will admit; for which this shall be your sufficient authority.

(Signed.) H. Verelst.
,, John Cartier.
,, Richard Smith.
,, Richard Beecher.
,, Claud Russell.
,, Charles Ffloyer.

Fort William."

Captain Coxe's report to the Board, in respect of his taking charge of Mr. Bolts, was made four days after and ran as follows:—

"That finding the doors open he went up-stairs, and found Mr. Bolts alone, and shewing him the Board's order, Mr. Bolts said he would not leave his house unless Captain Coxe made him a prisoner and forced him: the Captain telling him he was glad to find him so well prepared to leave the place, he said he had expected he should be forced away, and had been very busy in getting himself in readiness. After this Captain Coxe thinking he made a very unnecessary delay, and fearing he intended to procure himself to be arrested for debt, desired him to make despatch, upon which he again said he would not go unless Captain Coxe forced him. Whereupon the Captain called two sepoys, who put their hands on his shoulder by his own desire, saying he would not go if they did not take hold of him; he then came down-stairs, desiring some gentlemen present to take notice that he was forced out of his house. Captain Coxe adds, that Mr. Bolts was in every respect prepared for this order, having his books and papers in great form, which he delivered to his attornies, telling them that everything was so plain they could not mistake observing that plain directions were given as to such debts as they were to get in."

On September 30th Mr. Bolts wrote to Captain Purvis who had orders to take him to England.

Sir,—Conformably to a conspiracy which has been long forming against me, my family, liberty, and property by my enemies, and sundry other evil-minded persons, who have combined together to force me to Europe, I am this instant brought down alongside your vessel, by a captain, sergeant, and a party of armed sepoys, who have some time held me a prisoner, and who are now going to force me up the sides of your ship to be there continued a prisoner till I get to England. If therefore you do not intend to receive me, and keep me a prisoner, I am to require you will instantly take the necessary measures for repelling by force the violence intended, that I may be freed from my present captivity, and saved from ruin.

I am, &c.,
William Bolts.

Mr. Bolts' facilities of literary composition were never more exemplified than in his writing the above epistle in the extraordinary attitude he represents. But on land, two lines of enquiry were ever met by him with twenty pages of reply, nor was this unhappy vice peculiar only to Mr. Bolts. There was in Calcutta at that time a certain Lawyer named Mr. George Sparks who was more famous in his defences, for vehemency, than respect, and it suited Mr. Bolts to engage a practitioner of that description. During the proceedings Mr. Sparks so vilified and aspersed Mr. Verelst's character, that that gentleman was com-

pelled to punish him, by prohibiting him from continuing his profession in the Court of Calcutta. Several months afterwards, the attorney penned his old client a letter detailing his many grievances. The latter person was in England, the former at Chittagong, and he thus adverts to the state of Anglo-Indian life as it then, according to his mind, existed ;—" Public spirit is un-'known among us. We are all slaves: and far the greater 'part servilely hug the chains which gall them.—Fawning, 'cringing, abject, sycophant slaves—*dogs that will lick the foot 'that spurns them.* Trade and navigation is no more; and 'inland commerce is carried on in the old way, only more tyran-'nically and oppressively. We are all bankrupts. He is rec-'koned a monied man, and an excellent paymaster who can dis-'charge a bill of 1000 rupees in a month after it is due. *The 'gaol is considerably enlarged, and yet insufficient to hold the deb-'tors who are daily thrust into it.* If we were bad when you 'were here, we are now miserable, yet the inhuman causers of 'our distress can, unmoved, behold the dire effects of their ini-'quity, and steadily pursue the same destructive measures."

It is a simple transition from the gaol of Calcutta to a low "sponging house" in Holborn, London, kept by a man of the name of Vere, a Sheriff's officer; and there, twelve months after his exportation to England, we will find Mr. Alderman Bolts, louder in his speech and longer in his letters. The East India House was inundated with his literature, and the directors began to feel anxious to release their fretful captive. He did possess, of his own and others' property a sum like one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, and there is no doubt that a great deal of it was lost during his banishment, and he was placed in the Sheriff's custody merely because the directors had cancelled the sentence, and bade him return to his old functions in the Honorable the Mayor's Court of Calcutta. He had no means in London to pay his current expenses with, and his creditors would not allow him to depart, hence his intimacy with Mr. Vere. But that troublesome point was settled, and the refractory Alderman returned to Calcutta, and in 1772 the printing office which was founded by the author of Sir Charles Grandison, and Pamela, gave forth to those readers interested in private feuds, eight hundred annotated quarto pages of the dreariest rhapsody of which Mr. Bolts was the unhappy conceiver. We have noticed that the best bred racer is bled by the smallest gnat, and we presume that Mr. Verelst's concern in this feud was the result of a too thin skin, and a too sensible nature. It is not recorded that Mr. Bolts misbehaved himself upon his return.

It was during Mr. Verelst's rule that the new gold coinage

was first issued. It was considered the only practicable method of abolishing the pernicious system of reducing the Batta or Sicca Rupees annually, but it was also quite evident that the Government must meet in some way or other the increasing scarcity of specie. Appeals were made to Mr. Verelst, praying for his assistance, and merchants—European and Armenian—respectfully offered suggestions. It will be seen from the annexed letters that the scheme of the Armenians was the one carried out.

To the Honorable HARRY VERELST,
&c. &c. &c.

GENTLEMEN,—The universal distress of the settlement at present for specie, will, we hope, excuse our troubling you with this address ,requesting in our names, and those of the inhabitants of Calcutta in general, the assistance of your Government and authority to remedy this evil, which grows every day more severely felt by every merchant in Bengal.

We are highly sensible of your care and attention to the welfare of the inhabitants, from your late orders regarding the Gold Mohurs; and flatter ourselves that this application, as it equally merits, will equally meet with your regard.

Before the Gold Mohurs were called in, the shroffs had so far taken the advantage of the necessity of individuals, that they had made the changing of money, from a bare livelihood, to a most advantageous trade to themselves, and a distressful tax upon every man who wanted money beyond the bounds of Calcutta; yet, at that very time, any sum might have been had in silver, by paying a high premium to those people who had it in their possession. From this we are led to believe that there is still specie sufficient for the trade of Bengal, though perhaps not enough to answer the currency of this extensive town; and that if any method could be fallen upon to keep shroffs, to their proper sphere, and prevent their taking advantage of the necessities of those who carry on trade to the Durungs, a gold coin might still be made convenient and useful currency for this settlement, though not for the trade of Bengal in general; whereas at present the distress is so great, that every merchant in Calcutta is in danger of becoming bankrupt, or running a risk of ruin by attachments on his goods, which would not sell for half their value, it being impossible to raise a large sum at any premium or bond.

As many of us have severely felt the late inconveniences, we have often reflected on the various methods by which it appeared to us possible to remedy them, and we hope you will excuse our subjoining one for your superior judgment, which appears

to us most reasonable; that is, to coin mohurs, half mohurs, and quarter mohurs, equal in value to those commonly called Delhi; forbidding by your authority, any shroff, under pain of severe fine and imprisonment, to exact more than one per cent. for exchanging them into silver, for the purposes of merchants trading out of Calcutta; with which allowance we are persuaded they will become satisfied in the course of a few months; since, before there was any gold coin sufficient in Calcutta, they subsisted by exchanging Sicca Rupees, into Arcotts, Sunnauts, &c. for the Durung trade; and we do not remember the exchange ever exceeded two per cent., and was in general only from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Praying your pardon for this long trespass on your patience, we beg leave to subscribe ourselves with the utmost respect,

Gentleman,
Your most obedient and most humble servants,

To the Honorable HARRY VERELST.
&c. &c. &c.
The humble petition of the Armenian Merchants settled in Calcutta.

SHEWETH,—That the scarcity of coin now felt in this capital, amongst the many intolerable evils arising from it, affects every individual to that degree, that the best houses, with magazines full of goods, are distressed for daily provisions, and that not only a general bankruptcy is to be feared, likely to involve every soul in the settlement, but a real famine in the midst of wealth and plenty. That to prevent those evils from coming to a destructive crisis, your petitioners, prompted by that zeal incumbent upon them as ancient British subjects, and by their own heartfelt distresses, humbly beg leave to submit to your wisdom how far an immediate coinage of mohurs, with all their divisions and sub-divisions to one anna, sixteen Siccas value of pure gold, to be lawfully tendered in payment universally all over these British dominions, and admitted at the Treasury of both capitals, might be an adequate means to ward off the impending ruin; since any coin whatever is better than no coin at all, a measure brought on by the artificial scarcity of silver coin, strongly pointed out by the combinations evidently entered upon by the bankers, and warranted by the large quantity of gold lately imported into this place; a measure for the rectitude of which your petitioners can account to their own consciences, and in

the support whereof they hereby beg leave to pledge their good faith and honour. Your petitioners humbly hope, honorable Sir, and Sirs, that your goodness will take the premises into consideration, or give them whatever relief your wisdom shall think fit.

And your petitioners bound in gratitude and duty shall ever pray, &c.

To the Hon'ble HARRY VERELST, ESQ.,
President, &c.
Council at Fort William.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—The Honorable the Mayor's Court of the town of Calcutta, beg leave to represent, that in the practice of their Court they have for some time past observed the growth of an evil, which has daily increased, in so much that the sufferings of many will thereby become intolerable, unless a speedy relief be afforded them. The evil of which they speak, is the very great decrease of specie, so that there remains not sufficient for the occasions and intercourse of commerce, and scarcely for the private economy of the inhabitants of Calcutta. It is felt by all ranks of people in the loss of credit and confidence; the fair and honest dealer is every day prosecuted to judgment in their Court without remedy, from the impossibility of obtaining payment from his debtors, to satisfy the claim of his creditors, but by a course of law. He is thus urged by his necessity to involve himself in expensive suits; he is forced to defend, in order to gain time, though sensible of the justness, and desirous to pay the demand; and he is drove to a hasty prosecution, in hopes to recover, before judgment passeth against himself, though fully convinced of his debtor's willingness to pay as soon as he is able; his substance is in this manner wasted, and the distress which follows to obvious and moving to need description.

They are unable to express what they feel in the discharge of their duty; but the daily instances of the melancholy consequences of this calamity, call upon them to lay this faithful representation before you, in full confidence, from the experienced tenderness and zeal for the public prosperity and welfare, which has so particularly distinguished your administration, of such effectual remedy as in your wisdom you shall judge most meet.

By order of the Honorable the Mayor's Court.

(Signed) JOHN HOLME,
Register.

Town Hall, Calcutta,
March 14, 1769.

The Board being fully sensible, from daily observation and experience, of the truth of the facts alleged in these letters and petition, and convinced of the fatal consequences, which must speedily and unavoidably accrue from them to the Company's affairs both at home and in India,—

Resolved.—"We immediately take this affair into consideration, 'and endeavour, as far as possible, to find out some safe, or at 'least temporary remedy, for this growing evil, till the orders of 'the Honorable the Court of Directors shall enable us to remove it 'entirely. Upon a strict and impartial enquiry, we find that this 'scarcity of specie, so severely felt by the merchants here, is not 'an accidental or fictitious one, nor confined to Calcutta alone, 'but that the same indigence is spread over the whole country, 'so that the ministers have made no secret of their apprehensions, 'that either the revenue must fall short, or be collected in kind, 'from a want of a sufficient currency for sales and purchases. We 'can expect no relief in this, from any sums brought into the coun-'try, for the purpose of trade inland, because all the commerce for-'merly to the Northwest and westward by Guzerat, Cashmere, 'Mogul Merchants, &c. is now precluded by the vast increase of 'our own and foreign investments, whose advance we see with 'concern, but where the strictness of the Company's orders will 'not permit us to interfere, though ever so indirectly. We can 'expect no silver from home, and a mere trifle from the foreign 'Companies. The French Treasury has been amply supplied 'this year by bills for above twenty lakhs on this settlement from 'England, besides vast sums paid into their cash by individuals. 'The Dutch imports of bullion have, for several years past, not 'exceeded eight or ten lakhs per annum, and the Danes bring 'not in above two lakhs more. The country's distress must also 'yearly increase. Its whole revenues are divested into our Trea-'sury, and only the sums necessary for the investment, and our 'current expenses, return again into the channel of circulation. 'The difference, therefore, between the amount of the revenues, 'and the sum of the investment and disbursements, is an annual 'loss to the currency, and must, in the end, swallow up the 'whole, unless a proportional import of specie is made, or till the 'aggregate of the investment and disbursements shall become 'equal to the whole revenues. This will explain the unavoidable 'increase of poverty in the country; and as the Treasury is a 'continual drain upon that, so the immense exports to China, 'Madras, Bombay, with the King's tribute, aud the expense of 'a brigade out of our provinces, will but too well account for the 'low ebb to which it has, in its turn, been reduced. If we con-'sider the state of the provinces in this point of view, and reflect,

'at the same time, that they produce no silver or gold, so that 'imports of both have been, for a series of years, very inconsi- 'derable; that a large proportion of their treasures were car- 'ried off by a fugitive tyrant, and that, for several years, few re- 'turns have been made to exports in general, and trade rendered 'a kind of monopoly in the hands of a few, we shall rather be 'surprized how the country has supported itself so long under 'such exhausting circumstances, than at the rapid progress of 'general penury."

In 1770 Mr. Verelst resigned, and his old friend and faithful co-operator John Cartier succeeded him. Mr. Cartier's rule lasted little more than two years, and political capacity, or personal worth had no opportunity for displaying themselves during his term of Government on account of the dreadful famine which desolated Bengal. The human misery, while the scourge lasted, outdoes every other visitation of the kind to which India has been subjected. Harry Verelst returned to England as soon as his Governorship had ceased, with a fortune of seventy thousand pounds. It was not exorbitant, for he had been in India many years, and was a man of moderate habits. He had worked hard, and single-handed. He was one who reigned in a time of peace when war on every side could easily have been provoked. His tenets were those of a Christian man. He was the same to Jew or gentile, bond or free. He never lost an opportunity for advancing the condition of the natives, and his name was revered amongst them. At the same time he encouraged many young men in England to adopt India as an arena, and when Lord Clive finally retired to Europe, spending a few months in the charming climate of South France, or drinking the nasty waters of Spa, or at Montpelier suffering from two causes—a deceased liver, and the pamphlet which Sir Robert Fletcher wrote at him—he never hesitated to give young aspirants, letters of introduction, on their setting out to the East —to Harry Verelst. When the latter went home he purchased a pleasant property—one of the many Aston Halls which England can boast of. It is situated nine miles from Rotherham, Yorkshire. It is connected with many of our happiest associations. The family has spread widely among the Commoners and some branches of the nobility. One son distinguished himself at Waterloo with the Regiment which was "second to none." During an absence of the family for some years from Aston Hall, the property was occupied temporarily by Byron's friend, Colonel Wildman. The poet was his guest for a time, and a library with concise decorations in the form of human sculls, the suggestion of Childe Harold, still exists.

Standing there at this distant period, it strikes one as the suggestion being a fit insignia for us all. Clive and the literary Rawlinson who rescued him from a dark oblivion, who read the hieroglyphics of his strange character aright, are no more. The doors of Westminster have scarcely closed upon Macaulay, and Lord Clive's House at Dum-Dum continues to brave the devastations of time.

There is at the present time a portrait in the Court house of Calcutta of one of Mr. Verelst's friends who played no unimportant part in the drama of that period. He was more the friend of Hastings with whom he had swam in the Thames, cricketted at college, and vied in sentimental verse making, we allude to Sir Elijah Impey. He was also the intimate associate of Churchill, the elder Colman, Cumberland and Cowper. He was an enemy of Sir Philip Francis, and has been severely handled by Macaulay. He was admitted pensioner of Trinity College, Cambridge, the year after his young friend of Daylesford sailed for Calcutta. He became a junior wrangler, Chancellor's Medalist, and senior Fellow, and in course of time was called to the Bar. He found himself fraternizing with Thurlow, Kenyon, Mansfield and others of rising fame as pleaders. Then when his own time came he was elected to the post of first Chief Justice of Fort William, Calcutta. This was the reward for a success he had achieved in a difficult case at the Exeter Assizes. His friend Hastings was in the zenith of his Indian fame, and that fact partly induced him to reconcile himself to his exile. A few years before, "Junius" had burst forth in the columns of the "Public Advertizer" in all his envenomed strength and unparalleled audacity. Ministers and Majesty were alike blackened. For four years men in high places withered beneath the withering sarcasm of the newspaper reviler, but all at once—when Mr. Philip Francis received from Lord North an appointment as member of the Supreme Council of Calcutta with a salary of just ten thousand pounds per annum—*the letters of Junius ceased.* Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Francis sailed together from England in the same ship, as did also two other new members of Council, General Clavering, and Colonel Monson. It would appear that even then the ungovernable hatred which Mr. Francis felt towards Sir Elijah Impey began to reveal itself, and which ultimately ended in Francis' impeachment of the Chief Justice. John Nicholls Eyre, M. P., has done his best to account for this animosity, in his account of the trial of Warren Hastings, and the Parliamentary proceedings against Sir Elijah Impey. He says;—"Mr. Francis was a man of considerable abilities. He was a very 'superior classical scholar; and he was capable of laborious ap-

'plication. Strong resentment was a leading feature in his character. I have heard him avow this sentiment more openly 'and more explicitly than I ever heard any other man avow it 'in the whole course of my life. I have heard him publicly say 'in the House of Commons, " Sir Elijah Impey is not fit to sit 'in judgment on any matters where I am interested, nor am I 'fit to sit in judgment upon him."

An account of the origin of this ill-will may be amusing. " Mrs. 'LeGrand, the wife of a gentleman in the Civil Service in Bengal, 'was admired for her beauty, for the sweetness of her temper, 'and for her fascinating accomplishments. She attracted the 'attention of Mr. Francis. This gentleman by means of a rope 'ladder, got into her apartment in the night. After he had remained there about three quarters of an hour, there was an 'alarm; and Mr. Francis came down from the lady's apartment by the rope ladder, at the foot of which he was seized by Mr. LeGrand's servants. An action was brought by 'Mr. LeGrand against Mr. Francis, in the Supreme Court of 'Justice in Calcutta. The Judges in that Court assess the damages 'in Civil actions, without the intervention of a jury. The gentlemen who at that time filled this situation were Sir Elijah 'Impey, Chief Justice, Sir Robert Chambers* and Mr. Justice 'Hyde. I was intimate with the first and third from early life, 'having lived with them on the western circuit. On the trial 'of this cause Sir Robert Chambers thought that as no criminality had been proved, no damages should be given. But he afterwards proposed to give thirty thousand Rupees. Mr. Justice 'Hyde was for giving a hundred thousand Rupees. I believe 'that Mr. Justice Hyde was as upright a judge as ever sat on 'any bench; but he had an implacable hatred to those who indulged in the crime imputed to Mr. Francis. Sir Elijah Impey 'was of opinion that, although no criminal intercourse had been 'proved, yet the wrong done by Mr. Francis to Mr. LeGrand, in entering his wife's apartment in the night, and thereby destroying her reputation, ought to be compensated with 'liberal damages. He thought that the sum of thirty thousand 'Rupees, proposed by Sir Robert Chambers, too small; and that 'proposed by Mr. Hyde of a hundred thousand, too large. He 'therefore suggested a middle course of fifty thousand Rupees. 'This proposal was acquiesced in by his two colleagues. When 'Sir Elijah Impey was delivering the judgment of the Court, my 'late friend Mr. Justice Hyde could not conceal his eager zeal 'on the subject; and when Sir Elijah named the sum of fifty

* The intimate friend of Dr. Johnson, and one of the old "Garrick Club."

'thousand Rupees, Mr. Hyde to the great amusement of the 'bystanders, called out, " Siccas, brother Impey, Siccas!" which 'are worth eleven per cent. more than the current Rupees."

"Perhaps this story may not be thought worthy of relation, but 'it gave occasion to that animosity which Mr. Francis publicly 'avowed against Sir Elijah Impey; and the criminal charge 'afterwards brought against him in the House of Commons was 'the offspring of that animosity. I will follow up this anecdote by 'mentioning the consequences of the action brought by Mr. Le-'Grand. The lady was divorced: she was obliged to throw her-'self under the protection of Mr. Francis for subsistence. After 'a short time she left him and went to England. In London 'she fell into the company of Talleyrand. Captivated by her 'charms, he prevailed on her to accompany him to Paris, where 'he married her; and thus the insult which this lady received 'from Mr. Francis, and the loss of reputation, which was perhaps 'unjustly, the consequences of that insult, eventually elevated 'her to the rank of Princess of Benevento."

Some years afterwards there were gathered under one roof at Neuilly, by the purest accident, the following individuals. Mr. and Mrs. Fox, Sir Elijah and Lady Impey, M. and Me de Talleyrand, Sir Philip Francis and —— Mr. LeGrand! How the two latter looked and felt in their false position with M. le Ministre des Relations Extérieures, and his elevated wife, Sir Elijah's biographer fails to explain.

Warren Hastings and Sir Philip Francis were never the kind of men to have a feeling in common, or a sympathy between them. Every act of Hastings was opposed by Francis, and it was evident to all persons concerned that an open rupture was inevitable; and they were correct in their surmises. Francis had exposed Hastings " to the hazard of open ignominy 'derision and defeat," and his victim exclaimed in the bitterness of his soul " I am not governor, all the powers I possess are 'those of preventing the rule from falling into worse hands than 'my own." At last what appeared to Hastings a " flagrant breach of the contract" which he and Francis had entered into together, brought matters to a crisis, and on the 14th of August 1780 the governor declared in a minute in Council,— " I do not trust Mr. Francis's promises of candour, convinced 'that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by 'his private which I have found to be void of truth and honor," and a copy of this was enclosed in a note to Mr. Francis, which left but one course open to him and that one he adopted. They met next morning between five and six and fought with pistols. They both fired at the same time, Mr. Francis's ball missed, but

that of Mr. Hastings pierced the right side of Mr. Francis, but was prevented by a rib, which turned the ball, from entering the thorax. It went obliquely upwards, passed the back bone without injuring it, and was extracted about an inch on the left side of it. After Mr. Francis's recovery, a reconciliation with his adversary was found impracticable; he refused, by a formal message to admit a visit from Mr. Hastings, declaring that he would meet him only in Council.

It is needless to dwell upon the details of Sir Elijah Impey's recall, or his eventual acquittal from all suspicion. He gathered around him in his Sussex retirement men who had trodden the same ground as himself, Hastings from Daylesford, and Verelst from Aston. At times too he could playfully attempt to lead his son's attention from Tibullus and Propertius to the travesties of Parnell, or quote Homer and Virgil against Warren Hastings' translations of Lucan. It was a common occurrence for James Boswell to be one of the pleasant group, when he would inflict his bagpipe performances upon his friends, until he finally drove Hastings to the organ, and Impey to the Violincello. Of the horrors of that amateur combination, Verelst spoke in strong language. "They reminded me forcibly" he says "of one thing, and nothing else, *the discordance in the Calcutta Council Chamber.*" He alluded to the "Franciscan disorder."

Mr. Hastings was livelier in his versicles than upon his organ; Sir Elijah's son considered him an admirable epigrammatist and gives a couplet of the ex-Governor's.

> A serpent bit Francis, that Virulent Knight
> What then? ''Twas the serpent that died of the bite!'

But Hastings had figured in rhyme himself during the Benares insurrection, in doggrel done by the native rabble:

> Hatee pur houda, Ghora pur zeen
> Juldee jao, juldee jao, Warren Hasteen!

which may be translated

> Horse, elephant, houda, set off at full swing
> Run away, ride away, Warren Hasting.*

Mr. Forbes in his "Oriental Memoirs" says in an ebulition of eulogy;—"I was highly entertained with one visitor of this 'description, (a Hindoo traveller in Dhuboy) who, seeing me en-'gaged on public business in the Durbar inquired to which Pre-'sidency I belonged. On replying that I was on the Bombay 'establishment, he wished me to explain the nature of the British

* Impey's Memoirs.

'Governments in India, particularly in what manner the other 'presidencies were subordinate to the Governor General of Ben-'gal. Having endeavored so to do, the venerable Brahmin told 'me he had lived under many different Governments, and travel-'led in many countries, but had never witnessed a general diffu-'sion of happiness equal to that of the natives under the mild 'and equitable administration of Mr. Hastings, at that time Go-'vernor General of Bengal. I cannot forget the words of this 'respectable pilgrim; we were near a banian tree in the durbar 'court when he thus concluded his discourse. "As the burr-'tree, one of the noblest productions in nature, by extending its 'branches for the comfort and refreshment of all who seek its 'shelter, is emblematical of the Deity; so do the virtues of the 'Governor resemble the burr-tree; he extends his providence to 'the remotest districts, and stretches out his arms, far and wide, 'to afford protection and happiness to his people; such Saheb, is 'Mr. Hastings!" Yet, this is the man who by the violence of faction, intended for patriotic zeal and conducted by a flow of eloquence seldom equalled, was arraigned for crimes the most foreign to his benevolent heart, and doomed to a trial of seven years' duration, a scene unparalleled in the annals of mankind.

"I never saw Mr. Hastings until his public appearance on that 'solemn occasion, and could then hardly conceive it possible, by 'any combination of ideas, or concatenation of circumstances, to 'believe that a man should be tried in his own country, for crimes 'supposed to have been committed at ten thousand miles dis-'tance; among a people who not only knew his character, but 'feeling the blessings which flowed from his humane and benevo-'lent heart, considered him as an emblem of the godhead."!

Mr. Forbes also remarks;—"I have since passed one of the hap-'piest days which has fallen to my lot at Daylesford, the paternal 'seat of this great man; where, in the bosom of his family and 'the pleasures of society, hospitality and benevolence, but above 'all, in the retrospective view of a well spent life, he passed the 'evening of his days in a state of calm delight, far beyond all the 'wealth and honors to which his country and his sovereign deem-'ed him entitled. Never have I beheld *otium cum dignitate* more 'truly enjoyed; never was I more convinced of the serenity and 'happiness of *mens sibi conscia recti*."

Thousands of feet tread past the House of Warren Hastings in the Calcutta street which bears his name, unconscious that the tenement was built by him a hundred years ago, and still remains unaltered; while the throbs of an aroused nation's heart —bleeding from the wounds received in a frightful mutiny, like the faint tone of distant thunder, remind us of the abated storm.

Even from where we write, we can see the birds resting on the branches of that broad tree under which Warren Hastings took aim at his provoking enemy. Was it Junius who sank under that tree on the eventful Sunday morning? Was the secret of the mysterious authorship locked up in that breast which Hastings of Daylesford had covered with blood? Macaulay thought so, as all men some day will.

Harry Verelst went home to note another Clive rise up in America in the person of George Washington, to conduct the eight years' war for independence. In the midst of it commenced the Gordon Riots at home, when the fanatical mob lusting after rapine and destruction swept through the streets which had but a short time before been thronged with the solemn pageantry of Chatham's public obsequies. Then he saw the same Cornwallis fail in Virginia who was to succeed in Seringapatam and be India's Governor, while upon the seas the Spaniards and French were being conquered by Rodney. Another annual cycle of months and the British were nobly rushing from their guns in the galleries of Gibraltar to rescue their Spanish enemies from the flaming ships.

But Harry Verelst read all these signs of the times in the quiet retirement of Aston, and in the genial company of the poets Gray and Mason. A favorite bower of Gray's can still be seen as luxuriant as when the poet enjoyed its solitariness. Mason obtained the living of Aston in the year which witnessed the horrors of the Black Hole, and subsequently was made one of the Royal Chaplains, an honorable position which he forfeited at the beginning of the American War, some expressions of his on freedom giving offence at Court. Having thus slightly sketched the course of a youth from Writers' Buildings to the distinction of Governor of Bengal, then down the sunny declivity to his well-earned English home, our object is accomplished.

In December last died Charles Verelst, Esq., a grandson of the Governor. He inherited the Aston Hall property in 1852, and seemed also to inherit the estimable qualities of his ancestor, for in his praise as a scholar, a man or a friend, language can scarcely be too lavish. The present representative of the family is a youth—Harry Verelst. The old name has come round again, may it long continue as it has hitherto done—without a slur upon it.

ART. II.—1. *Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India.* 1859.

2. *The Bengal Hurkaru.* 1860.

3. *The Indian Field.* 1860.

TEA, like every thing connected with the East, has its traditionary associations. About the year 516 B. C., for so the Chinese story goes, an Indian devotee named Dhurma touched by the ignorance, with respect to all religious duties, of the people of the Flowery land, undertook a toilsome and perilous journey to China. Being addicted to habits of the severest abstinence, he overlooked the necessity of providing himself with that amount of food which alone could fortify him against the unwonted fatigues of so protracted an excursion. As he denied himself a sufficiency of both food and rest, it was to be expected that by the time he had reached his destination, the claims of the body should assert themselves in spite of the utmost opposition of the spirit. He lay down and fell asleep. On awaking, he was stung with remorse at having indulged the flesh, and as an expiation, he plucked out both his eye-brows and scattered the hairs upon the ground. Instantly these hairs were transformed into a number of bushy plants. Curiosity led him to taste some of the leaves, when, to his delight, he found they had the effect of imparting fresh vigour to his mind and so promoting divine meditation. So potent a devotional stimulant ought not, he thought, to be disregarded. His fame soon spread in the strange country, and his disciples were numbered by thousands; but to all who submitted to his teaching, he recommended the leaves of the wonderful tree. The tree as a consequence, was eargerly sought for and cultivated, until not only Dhurma's disciples, but the entire population of China, acquired an irresistible relish for its leaves. This was the tea. Whatever may be the nucleus around which this tradition has wrapped its folds of fable, there can be no doubt that the story was to some extent suggested by the stimulating properties of the beverage which "cheers but not inebriates." Here we are content to leave the matter, and pass on to things that are more appreciable. We may not unravel the mystery of its supposed miraculous origin; but of tea itself, its cultivation, its manufacture, and especially its use, we decidedly know more now than in the days when Lady Pumphraston boiled her green tea, and serving it up with melted butter as condiment to a salted rump

of beef, complained that nothing she could do "would make these foreign greens tender."

Valuable papers on the subject of tea have from time to time been contributed to the Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, and, more recently, the local newspapers have published interesting accounts of the present condition and prospects of the cultivation in Assam and Cachar. From these as well as other sources, we propose to bring together pretty nearly all the information that is abroad, respecting the enterprise as it has been prosecuted in the provinces just mentioned.

The tea-tree was discovered in Assam by Mr. Bruce in the year 1825, or a twelvemonth after the province passed into the hands of the British Government. The Government themselves became the first cultivators; but feeling that the speculation would be more manageable in the hands of private companies whose enterprise it was deemed politic to encourage, they early withdrew from the experiment, and transferred their gardens to the Assam Tea Company. The discovery of the plant in Assam appears to have suggested the likelihood of its also being indigenous to Cachar. In the year 1834, as Lieutenant Stewart tells us, the Secretary to the Committee for Tea Culture addressed a letter on the subject to the then Superintendent of Cachar, whose reply not only corroborated the surmise expressed by the Secretary, respecting the natural fitness of the soil for tea cultivation, but announced the existence in his district of "a species of camelia, the leaves of which he had seen manufac'tured by a native from the confines of China into something 'resembling tea." But whilst the productive resources of Assam, aided by the wise administration of the local Government, were gaining rapid development under the active enterprize of numerous speculators, the forest wealth of Cachar lay wholly neglected till the year 1855, when Conoonauth, a Cacharee cooly, having seen the Assam plant, proved its identity with the luxuriant and indigenous growth of his own native hills. Since then, private capital has flowed liberally into the district, and numerous gardens have sprung up, whose commercial value will, we have no doubt, rival that of the Assam plantations, as soon as experiment and experience have helped the planters to discover, and successfully contend against, the influences that as yet retard the cultivation.

Whilst the discovery of tea in Assam was still recent, the Government organized a scientific expedition to the province, with a view to ascertain the physical condition of the plant "with reference to Geological structure, soils and climate."

The members of the expedition, after traversing the forests of the upper country, were inclined to the opinion that the plant was not, strictly speaking, indigenous to Assam, but had probably been introduced at some remote period from China. The fact that there were no tea colonies in the northern portion of the Berhampooter valley or in the Mishmee mountains, led them to conclude that the tea could not have been introduced from countries in that direction. The inference appeared natural, that it found its way into the province from the East, and ultimately from China. This conclusion was, in their view, corroborated by the existence of numerous antiquities and architectural ruins whose architraves, cornices, pilasters, and columns, some in Saracenic, some in Roman style, gave evidence of the high state of civilization that prevailed in Assam in the ancient past. This, said they, "would lead us to conclude that the 'luxuries of neighbouring countries (and the tea plant among the 'rest) were probably artificially introduced." That we may be at no loss to account for the way in which the tea forests came into existence, we are told:—

"On reference to the map it will be seen that the plant is traced along the course of the small rivers which enter the valley from the south-east, in a series of distinct colonies; rendering it probable that the seeds have been transmitted forwards along the course of the currents. It is not necessary that the seeds should have been conveyed at once down the current of any one of these streams from a great distance into the valley, or to suppose that their vegetative principle could survive submersion in a current for any length of time without injury. It is enough that a single seed may have fallen from a Chinese caravan, near the source of one of those fluviatile ramifications which converge to the valley, on every side, over 18° Long. and 4° Lat., where it may have been deposited under circumstances favourable to its growth and propagation. A colony would thus be established, from which thousands of seeds might be annually transmitted, and although ten thousand of these might be lost, still one of them might be drifted during a flood along the banks of a stream, and deposited under circumstances favourable to the establishment of an advanced colony and so on."

Pretty and ingenious as this theory may be, there was no necessity for it. Tea-seeds serve no economic purpose either among the Chinese or any other nation, and if they came in a Chinese caravan, they must have been brought with especial view to the propagation of tea in Assam. If they were brought with that express view, it is not necessary to suppose that the forests of Assam originated in the accidental falling of one or many seeds from the caravan. A more likely deduction would be, that these forests had been artificially planted. But the truth is, there is every reason to believe that the tea is indigenous to Assam. If it grows wild in Cachar, Munnipore, Sylhet and Tipperah, surely we need not contend for its artificial in-

troduction into Assam. It is enough for us that, so far as the analogy derived from the identity of race of the various peoples of Eastern Asia including Assam, or from the conditions under which the numerous tribes of the animal and vegetable kingdoms are, in this section of the globe, found associated together gives confirmation to the presumption created by its actual presence in the province, we have satisfactory proof that the tea-plant, allied as it is to the natural productions of Eastern Asia, is as indigenous to Assam as it is to China.

The conditions found to be necessary to the growth and propagation of tea in China, are also furnished by the soil and climate of Assam. Upper Assam may be generally described as an alluvial basin formed by the confluence of several rivers of which the Berhampooter is the chief; but as it is here that the tea has been found to grow most luxuriantly, the peculiarities of the soil selected by the plant become worthy of distinct analysis. In a paper contributed to the Horticultural Society's journal many years ago, Mr. Piddington has given us a comparative analysis of the tea soils of Upper Assam and the Bohea Hills of China. It is as follows:—

	Tea soils of Assam. Surface soil.	Tea soils of Assam. At 2½ feet deep.	Tea soil of China.
" Water	2·45	2·00	3·00
Vegetable Matter ...	1·00	·80	1·00
Carbonate of Iron ...	7·40	6·70	9·90
Alumina	3·50	5·45	9·10
Silex	85·40	84·10	76·00
	99·75	99·05	99·00
Traces of Sulphate, and Phosphate of lime and loss, ...	·25	·95	1·00
	100·00	100·00	100·00

There are two peculiarities in these soils: the first, that they contain no carbonate of lime, and only traces of phosphate and sulphate; and the next, that their iron is almost wholly in the state of carbonate of iron—a widely different compound from the simple oxides. They would be called poor yellow loams; and cotton, tobacco or sugar-cane would probably starve upon them; but we find that they suit the tea-plant perfectly. It is a striking coincidence that we should find our tea soils and those of China so exactly alike."

Tea soil has more silex than common soil; it has also less water, a fact which will account for the comparatively small amount of decomposed vegetable matter that enters into its composition. That the amount of moisture in which the common crops of the country flourish, would be prejudicial to the growth of the tea, is amply attested by the fact that the lands

on which the tea is found, are not the low tracts of country liable to periodical inundations, but the high lands, or ranges of low hills that abound in the plains both of Upper Assam and Cachar. More water than what the vegetable matter in the soil can absorb, would cause decomposition, which would discolour the soil and hurt the tea plant. It is not to be inferred from this, that all vegetable admixtures in tea soil are detrimental; on the contrary, observation has proved that, so long as they exist as extraneous matters, or mechanical rather than chemical agents, they act as absorbents of moisture, and their presence is an advantage rather than otherwise. It is only when, owing to a superabundance of moisture, they begin to decompose, that they become deleterious.

But conditions of soil are not the only requisite for the successful propagation of the tea plant. The importance of climate and atmospheric influences generally, cannot be over-estimated. The resemblance that has been established between the tea growing districts of China and Upper Assam in respect of soil, has also been proved in respect of climate. It has been ascertained from the observations of scientific men attached to various embassies that have penetrated into the interior of China, that "the 'tea provinces of China all lie within the parallels of 25° and 31° 'N. Lat., within which a group of mountains is extended from 'the Thibetan Alps on the West to the shores of the Yellow 'Sea, consequently crossing the course of the monsoons whose 'vapours they may be supposed from all similar analogies to precipitate." The alluvial plains of the valleys being scarcely above the level of the sea, are exposed to frequent inundations from the extensive lakes and rivers to be found there. Now, whereever low marshy lands are surrounded by lofty mountains which intercept their vapours, clouds and mists follow as a natural result. Yet it is in such valleys at the base of mountains, that the tea plant flourishes as well in Upper Assam and Cachar as in China. Observation and experience unite in proving, that ridges or hillocks, situated in such marshy localities, yet themselves above the reach of inundation, are the most advantageous sites for plantations.

And here we may notice a fact stated by Lieutenant Stewart in his interesting paper on the progress of tea cultivation in Cachar. He says:—

"The high lands, which produce the tea, are ranges of small hillocks, which intersect the country country in all directions. They are composed of a red sandy clay (which appears to be the peculiar predilection of the tea plant,) resting on a base of conglomerate rock, and are densely covered with forest. It is remarkable that although the same soil, heaved up into similar ranges, exists on the north bank of the river Barak, which flows

though Cachar, yet tea is found only on the south bank. No one has yet accounted for this capricious dispersion."

The Assam valley presents a similar phenomenon. There, the North-east monsoon blows the vapours exhaled from the Berhampooter, to the Southern side of the valley, where alone our tea colonies are to be found. Possibly, the "capricious dispersion" which forms so marked a feature in Cachar, may be accounted for in a similar way. The land on both banks of the Barak is low and excessively marshy. On the north side, the marshes extend to a distance of ten or fifteen miles, and are only interrupted by a long and lofty range of hills. On the south side, they stretch to another range of hills eight or ten miles from the bank of the river. The heavy mists and fogs emitted from this region of marshes during the cold season, are driven against the southern range by the north winds then prevalent, and lingering over the southern section of the Cachar valley, fill the atmosphere with the humidity so courted by the tea plant. May it not be owing to some atmospheric influence of this kind, that the tea prefers the south bank of the Barak, whilst the north, equally fitted to grow it in respect of geological structure and soil, remains unproductive?

The next topic claiming our attention, is the mode of cultivation. In Assam, as soon as a grant of land has been obtained, it is the practice to fire the forest, except in the immediate vicinity of the tea trees, should there be any growing in it,—and having thus cleared the ground, to hoe it and prepare it for the reception of seed. The seed sown is that of the indigenous as well as the China plant. The seedlings are accordingly exposed to the light and heat of the sun from the moment they sprout. Judging from the habits of the plant in its wild state, one would suppose that such exposure was calculated to be injurious; but the experience of the Assam planters asserts the contrary. The reason appears to be, that the density of the vapours that ascend from the Berhampooter valley fully compensate for the solar influences to which the plant is exposed. But the case is different in Cachar whose latitude is not so high as that of Upper Assam. Having had no previous experience of the necessities of its soil or climate, the planters, on first beginning their gardens, imitated their Assam brethren and cleared the land of forest, before they commenced to sow. The result was, they very soon found their seedlings withering and dying for want of the needful shade. The forest that would have intercepted and detained the moisture required for the sustentation of the plant, was no longer present to mitigate the extreme dryness of the cold season, and every garden threatened to be a failure.

"There was only one planter in 'Cachar" says Lieutenant Stewart, "who instead of hewing down the forest, had simply 'contented himself with cutting away the underwood, ringing 'the trees and planting between. His seedlings protected in 'their youth during the first dry season by the not yet withered 'foliage above, struck their roots deep down in the moist soil, 'and were next year independent of shade for their existence." Finding themselves in the serious dilemma we have adverted to, and eager to redeem their mistake before seedlings and transplanted saplings had entirely perished, some planters sought to recover their lands with the shade of fast growing, broad-leafed trees such as the Goonalia and other jungly growth; but the attempt failed. The trees thus planted, themselves died, owing to the deficiency of moisture of the tea soil. The failure, however, involved no loss, for had they survived, it would most probably have been at the expense of the tea plants which would have been deprived of all nourishment. Abandoning this experiment, the planters returned to the primitive forest. This time they contented themselves with only cutting away the luxuriant undergrowth, hoeing the ground thus cleared, and sowing their seed under the shade of the forest trees. And they were successful; for the bloom and vigour of the young plants thus reared, stood out in conspicuous contrast to the stunted and sickly plants of the first experiment. Still there was a prospective difficulty which needed to be provided against. The shade that in the first year of their existence, was not simply grateful, but vital, to the seedlings, would become irksome after the first six or eight months, and means required to be devised by which they should, up to this period, have the shade, but after it be uncovered; and that not at once, but gradually. Under these circumstances, the planters had recourse to ringing the forest trees which supplied the shade, and to this practice, which has been found successful, they adhere to the present day. A ring of bark is cut out close to the base of each tree, which ensures its gradual decay and death. It is not usual for a tree so treated to perish altogether in less than two years, still the planter's object is gained. Long before its death, and just about the time when the young plants begin to need light and heat, the leaves of the tree begin to wither and fall, so that the decay of foliage takes place simultaneously with the arrival of the tea-plant at that stage of development when shade becomes undesirable.

The sowings do not begin till the month of March, after the first shower of the early rains. When indigenous tea trees, many of which grow thirty or forty feet high in Cachar, are

found among the other trees of the forest, they are cut down to a stump a couple of feet from the ground; but this operation, like the sowing, is postponed till after the first rain has fallen. The tree thus cut down, does not die. Gathering fresh vigour, immediately it shoots out a host of young stems whose opening leaflets are plucked for the manufacture of tea,—the only tea, by the way, which can be made during the first year. Should the forest that has been cleared be found to have no indigenous trees growing in it, the planter can manufacture nothing till the second year, when the seedlings are reckoned strong enough to bear the operation of plucking. The seeds are not sown singly. Making allowance for bad seeds, it is the usual practice to put four into the earth together, instead of depositing them one by one. They are sown at distances of six feet from one another in long parallel rows three feet apart. Throughout the first year, and indeed through the three years following, the work of hoeing and weeding must be diligently attended to. That the hoeing may be properly done, it will be necessary to have a man for every acre of cultivation. From the fifth year however, the expense of cultivation is materially lessened, for when the plants are full grown and bush touches bush as they stand in the long rows, they themselves help to keep down the weeds, which cannot flourish under their shade. After the expiration of the first year, in the month of March, the manufacture begins. After the first hoeing, the plant "flushes" and the young leaves are gathered. Within a fortnight, there is a second flush whose leaves are also plucked. After about the fourth flush, it becomes necessary to hoe the ground again, when the plant renews its flushing as before; and so the hoeing, flushing, and gathering of the tender leaf, go on for seven months, the manufacturing season closing with the month of October. From October to the ensuing March the plant has rest; and indeed the garden itself scarcely needs any thing done to it now, for one might leave it altogether untouched during the cold season without detriment.

The question may be asked, Is it economical, in the long run, to gather leaves so early as the second year, and make so premature a demand on the productive power of the young plant? Mr. Fortune, whose we believe is the "Report on Tea Cultivation in the North West Provinces and the Punjab" in No. 23 of the Selections from the Records of the Government of India, objects to such a course as extremely prejudicial to the health and vitality of the plant.

"This, as I have already pointed out," he says "is a very important part of the business, and requires to be carefully studied. Every vegetable physiologist knows that it is easy to render a plant unhealthy, or to destroy it

altogether by continually depriving it of its leaves. In my former report I directed attention to the bad system of taking too many leaves from very *young plants*, and stated that for the first two or three years, the leading shoots only should be topped in order to *form* the plants and make them *bushy*. This has been adopted in the Government plantations, and the good effects are apparent.

"But it is also necessary to bring the laws of vegetable physiology to bear upon plants which are fully grown. If too many leaves are annually taken from them, they will soon become sickly, stunted in appearance, and covered with dead branches. And thus the method adopted in order to obtain a large return, although apparently successful for a year or two, will in the end defeat itself."

It was, for some time, an invariable practice of the Assam planters, to suffer their seedlings to grow for three years before they attempted to pluck a leaf. But we believe the practice has been abandoned by them, as it certainly has by their Cachar brethren; and that for a very sufficient reason. In the Government gardens of the North West Provinces and the Punjab, the plant is not nearly so vigorous as in our Eastern Provinces. Plants in the North West take three years to attain the same growth that those in Assam and Cachar acquire in one, and this difference may surely justify the proportionately early plucking to which the latter are subjected. This difference of circumstance makes Mr. Fortune's observations altogether inapplicable to the practice of our Eastern planters. In respect of gathering the leaf, their plan is precisely that recommended by him, for they "top" the plants, that is, confine themselves to nipping off the stalks with their leaflets which are topmost. The plant makes up for this constant interruption to its growth in height by spreading out laterally and so becoming what the planter wishes it to become, bushy. The frequent plucking of its tender leaves through seven or eight months in the year, does not hinder it from blossoming or producing seed in its season. No function is interrupted, and the shrubs that have been longest subjected to this treatment, instead of showing symptoms of sickliness or exhaustion, are among the most vigorous in the garden.

A word about the enemies of the tea plant in Cachar. The mere theorist, the man who has no practical knowledge of the risks and sundry contingencies attending the getting up of a garden, when making a calculation on paper of the outlay and returns, "has no consideration," says Lieutenant Stewart, "for 'the ravages of the peddle cricket, or for the appetite of the 'squirrel, or the mischief of the monkey! He does not think 'of herds of wild hogs and porcupines rooting out the plants, 'or of the wild buffaloes trampling them down!" But it seems to us that if the cricket, the squirrel, the monkey, the wild hog, he porcupine and the buffaloe, were really to confederate to-

gether to stop the encroachments cultivation is making upon their hereditary domains, no amount of capital could save the unlucky planter from ruin. It is re-assuring to know that, with the single exception of the cricket, the Cachar gardens have suffered nothing from these animals. Even the cricket is an enemy only when the plant is just above ground. It does not seek the root, but bites the plant off level with the ground and drags it into its hole. The only remedy is to search it out, and kill it. Men are employed to discover its hole, and by frequent probings of the earth in its vicinity, to trace the direction of the hole as it winds about underground, until they reach its termination, where the cricket is sure to be found. Those who are clever at such work may follow up and kill a hundred crickets in a day. The Kookees who are more expert than others, will kill twice that number, and then eat them. As soon as the plant has grown three or four inches high, it ceases to be an object of attack. Still, the injury these little crickets are able to do to a young tea garden, is most serious, and hundreds of rupees have been spent only in the payment of coolies hired to kill them.

The only other enemy the tea-plant has yet had to encounter in Cachar, is the Ooloo grass, known among botanists as the Saccharum Cylindricum. It is a tall, strong, grass, used extensively for thatching purposes, and a most selfish monopolist of the soil in which it once takes root. It grows so rapidly as to leave but scant moisture for the tea, and not only thus starves it, but threatens, unless when most resolutely kept down, to choke it altogether. Planters have had recourse to various means to rid their gardens of this almost universal pest. Some, in their eagerness to arrest the decay to which their plants were tending, hastened to restore their vigour by means of oil-cakes, cow-dung and other manure. But if the manure strengthened the tea, it also strengthened the Ooloo grass, and the question how to get rid of the nuisance remained unsolved. Clearly it would be worse than useless to cut down the grass, for it is in the nature of grasses to grow all the more vigorously for frequent croppings, and the remedy would only produce an aggravation of the disease. The only resource is to hoe up the ground usurped by the Ooloo and so root it out. The plan is tedious, and involves extra labour and expense, but it is better than suffering the tea-plant to deteriorate and die.

There are three varieties of tea grown in Assam and Cachar; the indigenous, the China, and the hybrid. Between the indigenous tea of Assam and that of Cachar, there is no difference. When the Assam gardens first began to be worked, it was

necessary to import a large quantity of seed from China. The plants raised from this seed took kindly to the soil and climate of Assam, and have ever since contributed no small proportion to the out-turn of tea from the province. The China plant though hardy, and standing in need of frequent pruning, is not so leafy as the indigenous, nor will it, it is feared, live longer than fifty years, whereas the indigenous will live on almost for ever. It flourishes in Cachar quite as well as in Assam. The hybrid is an altogether new and interesting variety. It made its first appearance in Assam, where it attracted notice by being less leafy than the indigenous, but more leafy than the China variety. The seed whence it sprang, must have owed its origin to the fortuitous communication of the pollen of one variety to the stigma of the other. It is more productive than the China plant, and ever since its appearance has been diligently and extensively propagated both in Assam and Cachar. It is rapidly superseding the other varieties in the attention it receives from the planter, and promises to usurp the market. "It is doubtless 'the kind which will eventually be most prevalent in India."

The allotments of tea land in Assam being smaller than the grants that have been sought and obtained in Cachar, has suggested the question whether small gardens adequately worked, would not be more profitable than large ones. Some planters are in favour of a small garden, others of a large one; the pros and cons we will leave the reader to gather from a hypothetical case: I have a grant of 400 acres. The amount of labour I have at command I am free either to distribute over the whole extent of my land, or confine to the cultivation of only 200 acres. The number of coolies I can afford to entertain, will hoe the 400 acres four times within the year; but if I bring only half my land under cultivation, and retain the same number of coolies, I can have my garden hoed eight times, instead of four. The hoeing of the land imparts a stimulus to the plant, which has the effect of producing the "flushes" on which I am dependent for my tea, and if it were foregone, the tardy appearance and paucity of leaf-buds would leave me very little to pluck or manufacture. It is of the first importance that the hoeing should be kept up, at shorter or longer intervals, throughout the manufacturing season. Well then, if my two hundred acres are hoed eight times, they will yield more abundant flushes than if they had been hoed only four times; in other words, two hundred acres hoed eight times would yield about as much as four hundred hoed only four times. The number of trees distributed over a garden of 400 acres will be precisely double that occupying a garden of two hundred, consequently

the out-turns of the two gardens would be equal. But if the amount of labour I entertain is the same, and the quantity of tea I manufacture the same, where is the alleged advantage of the smaller garden? The advantage will appear in the saving that is made in the expense of picking the leaves. I shall require fewer people for this purpose than if my cultivation extended over the 400 acres. Of course the same number of men that I engage for the small garden, would also answer for gathering the leaf of the large one, if extra time were allowed them; but no such allowance can be made, for in this part of the business time is every thing. The delay of a day may sensibly affect the out-turn. If I assign two acres to a single man, and say to him, "Pluck the leaves from this acre to-day, and to-morrow 'do the other," he may find by the morrow, that the leaves of the second acre have already become unfit, because too old, to be plucked; and I may lose the entire flush. I must therefore have a man to each acre, and it follows that, for a small garden, I shall need fewer leaf-gatherers than for an extensive one. If, owing to the plentiful flushing of my 200 acres, I allow even more than one man to each acre, I shall still effect a saving worthy the consideration of those who would associate the largest return with the strictest economy in outlay.

We think that in the above case, we have represented the question fairly. If to the fact of the pecuniary advantage shown to be associated with a small garden, we add the other fact, that a garden of limited extent is more manageable and can be better superintended than one on a large scale, we have said enough to show, that in tea cultivation, as in every thing else, a little, thoroughly done, is more profitable than an extensive undertaking imperfectly and inefficiently conducted.

But before we pass on to other most important questions, let us turn aside, for a moment, to describe the manufacturing process. And first, as to the gathering of the leaf. This is confined to only three kinds of leaf; they are, the leaf-bud with the tender stalk that bears it, the leaflet just open, and the leaf next in size and age. All the other leaves remain untouched. The leaf-gatherers (many of whom, in Assam, are women,) begin their work at 6 o'clock in the morning. Nipping off the leaves we have indicated, with fore-finger and thumb, and throwing all three sorts indiscriminately into the basket or cloth intended to hold them, they pass from shrub to shrub, and row to row, till 11 o'clock when they cease for a couple of hours, and renewing their task at 1 o'clock, continue in the garden till 6 o'clock in the evening. As soon as the leaves are gathered, they are spread out in the sun, or if there be no sun, they are placed over

a slow charcoal fire, where they are gently heated. They are then brought away and rolled together with both hands for a considerable time, until they curl. After this, the oven meanwhile being well-heated, the leaves are thrown into a pan and placed on it, where they are ceaselessly stirred about till they are too hot for the hand to touch. They are then thrown out of the pan upon a table close by where they are rolled again. After having been transferred once more to the heated oven, they are rolled for the third time, and then left to dry over a charcoal fire. The tea is ready for use the moment it is taken off the fire; but as yet it is a mixture of three varieties, which must now be separated. The tea is put in the first place, into a sieve fine enough to prevent all but the smallest leaves, or leaf-buds, from passing through. The tea thus separated, forms the variety called Pekoe. It not unfrequently happens that during the manufacturing process, many of the large, or oldest, leaves get crushed and broken, so that in the sifting, the dust of these leaves falls through and mixes with the Pekoe: the variety so created is known as gunpowder tea. After the separation of the Pekoe, the rest of the leaves are transferred to a coarser sieve through which the middle sized leaves, the leaflet just open, pass. These make the Souchong. That which remains in the sieve, being the coarsest, is the Congou. Of course there are numerous other varieties known in the market, but these, as far we have been able to ascertain, are simply different mixtures in varying proportions.

To help our readers to form an estimate of the prospects held out by tea cultivation, they should know what the expenses of management and manufacture are. Let us try and calculate the cost up to the moment when the tea is packed and made ready for conveyance to the market. The expenditure may be distributed under the following heads; viz., hoeing and weeding, leaf-gathering, manufacturing, packing and superintendence. Take a single acre, you have a man to hoe it four times a year, and for each hoeing you pay Rs. 4, which is equivalent to an annual outlay of Rs. 16. The average annual yield of an acre (a very low average, by the way, for seven maunds would be nearer the actual produce,) is, say, four maunds of tea, or 160 seers. It follows that every seer costs, in hoeing, a fraction more than an anna and a half,—say, two annas. Now as to the gathering. Each leaf-gatherer plucks four seers of leaf in a day, for which he receives two annas, which is a day's hire. Four seers of raw leaf are equivalent to one seer of manufactured tea. The manufacturing of each seer costs, we will say, two annas, a proportion rather above than below the average rate now paid.

For the superintendence of the European planter, on the supposition that he is only the servant of a company, and for packing, another two annas would be a liberal allowance, as will appear from the following calculation. A garden of 400 acres, would, at the rate of four maunds an acre, yield 1,600 maunds, or 64,000 seers, which, divided by the one-eighth of a Rupee, or two annas, would give Rs. 8,000, an ample sum for superintendence and packing. Well then, every seer of tea, up to the moment when it is ready for the market, costs on an average,—

For hoeing	...	2 Annas.
„ leaf-gathering	...	2 „
„ manufacturing	...	2 „
Superintendence and Packing		2 „
	Annas	8

The Assam tea, and the Cachar too, has sold in the London market at five shillings the pound, or five rupees the seer, giving a profit of four rupees and eight annas on every seer. But this is by no means clear profit. Freight is no small item. We have not taken into account the expense incurred in procuring labourers,—expense which will become considerable whenever the emigration scheme proposed by the Lieutenant Governor, comes into operation. Further, the time may be said to be at hand, especially in Assam, when the tea lands must begin to yield their taxes according to the terms stipulated for by the Government. In these days of railway extension and other public works, the price of labour, already risen, will be yet more seriously enhanced. But even with the enhanced price of labour, the future expenses of an emigration system, the taxes, freight, and other contingencies, tea planting must prove a gainful speculation. Contingencies involving more or less of loss there will be; for, particularly in Cachar where the cultivation is new, every planter must pay for the experience he acquires. We have heard what Lieutenant Stewart has told us, of squirrels, monkeys, herds of wild hogs, porcupines, and buffaloes. He continues his formidable summary of unpleasant contingencies in the following re-assuring strain:—

"He (the man who proposes to turn tea-planter,) has no idea of coolies taking advances and dying of jungle-fever, of breaking their contracts, being sold up, and fetching only two or three annas! He buys as stock, an elephant, at an unusually low price, to be sure, but with a perfect belief in its immortality! He builds mat houses, on the strictest of economical principles, but then he supposes them to be of corrugated iron! It is not possible for them to be burnt or blown down!"

No doubt money has been lost in this way in Cachar, and, until some system has been organized for importing labour into

the district, money will yet be lost in the matter of coolies; but in admitting this we only admit that there are risks in tea cultivation as in every other enterprise. We feel sure however, that leaving out of account the capital sunk at the commencement in the plantation, tea planting, be it in Assam or Cachar, will, after paying the permanent establishment entertained by the factory, and the land tax, and all expenses of superintendence, hoeing, leaf-gathering, manufacture, and freight, yield a net profit of a hundred per cent.

All difficulties connected with the proper treatment of the tea tree may be regarded as already overcome; the difficulties that still await solution, are those that relate to labour and transit. The want of labourers is more urgently felt in Assam than in Cachar, and in Cachar the planters are perplexed. The Assamese, we are told, is, in his own estimation, a gentleman, and above labouring for hire. His "fixed habits" in this respect are thus accounted for by Colonel Jenkins: "Before we occupied the country, hired labour was almost unknown, or confined to the Cacharees or other rude tribes unconverted to Hinduism, who were treated as serfs; household labour was performed by slaves, and the agricultural labour of those classes who did not cultivate themselves, was either performed by slaves, or by neighbouring ryots who had the means, and who shared the products of the harvest in kind. It was thus considered disgraceful for the better classes, freemen and Hindoos, to hire themselves for labour, and they have always avoided being employed as coolies as far as practicable, by pleading their right of exemption as *bhalo manooses* or gentlemen." Every man has his little field where he is content to grow the crops that are to keep him in food for the year, and having occasion to buy next to nothing, is in no need of money, except it be for the payment of his land tax. When money for this purpose is wanting, one of the male members of the family will accept employment in a plantation and keep steadily to his work till he has gathered a sum equivalent to the tax that is to be paid to the Government; he will then take his departure and not re-appear till the following year, when a recurrence of his necessity obliges him to renew his engagement with the tea planter. It is this state of things, probably, that suggested to planters and some Assam officials, the propriety of recommending an increase of the land tax; for they hoped that the additional demand on the part of the Government, would induce the people to give some of their labour to the planters. But it was a recommendation which it was impossible for the Government of Bengal to entertain. We may distinguish, if we please, between immediate coercion and

the infliction of a pressure designedly calculated to produce the same result as coercion; but, on the supposition that additional assessment would really have the effect of sending many of the natives to the tea factories, such a measure as that suggested, would, if not in the letter, still in the spirit, be manifestly oppressive, for it would deliberately provide for the sacrifice of the habits and inclinations, whether right or wrong, of an entire population, to the private interests of a few individuals. Observe, we have been arguing on the supposition that the increase of assessment would benefit the tea gardens; that this benefit would really be so certain as was thought, we altogether doubt. The moment the tax was augmented, the people would extend their cultivation, not run to the planters for work. Why we think this would be the course they would prefer, will be clear to our readers when they have followed us through the next paragraph.

The question still remains, why do the people refuse to labour for hire? There are some who think that their indifference to the planter's money, and refusal to extend even their own rice cultivation, are alike owing to the absence of proper communication between the interior, and the towns and chief markets of the province. The people, say they, may extend their rice cultivation; but if there are no facilities for the conveyance of the extra grain to the large markets at Gowhatti and other places where it may find a sale, what good will the additional rice do them? And the planter may come and offer them a very fair inducement to labour in the tea gardens; but in their dense and impracticable jungles, of what use would any amount of money be? To this opinion it may be objected that if Assam cannot boast of good roads, still the number of rivers and lesser streams that intersect the country in all directions, are quite sufficient for trading purposes, if the people only cared to use them. Granting nevertheless, that there is room for improvement in this matter, still, the simple want of further facilities does not adequately account for the want of industry or enterprise among the people. Nor can we accept Colonel Jenkins's statement that the "gentlemanly" prejudice of which he informs us, is the cause of their unwillingness to labour for hire. Whatever secondary influence it may have, we must, obviously, look beyond it for the true cause of the universal indifference to taking service. We think the secret lies in the fact that culturable land may be had to any extent. The population far from covers the country and waste land abounds. Now, we know that as a means of livelihood, agriculture always has the precedence of trades and professions. Men hire themselves to capitalists, have recourse to trades, and follow professions, only when land is not

to be had. As long as land is abundant and cheap, they will rather support themselves in independence by agriculture, than become the dependents and servants of others. This principle, which is of general application, may throw light on the habits of the Assamese. The population is not large enough for the country; the consequence is, that not only has every man a piece of land on which he raises his crops and lives in independence, but there is so much waste land still awaiting cultivation, that the population must increase vastly, before it is occupied. Till then, hired labour, professions, and other means of livelihood, will neither be cared for, nor sought after. The natural increase of the population has, for a long while, been impeded by the prevalent use of opium among men, women and children; and it will be some time more, before the effects of the recent restriction become palpable in their health and numerical strength. Meanwhile, we must look for an increase to the labourers who may be expected to be imported in large numbers into the province by the emigration agency now in contemplation. These coolies with their families, will appropriate large tracts of rice lands; and in the course of some years, we may hope to find the Assamese, compelled by the want of land to forsake their "fixed habits" and "gentlemanly" prejudices, gladly work for hire and engage in all the activities of trade.

Then, as to the prevalent use of opium in Assam. The people have hitherto been burdened by no Governmental restrictions in the use of this hateful drug. Indeed, the Government of Bengal, till very recently, distinctly refused to interfere to check the ruin it was working. The consequence is that the Assamese have been deteriorating physically, intellectually, and morally. The indigenous cultivation of the poppy has, for a long while, been all but universal; every man who had a rice field, also had a patch outside his door, set apart for opium. With no inducement to industry on the one hand, and an illimitable use of opium on the other, we cannot wonder that the Assamese have been reduced to their present low estate. It was high time that the Government should interfere; and we are glad to be able to record, that the order has already been promulgated, which utterly prohibits the cultivation of the poppy in Assam. There is no doubt that for some time to come, attempts will be made to grow it in secluded spots where it may elude the notice of the authorities; but if such attempts should occasionally escape detection, still, the evil as it at present exists, will have been effectually arrested. The Government opium will of course be supplied, but it will have to be purchased. The luxury will henceforward be an expensive one;

and being of necessity confined to those who can pay for it, the poorer people will be saved from contracting a most pernicious and accursed habit. Moreover, whatever means the men may resort to, to obtain the drug, it is gratifying to know that women and children will no longer be its victims. Whether the prohibition will have the effect of sending any of the people to the tea gardens, is another and more doubtful question. It has been in force only since May last, and some time must elapse before we are in a position to estimate its influence on the labour market. The probabilities of the case, however, are not favourable to the interests of the planters. Having all along derived their entire support from the cultivation of the soil, it is but natural to suppose that the people will seek to meet the additional expenditure occasioned by their having henceforth to buy their opium, by extending that cultivation, rather than hiring themselves to planters. The growth of the poppy has been interdicted; but the interdiction will be of no immediate or direct benefit to the tea cultivation of the province.

Meanwhile, the Assam factories extending over the districts of Kamroop, Durrung, Nowgong, Sibsagur, and Luckimpore, and comprising 7,599 cultivated acres which represent 12,05,689 lbs. of tea, are almost wholly dependent for labour upon a tribe of Cacharees who, emigrating from their native country, have for many years had their home in Kamroop and Durrung, districts on the northern side of the Berhampooter. Being suffered by the Assamese to monopolize the labour of the province, they have frequently shown a disposition to dictate their own terms to their employers. They are a whimsical race whom it requires consummate tact to manage; and their riotous conduct at Nazira when they endeavoured to extort higher and still higher wages by violent threats, until awed by the presence of the military, proves that they are capable of dangerous combinations. But even the supply of Cacharees is limited, and we have the unanimous assurance of the planters, that so far from hoping to extend their cultivation, it is the most difficult thing to work the gardens within their present limits.

Nor is the state of things much better in Cachar. "The whole population of Cachar male and female," according to Lieutenant Stewart, "adult and minor, is calculated at 150,000. 'Already upwards of 150,000 acres have been taken up for tea 'cultivation—and the lowest computation at which even the 'speculations of our friend the theorist can arrive, is that one 'man is required permanently for each acre in full bearing!

"Now, in a population of 150,000 souls, one-half may be calculated as females, and these are considered too valuable at home to be allowed to

work abroad in Cachar. Out of the remaining 75,000 one-half may be counted children under age, and we have therefore a population of only 37,500 men. Again the men in Cachar may be looked upon as the most independent set of natives in India! The larger number of them have each their separate homesteads, surrounded by groves of mangoe, jack, plantain and betel-nut trees, and from five to twenty acres of rice fields adjoining. They live like gentlemen farmers. They drive their own plough through an acre or two of their own land, and have the rest tilled by a class of people below them, who are in themselves perfectly independent, and who simply give half the crop to the landlord for the use of his land.

"Now, the landlords will not work for the tea planters. No not one, even although he holds no more than two acres of land, and has to cultivate all himself.

"He is an aristocrat, he has a title, he calls himself either a Chowdrie, or a Mozumdar, or a Luscur, or a Bhorbooya, and is quite above that sort of thing. Nor will any Pycush or tiller of the soil, who tills five acres, work for the tea planter, simply because they have all that they want, and make more than labourer's wages.

"Planters can therefore employ only the refuse of the Cachar population for simple wages, and there may be about 5,000 men in the district to whom these wages, are at stated periods an inducement: but only at stated periods, for as soon as the rice cultivating season sets in, they are off to their small holdings of an acre or half an acre, and prefer labouring for themselves to doing the work of others."

So far as indigenous labour is concerned therefore, Cachar is no better than Assam, and that for the same reason, namely, that the population does not nearly cover the country. It has the advantage however, of being closer to the labour markets of Sylhet and other populous districts of Bengal, a circumstance which has saved the tea planters much of the embarrassment experienced by their Assam brethren. More than two-thirds of the coolies who find work in the Cachar gardens are people of Sylhet. A work of five or six hours, or at most a day, brings them over the boundary line between Sylhet and Cachar, to the gardens. Leaving home in the month of November, they come to the planter with whom they will remain till the following May; they will then go back to look after their own rice crops, and not re-appear till October. It is true that according to this calculation, they work for seven months in the year and are absent only five; but for four out of the seven months, that is, from November to February, the gardens require so little attention that they might almost be left to take care of themselves; whereas the five months during which the coolies are away, are five of the eight months which constitute the manufacturing season. We have already stated that the bonâ fide work of a tea garden begins after the first shower in March, and continues till October, so that the coolies from Sylhet, and even those had in Cachar, may be depended on for only three months of the season. It may be asked, have the planters done no-

thing to remedy this state of things? They have. Men are engaged by them to go out into the villages both of Cachar and Sylhet, making advances of money to labourers with a view to secure their services during the ensuing working season. As an advance is always a temptation to a native, this plan has to a certain extent answered its end, and the services of hundreds of coolies are thus obtained, whose absence would have entailed serious loss to the planters. But even the advance does not always ensure the labour. A coolie will accept it, but when the time to fulfil his engagement arrives, he will feign sickness; or after working in the garden for a month, he will make it appear that he is too ill to keep on, and for recovery must return to his own *dêsh*,—for what native ever got well any where but in his own native village? Thus contracts are often eluded, or but partially fulfilled; nevertheless, the advance does secure the services of a great many, and the system will be continued until some surer scheme for providing labour has been devised.

To ensure a permanent supply of labour, the Cachar planters have been trying to establish villages around their gardens. They have rented rice lands from the Government at the usual district rates, and offered them to native settlers on advantageous terms. According to these terms, every ryot is to have a gift of five rupees on settling down, a loan of ten rupees to enable him to purchase cattle with, and a certain extent of land which he is to occupy free of rent for the first three years. But so far as the planter's ultimate aim is concerned, this project has met with little or no success. Ryots most of the planters have,—ryots too, many of whom are honest enough to pay back, by degrees, the ten rupees advanced to them at the period of their settlement; but no wages will tempt them to work in the tea gardens. When they hold their land direct from the Government, they have the use of it free of rent for three years; but rather than pay the land-tax which becomes due after the expiration of the third year, they will remove to some other spot where, of course, they are again exempt from taxation for another term of three years. So they keep moving from place to place every third year, never paying a farthing of rent for the lands on which they raise their crops. And they find it convenient to serve the planters in the same way. Finding that they are not compelled to work in the tea garden, the planter's ryots confine their labour and attention to their own rice fields; within the three years that they occupy the land, free of rent, that is allotted to them, they pay off the ten rupees due to the planter, and at the end of that period, remove and settle down elsewhere. We are not aware that this has been the invariable

practice, and that there have been no exceptions among these ryots; but the fact that the practice is most common among the Cacharees and the settlers from Sylhet, makes the scheme for the establishment of villages around the factories with a view to obtain labourers for the gardens, very unpromising. The planters are for the most part sanguine men, and they still hope that in time their ryots will regard the tea and the liberal wages more favourably; but we confess we do not share their expectations. The only indirect benefit that has yet accrued from the presence of these ryots, and it may yet become an important benefit, is that the coolies who come to work in the gardens are able to buy rice of them on the spot. It has all along been found needful for the convenience of these men, that the planter should send for supplies of food from Silchar. Besides the expense attending this plan, delays frequently occur in forwarding the supplies, which create dissatisfaction; this trouble and expense will be saved when all the rice and vegetables that are required may be had of the ryots on the estate. But as yet, it has not been found easy to tempt ryots to settle down in the neighbourhood of the factories. As with the Assamese, so with the people of this province; they supply themselves for next to nothing with all they want; why should they labour? The betel-nut trees that grow around their dwellings, yield fruit enough to pay for the rent of their lands, so that all the grain corps are their own, and the profits derived from them are subject to no deduction. What inducement have such men to leave their native district, or if they are Cacharees, to forsake their homesteads, and establish themselves on new land and among strangers? This want of enterprise, this preference of idleness and an anna to labour and a rupee, is one of the "fixed habits" of the people, which the tea planter has to encounter and grapple with at every step.

It may be asked, cannot the Kookees be got to do the work? Their migratory habits are such that they cannot be depended upon. Besides, whatever lighter work they may agree to do in a tea garden, they one and all refuse to hoe the land. The Cachar Tea Company has a large village of them, but from all accounts, their presence is more a loss than a gain to the concern. The village is kept up in the hope, we believe, that they will, in time, be induced to undertake the heavier work of the gardens; but whether this expectation will be realized to any extent, is a doubtful question.

The importation of coolies from Calcutta has also been attempted, but with no very encouraging result. The mortality among the men, from fever and other causes, has hitherto proved a most discouraging circumstance. Of seventy coolies who

were brought to Cachar for one factory, only seven survive. The ratio, though not so alarming as in this instance, has been excessive among the bands imported by other companies as well. Perhaps coolies from Dacca and the low districts of Eastern Bengal, would keep better health than those who come from the West; but large numbers of them go to Calcutta in search of employment on the railways, whilst the comparatively few that remain behind, demand wages far higher than the planters can afford to give. The enormous rise in the price of labour in these parts, may be estimated by the fact that a coolie who four years ago was content to receive three rupees a month, now makes between six and eight. As the importation of labour from the Calcutta market appears now to be absolutely necessary to tea cultivation in Cachar, it becomes a matter of grave importance to inquire what special measures ought to be provided for the health and comfort of the numerous coolies that will have to be entertained.

The loss the planter sustains when he has not enough of coolies during the manufacturing season, is serious. The moment his trees flush, the young leaves must be plucked; and if there are not men enough to do it, the leaf by being kept a day too long on the tree, is apt to deteriorate and become unfit for manufacture. From March to October, the ground must be hoed once every two months, and if there are not men to do it, the trees will refuse their leaf and the out-turn will be next to nothing. These considerations, besides the general one that eleven or twelve thousand acres must not always remain the limit of cultivation in two such provinces as Assam and Cachar where more than four times the existing area ought to be made productive, make it a matter of imperative necessity that the planters should have an adequate supply of labour to rely on. Under these circumstances, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal has offered his aid in the organization and working of an agency in Calcutta to provide for the importation of coolies to the tea provinces, similar to that which sends labour to the Sugar-planters of the Mauritius. Such an agency offering liberal terms and conducted in good faith, ought to be successful, especially as it will have the advantage of not requiring the coolies to venture on the dreaded *kala panee.* They would be placed on board our steamers, and have a comfortable trip up their own native rivers, until they reached their several destinations in the tea provinces. Special inducements should be offered to those who have families, to emigrate with their wives and children; for not only would the women and grown children themselves represent so much additional available labour, but their presence

would overcome any reluctance the men might feel in renewing their engagements with the planter after the original term of service had transpired. Owing to the growing competition in the labour market, the planters will have to bid high, and concede not only fair, but liberal terms, without which coolies who can get work nearer home, will not agree to go to a part of the country not only remote, but notoriously unhealthy.

In Cachar, the means of intercommunication between the several factories and "the station," to which all the tea is, in the first instance, sent, present greater perplexities than the subsequent transit to Calcutta. With the exception of the undulating land and hillocks always selected for gardens, the whole country is nothing but marsh and jungle. In some few places, roads have been constructed, in others, elephant-tracks exist; but with these exceptions there are neither highways nor pathways, and a very little of the varied experience one acquires in a single excursion of any extent across country, will suffice to redeem travelling in Cachar from the charge of monotony. Now slowly winding through dense forests whose tangled branches obstinately withstand your progress; now crossing bottomless bogs where every attempt to recover yourself only serves to sink you deeper in the mire; now toiling through marshes infested with leeches and such like agreeable acquaintances; now tottering along crazy wooden bridges thrown over the countless *nullahs* (streams) that intersect the land; now wading a stream as the only way to get across it, and reaching the other side only to plunge into a fresh swamp;—on you move, till you at last espy the planter's bungalow, and begin to hope, that the heterogeneous experiences of the day, and its diversified perplexities, may close with a little refreshment and rest.

The manufacture in Cachar has not yet become so abundant, as to force the subject of transit to Calcutta on the attention of the planters. The numerous small streams communicating with one another and covering the land with their intricate net-work, offer no facilities for the conveyance of the tea to Silchar. The entire produce of the gardens has to be sent over-land to the station, where it is transferred to the native boats engaged to take it to Calcutta. But with the increase of out-turn, the inconveniences of the present mode of transit, as well from the gardens to Silchar as from Silchar to Calcutta, will be increasingly felt, and capitalists will become unwilling that their produce should be exposed to the serious risk of a tedious river journey of fifteen days or more, in native craft. Since speed and security are essential to all proper means of conveyance, the Cachar planters, we are sure, will soon feel, if they have not

begun to do so already, the necessity of roads from the interior of the district to the station, and of a steamer which shall go once or twice in the year to Cachar, and bring away the tea to Calcutta. A steamer visiting Cachar in the rains, in time to fetch away the manufacture of the first half of the season, might go right up to Silchar; in the dry weather, or in November, just after the close of the manufacturing season, it would not go higher than Luckye, but to this place the remaining half of the manufacture might be transported with ease.

The risk to native boats, in the Berhampooter, is greater than that incurred in any river between Silchar and Calcutta, and the time absorbed in transit from Upper Assam to Calcutta is fully three times that occupied by boats going down from Cachar. The one steamer a-month which just manages to stagger up to Debrooghur, does little beyond tantalizing the planters of that region. They are fortunate when they can ship a fraction of their tea on board of her. By far the largest part of their manufacture is sent down in native boats. The crying want of Assam, and we may add, of Eastern Bengal, is steamers. Any Steam Company that will undertake to work the Assam line, taking in the trade that flows through Serajgunge and Naraingunge, may calculate on declaring a dividend in the very second year, perhaps the first!

We cannot close without briefly adverting to the tenure on which the planters of Assam and Cachar alike, hold their grants of land. The term of each grant is fixed for ninety-nine years. One-fourth of the land thus appropriated, being supposed to be required for the erection of houses and embankments, the construction of roads and the excavation of tanks, is to be exempted in perpetuity, from assessment. The remaining three-fourths are to be held "rent-free for fifteen years, after which the land 'shall be assessed at three annas per acre for ten years, and for 'seventy-four years at six annas per acre." But the 7th section of the "Rule for the grant of waste lands" provides that, "one-'eighth of the grant shall be cleared and rendered fit for cultiva-'tion by the expiration of the 5th year from the —— 18 —; one-'fourth by the expiration of the 10th year from the —— 18 —; 'one-half by the expiration of the 20th year from the —— 18 —; 'and three-fourths by the expiration of the 30th year from the '—— 18 —. On failure of all or any of these conditions, (the fact 'of which failure shall, after local enquiry conducted by the 'Collector or other officer, be finally determined, by the Board 'of Revenue,) the entire grant shall be resumed, and the grantee 'shall forfeit all right and interests in the lands, both those 'which may be yet uncleared, and those which may have been

"cleared and brought into cultivation." At the time when the planters of Assam acceded to these terms, they had had no practical experience of the working of a tea garden, nor could they foresee the difficulty that would arise from the scarcity of labourers. It was a considerable while before any part of the land became productive ; and since then, so far from having labour enough to extend the gardens, it has been a matter of the greatest difficulty to get and keep up a supply sufficient for the land already under cultivation. This is the dilemma in which the planters of Assam, and Cachar too, though in a mitigated degree, find themselves at the present moment. The conditions on which they have obtained their grants, only added, till recently, to their embarrassment ; for unless the proportions of cultivation brought up to the requirements of these conditions the entire grants were liable, to be resumed, and the capital spent upon them, to be absolutely and hopelessly lost. Unwilling to lay unnecessary pressure on so promising an enterprise, the Lieutenant Governor, to whom the present position of the planters was described by a deputation, has given them the assurance that he will not enforce the conditions of the 7th section. The conditions have not, however, been withdrawn ; and to obviate all future difficulties, the authorities of Assam have proposed that the planters should be permitted to redeem the tax upon their lands. They have suggested that if the planters paid at the rate of Rupees 2-8 an acre, in plots of not less than five hundred acres at a time, the sum so realized, with the interest that would accumulate on it, would relieve the Government from the trouble and expense of collecting a tax spread over a period of ninety-nine years, and deliver the planters from the ever recurring dread of resumption. But better again than the redemption of the land tax, preferable as this scheme is to the existing provisions, would be the permission to purchase the fee simple of the grants. Nevertheless, important as this subject is, we decline to discuss it at present ; for, we feel, and we believe many planters participate in the feeling, that its discussion will be premature until the more pressing question of labour has been successfully solved. The redemption of the land tax and the purchase of the fee simple would alike require the present outlay of a large sum of money which will be a loss to the capitalist, if in the end, he is obliged to renounce his speculations owing to the want of labourers. Upon the success of some well advised scheme for the importation of coolies, depends the question, whether Assam and Cachar are to take their place side by side with China in the tea markets of Europe

and America, or whether they must always occupy the very subordinate position that is as yet theirs.

From a table drawn up by Colonel Jenkins we learn, that if the sixty-eight tea concerns of Assam were able to render the whole extent of their grants productive, we should have 54,859, instead of 7,599 acres under cultivation and yielding tea. The province would then produce "thirty millions of pounds of tea, 'or about half the quantity now imported into England yearly 'from China." In Cachar there are seventeen concerns, owning forty-two gardens; but scarcely more than 4000 acres are under cultivation. What the aggregate extent of the grants is, we have not been able to ascertain. It is well known, however, that unlike the Assam Companies, there is scarcely a concern in Cachar which holds a grant of less than a thousand acres. In Assam, the cultivation covers a little more than one-seventh of the whole extent of grants; in Cachar, it covers about one-thirty-seventh.* But in Cachar, as Lieutenant Stewart tells us, "there are yet thousands upon thousands of acres covered 'with indigenous tea," and "thousands upon thousands of acres 'of good lands, possessing the peculiar tea soil, upon which 'there is no indigenous tea, but which are more favourably situ-'ated."

When the difficulties which now clog the enterprise are removed; when labour is abundant, the land is secured to the capitalist, and transit is rapid, regular, and safe, neither British capital nor British energy will be wanting to make the abundance and quality of the export of our Eastern Provinces rival those of the Flowery Land. India will yet be famed as one of the World's Tea-Gardens.

* Lieut. Stewart says, "upwards of 150,000 acres" have been taken up with a view to cultivation. The fact is, thousands of acres which have been bespoken by various companies and private individuals, remain altogether untouched.

ART. III.—*On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life.* By CHARLES DARWIN, M. A., &c. &c. London: John Murray. 1859.

EX ORIENTE LUX is a motto which would be very flattering to us as orientals, if we could occasionally apply it to our literary and scientific achievements. Excluding the specialties of oriental scholarship, our legitimate claims to the distinction have not we conceive been of frequent recurrence. In our eastern land indeed our shining lights are at least of average brilliancy, but their fame does not very often reach beyond ourselves, nor do their rays penetrate far enough to frequently gain the attention of Europe. It is indeed no easy task for us to keep pace with our European contemporaries weighted as we are in the race by all the disadvantages attendant on our exotic position. That Anglo-Indians do this at least, few will venture to deny, none more readily admit than ourselves; but the subject of this article entitles us, we think, to claim a leading position, not a place in the rack, in short to appropriate, in this case, our motto. We have to call the attention of our readers to a new light which, emanating from among us, has spread its rays far and near throughout the scientific world of Europe, which has been hailed by some as piercing the clouds of ignorance and prejudice, and disclosing a new path towards truth, scouted by others as the mendacious glare of fatal error, but received by all in a way which unmistakably shews that it has commanded universal attention at least.

Our share—only a share indeed—in this success, we claim on the following grounds.

Mr. Wallace, who was then, and is we believe still, occupied in investigating the natural history of the Malay Archipelago and whose labors in India are so honorably known to naturalists, sent home some time in 1858-59 a paper, which was subsequently communicated to the Linnean Society by Sir Charles Lyell, embodying certain general conclusions on the subject of the *Origin of Species* suggested to him by the results of his researches in this part of Asia, and especially by his explorations of that most interesting zoological province in which he was then engaged. That paper is the first and earliest statement before the public of the new doctrines contained in Mr. Darwin's work, who states in his preface that acting by the advice of his scientific friends, he thought he could not in justice to himself any longer withhold from the public a work to the

elaboration of which he had devoted many years, and which though not yet ready for the printer, afforded him materials for the abstract forming the present volume. Nor has our eastern claim to a close connection with this new natural history theory ceased here, for Mr. Blyth, another distinguished oriental naturalist, has been for years a co-laborer with Mr. Darwin in this very field of enquiry, and is spoken of by that author in several parts of his work in terms of praise and graceful acknowledgment which, however gratifying, cannot add to the well earned, high European reputation of the curator of the Asiatic Society's Museum. Thus two naturalists, labouring among us, have contributed directly to the elaboration of the theory contained in Mr. Darwin's book, and one of them indirectly caused its publication. We must not however be understood to evince by these remarks any desire to detract either from Mr. Darwin's own merits, by mentioning thus prominently the names of two of his distinguished colleagues, nor from those of his work by bespeaking attention to its contents on grounds other than its intrinsic value. On the subject of those merits and that value there can be but one opinion. The verdict of the great tribunal of European science cannot yet be given in, but whatever that verdict may ultimately be, whether Mr. Darwin's doctrines are to revolutionize our views on the fundamental laws of natural history, or to be considered only as hypotheses serving to systematize our existing knowledge, and stimulate research, the high fame of the author, the philosophical tone which pervades every page of his book, the names of the men already ranged as adherents and opponents in the discussion to which it has already given rise, at once stamp the essay on the Origin of Species as a production of no commonplace kind.

It possesses moreover the somewhat rare advantage of treating a profoundly scientific subject in a style which renders it approachable by, and appreciable to the lay mind. The reader who may be unskilled in botany and zoology will no doubt, at the close of many of the chapters, lay down the volume with the conviction that he is unable to weigh each portion of the evidence adduced, that he cannot assign to every fact the exact amount of importance to which it may be entitled in the argument, on which its bearing may be of the most complicated kind: and he will thus feel himself deprived of the pleasure of giving an unreserved assent to the propositions to which Mr. Darwin appends his Q. E. D.; but he can judge of the use made of those arguments and of the treatment of those facts, and he can exercise his judgment on the logic

of the reasoner: he can await the severe sifting which he knows every statement will receive, and the rigid scrutiny to which every point of evidence will be submitted, by the hostile criticism of Mr. Darwin's opponents, and he can meanwhile enjoy the satisfaction of accepting or rejecting such links of the chain, of the argument at least, and of forming an independent opinion as to the final question involved.

This question is not a new one. The Origin of Species has been a frequent subject of discussion, but we may, without doing injustice to any of Mr. Darwin's predecessors, safely assert that it has never before been approached in a more impartial and philosophic spirit, never handled with an ability more capable of inspiring confidence, never illustrated by a fund of well digested knowledge so extensive, various and profound as that now brought to bear upon it.

To enter on the perusal of this work in a frame of mind calculated to do justice to both student and teacher, the former would do well to revert for a moment to the past history of science, and endeavour to realize in imagination the introduction of some of those great discoveries which have formed the landmarks of scientific progress; to study the reception with which some of those theories were at first met, which, showing the insufficiency or the errors of then universally accepted doctrines, were opposed by some of the most illustrious men of their time, and took long to establish themselves in the position of acknowledged truths. Axioms to us, the results of Galileo's labors did not at first convince men. The physicians of Harvey's time did not at once accept the circulation theory as a satisfactory explanation of many facts of observation then unaccounted for.

Many an astronomer was, we may be very sure, shocked at the comprehensive simplicity of Newton's way of accounting for the celestial motions, and clung fondly to the angelic agency of one of his predecessors, or the vortices of another, pertinaceously dwelling on the difficulties which the lunar calculations presented to the new theory.

It will be perhaps considered gratuitous thus to insist on a fact so notorious as the opposition any new hypothesis is sure to meet with from the vis inertiæ of the human mind, an opposition becoming energetic in direct proportion to the amount of change in established eras likely to follow from the intrusion of the new one. Few will learn from the lesson suggested, the wisdom of patient impartiality, and we have little doubt but that Mr. Darwin will meet the fate of all innovators. There is however an instance which it may be well to mention, and which

may be considered à propos, as well because of the close analogy it presents to the case before us, as from the fact of its being within the recollection of many of our readers.

The publication of Sir Charles Lyell's "Principles of Geology" really revolutionised that science, and is justly considered as an epoch in its history. Even young geologists can remember the opposition roused by the enunciation of views now almost universally accepted as true. The "Convulsionists" no doubt yet exist as a school, even in England, and can still count in the yearly decreasing muster roll of their adherents, some great names; but these are in every case men who prior to the appearance of Lyell's work had publicly advocated views inconsistent with his, and were pledged to then prevailing theories: theories which will become fossil with the disappearance of their now living supporters. The convulsionists met Lyell's doctrine of the sufficiency of existing causes to account for all observed geological facts, by an appeal to great mountain chains, to inversions on the great scale of vast thicknesses of strata. Lyell's answer pointed to the elevation of a few inches in a century of parts of the Baltic coast, the few feet of oscillation in level which can be shewn to have occurred within historic times by the temple of Serapis, and he asked only for time—time for the accumulation of the results of changes small in themselves. Between this mode of reasoning and that followed by Darwin, there is the closest resemblance. He, like the illustrious geologist, makes the accumulation of small changes through great lapses of time the very essence of his theory. Each for his own special subject, brings the rich stores of knowledge gathered by years of patient labor to crowd his pages with the evidence which has convinced himself. Neither can (from the nature of the case) demonstrate anything with respect to the precise mode in which those phenomena were evolved, the causes of which he thinks he has discovered; each appeals to the cumulative effect of the balance of probabilities ever recurring in his favor; each points to the demonstrably vast results of causes whose existence and efficiency are visible, and asks why, with these before us, we should seek to account for facts by suppositions at least less probable, and whose very nature, if conceived at all, must be the creation of our own imagination.

Few men thirty years ago hesitated to believe that the geology of the Alps and the Pyrenees afforded clear proof of vast convulsions, undeniable evidence of violence of such magnitude as to have shivered the surface of our planet, if not shaken her to the core. Some still cannot accept as an

explanation of those facts, the statement that the scarce felt tremulous motion which marks the track of even our slightest earthquakes, may indicate movements which are now somewhere altering the relative position of great rock masses, however slightly, and which need only time to effect all that the Pyrenees, the Alps or even the still greater Andes and Himalayas disclose to us. Thus however reasoned Lyell, and if he has still opponents he has at all events lived to see his theory a fundamental doctrine of the English school of geology—the first in the world. Mr. Darwin is following in his steps in another branch of science. What the ultimate fate of his theory will be we think we can foresee. For the present however, all, save the very few who have been closely watching the workings of men's minds on the subject, to which he has himself devoted his life, will, we are prepared to see, find it difficult patiently to admit the proposition which Mr. Darwin believes he has established a scientific truth, to be even a legitimate subject of investigation or discussion; his conclusions will shock many a long cherished opinion, call into hostile opposition many a prejudice. He is not indeed himself very sanguine as to the reception he is likely to meet. Naturalists who have labored for years with the immutability of species as a fundamental article of their creed, will be slow to admit that the very basis of their systems is shaken, the conception on which all their classification rests is a myth, even although that classification will find in the new theory a sounder and more philosophic foundation. Younger naturalists will give it a fairer trial, a more impartial hearing. In the outer world it will meet with the fate common to all such efforts of intellect. We the crowd will follow our leaders, according it, on the one hand, an unreasoned praise, often founded on the most radical misconceptions of its very meaning, or branding it, on the other, with blame, due to an equally profound ignorance, or to self-love irritated by a fancied or real discrepancy between its statements and some of our pet prejudices. To this outer world it is that we address what we have to say about Mr. Darwin and his work, and we shall now endeavour to introduce both to our readers, so as to reduce to a minimum in this case the misconceptions on which the popular opinion of such subjects usually rest.

It is especially difficult to summarise the arguments of such a work as this—itself a summary; and it is utterly impossible to do those arguments justice in an abstract; they are already condensed to the last limit of perspecuity. Compelled unwillingly to omit altogether the contents of several chapters from our notice, we shall compress our remarks on others within the

smallest possible space, and for convenience take them not exactly in the order followed by Mr. Darwin, but consider

1*st*. What may be called the *direct* arguments in favor of the theory.

2*ndly*. The indirect arguments—or its claims to acceptance, as *a priori* probable, and as superior to any other theory in accounting for observed facts.

I. Professor Horsley, in a lecture delivered before the Royal Institution, ably analysed the arguments in favor of the theory of natural selection. It must be treated as any other physical theory would be. Its logical requirements are two-fold. If it can be shown that, 1*st*, *bodies having all the characters of species are producible:* and that 2*nd*, *the conditions necessary for their production are operative in nature*—then Mr. Darwin's must be considered as a true theory of species. The rest of his argument, the apparently absurd extremes to which it leads, offer no difficulties to a naturalist, and are really only apparent; the whole question may be considered as centring in the *productibility of species.* Mr. Darwin first then proceeds to show how and to what a wonderful extent variability occurs under domestication, in both the animal and vegetable kingdom; an extent which he argues would unquestionably entitle those varieties, if found in the feral state, to the dignity of being classed as different species, or even different genera. He shows in his analysis of his famous case of the domestic pigeon, that these variations effect not only the apparently unessential characters of size, plumage and the like, but also the form and relative proportions of the different parts of the skeleton, and that they have acted on the instinct as well as on the physical structure.

"Variability is governed by many complex laws—by correlation of growth, by use and disuse, and by the direct action of the physical conditions of life. There is much difficulty in ascertaining how much modification our domestic productions have undergone, but we may safely infer that the amount has been large, and that modifications can be inherited for long periods. As long as the conditions of life remain the same, we have reason to believe that a modification, which has already been inherited for many generations, may continue to be inherited for an almost indefinite number of generations. On the other hand we have evidence that variability, when it has once come into play, does not wholly cease: for new varieties are still occasionally produced by our most anciently domesticated productions."

Man cannot *produce* varieties, or cause variability. Variability is in the nature of all living organisms; animals and plants when exposed to altered conditions of life vary; such is the law impressed upon them in the form of a power of adapting them-

selves to surrounding circumstances. Man sees in one of these variations something useful or agreeable to himself, he imitates the conditions, and thus unconciously perpetuates a variety. Or he may proceed methodically; he may, acting on his experience of the possibility of transmitting peculiarities from progenitor to offspring, select the peculiarities he desires to transmit; the result in either case is the production of varieties, on which the process of selection in successive generations has stamped to a great extent the character of natural species. This is satisfactorily shown by the inextricable doubts common among naturalists as to whether very many of these are really varieties, or aboriginal species. Mr. Darwin considers the domestic pigeon as a case of many widely divergent varieties certainly descended from a single wild species, and the domestic dog as probably the produce of more than one such.

Thus far Mr. Darwin has shewn that varieties, having all the characters of species, morphologically considered at least, can be produced; this may we think be taken as demonstrated. The question of the physiological characters is more complicated—and we may admit at once that no proof has yet been advanced that varieties can be produced with the physiological characters of species, that is, which will not breed when crossed inter se, or whose hybrids are absolutely infertile. Mr. Darwin weakens the objection to this want of logical completeness in his proof, by showing that varieties (as hitherto described by naturalists) are not invariably fertile to the second generation, nor are species invariably sterile. He points out many reasons for thinking that this law of sterility is probably the result of causes not necessarily connected with what are called specific differences; he dwells on the futility of the negative evidence, and insists on the paucity of properly observed cases; in conclusion he asserts his belief that the tendency of the evidence afforded by hybridism, if not in favor of his views, is far from being conclusive against them, and affords no just ground for objection. We quite agree with Professor Horsley in allowing great weight to the arguments advanced by Mr. Darwin towards the removal of the difficulty above stated; and we concur in his stated conviction that judicious experiments would attain the result, namely would succeed in producing varieties, not only possessing all the morphological characters of species (as has already been done in the case of pigeons), but having also the physiological character, i. e. infertile inter se, or producing sterile hybrids; until however this has been done experimentally, or can be shewn to have occurred in nature, Mr. Darwin's argument must be considered, so far, logically incomplete.

The causes which have produced varieties under domestication (not being in any way artificial) must of course act in the state of nature also; the guiding hand of man will not be there to conduct them to this or that issue, but they will arise. That which in nature takes the place of this agency is what Mr. Darwin calls NATURAL SELECTION; and that which directs this all powerful guide, is the *struggle for life.* In one of the most interesting chapters in his most interesting work, Mr. Darwin gives us his view of the causes and effects, the actions and reactions, which go to make the victories and defeats of this never ceasing conflict. He points out that the rate of increase common to all organic beings is in geometric ratio; that this is so is capable of demonstration; but it follows that immeasurably more life is produced than can survive, is born than can arrive at maturity. Take any area, examine it from this point of view, and the result of the observation will be that the problem practically being everywhere solved is—which of the individuals shall survive, which perish; or extending the field of observation—which of several varieties shall extend the area occupied by it, and which shall suffer encroachment from its neighbours. The same of course with species, which shall conquer, or, being beaten, shall decrease in numbers, and finally become extinct. Under such circumstances it is self-evident that the slightest advantage will turn the nicely balanced scale. This advantage over surrounding competitors may accrue to the being, vegetable or animal, in an unlimited variety of ways, at any stage of growth, at any season, in any form, as a more complete adaptibility however slight to physical conditions. Suppose that the power of variation, inherent in all living things, takes effect and produces a slight change; the very slightest such change of whatever nature is certain to be either beneficial or unfavorable to the recipient, if favorable to the prosperity of the organism under its then conditions, it must lead to victory, it must be perpetuated; if on the contrary it be unfavorable to the individual, it is equally certain of elimination. If the first varying organism succeed in leaving offspring, such offspring, inheriting the disadvantageous peculiarity, will infallibly not long survive. Such is the unerring result of this struggle for existence of which every habitable spot on our planet is the theatre, at every moment of time, an endless conflict leaving the strong to flourish, and inexorably destroying the weak; the words *weak* and *strong* being (as implied) understood to mean only, less or more perfectly suited to surrounding conditions. We above remarked that the causes which have produced *variation* under domestication, not being due to, but only

taken advantage of by man, must of course occur in nature: on this point we find Mr. Darwin's writing as follows:—

"It has been often asserted, but the assertion is quite incapable of proof, that the amount of variation under nature is a strictly limited quantity. Man, though acting on external characters alone, and often capriciously, can produce within a short period a great result by adding up mere individual differences in his domestic productions; and every one admits that there are at least individual differences in species under nature. But besides such differences, all naturalists have admitted the existence of varieties which they think sufficiently distinct to be worthy of record in systematic works. No one can draw any clear distinction between individual differences and slight varieties, or between more plainly marked varieties, sub-species, and species. Let it be observed how naturalists differ in the rank which they assign to the many representative forms in Europe and North America."

Such is the basis of the theory—variability under domestication, variability under nature. The variation if not useful to the being under its excessively complex relations of life, is certainly checked—if beneficial, it is as certainly preserved, and transmitted to offspring, such variations gradually accumulating by inheritance, until in the lapse of time, wider and wider divergence from the parent stock results. "What limits," asks the author, "can be put to this power acting during long ages, 'rigidly scrutinizing the whole constitution, structure and 'habits of each creature—favoring the good, and rejecting the 'bad?" After reading Mr. Darwin's chapter on the subject we think we may assert that he who would definitely answer this question must look far indeed.

We have pointed out the weak point in Mr. Darwin's theory, and what is still wanting to make it completely satisfactory as an explanation of the origin of species; but it must be remembered that the stronghold which he attacks is by no means in a good state of defence. When naturalists speak of varieties and species, they mean that the former are due to second causes, unexplained, but probably conceived to be analogous at least, if not similar to those insisted on by Mr. Darwin, while the latter have been asserted, almost universally to require a special act of creative power. And still, notwithstanding that the supposed origin of the two is so widely, so wonderfully different, the line separating them is absolutely undiscoverable. What is called now a variety, will to-morrow be called a species, the species of one naturalist is the variety of another. The physiological definition cuts both ways, for independently of the strong probability established in favor of the belief that we could experimentally produce from races, varieties with sterile hybrids, and that sterility is admitted to be of all degrees, are we to say that varieties whose hybrids are

sterile *inter se*, should be called species, or to assert that species whose hybrids are fertile should be called varieties?

This uncertainty on a point which *a priori* ought to be supposed capable of strict and satisfactory explanation, is more than unsatisfactory. Many distinguished naturalists think that Mr. Darwin has but given the *coup de grace* to the long prevalent doctrine of the immutability of species. To them the rest of Mr. Darwin's views will, we believe, present no very great difficulties, startling as they may and will appear to the unscientific public. "I can" he says "believe that all animals have descended from 'almost only 4 or 5 progenitors, and plants from an equal or 'lesser number; analogy would lead me one step farther, name-'ly to believe that all plants and animals have descended from 'some one prototype, but analogy may be a deceitful guide." We venture to advise the non-scientific reader to consider Mr. Darwin's theory of the Origin of Species by itself, and to satisfy his mind, if he can, as to its truth or falsehood, that is, the essential part of the theory taken as a whole, and represented in the above bold assertion. We will only add that if the mutability of species be admitted, there seems to us to be absolutely but one other condition necessary for the acceptance of the whole, namely time; but then, time measured as astronomy measures space, letting tens of centuries become the equivalent of an inch in the estimation of sidereal distances.

II. We now come to the consideration of the indirect arguments in favor of the theory, and have still before us perhaps the most striking portion of the volume. Strictly speaking the theory must stand or fall by what has gone before, if the conditions stated as necessary for a satisfactory theory of the origin of species be not fulfilled, nothing which could be added is capable of making it so; if they be fulfilled nothing in the way of confirmation is necessary. Those claims to acceptance which the learned historian of the inductive sciences speaks of as consilience of evidence, are most valuable as showing that we have not misinterpreted or overstrained the evidence adduced; and in as much as they will have force in proportion to the doubts which we may entertain of our own powers of estimating that evidence, their influence with the general reader will be equal to, or perhaps even greater than, that exercised by arguments resting on that evidence itself.

If a theory based on reasonings and proofs derived from the examination of one set of facts, be found, when applied to a totally distinct set of facts, to agree with and explain them too, it will be at once perceived that the probabilities of such a theory being a true one are greatly increased. Moreover each recurrence

of evidence of this nature, each new difficulty—now contemplated in the original reasonings—which is found thus explained, must, from the nature of the case, carry great cumulative weight. In this branch of his subject Mr. Darwin is specially successful. The new theory of course at once removes the difficulty, above stated, which naturalists find in laying down any line of demarcation between varieties and species, by stating such demarcation to be non-existent in nature. Of course if every species first existed as a variety, and is in fact only a variety become more permanent, no such line ought to be expected to be definable.

It is a well known fact that in a zoological province where "many species of a genus have been produced, and where 'they now flourish, these same species always present a correspondingly great number of varieties." On the supposition that species derive from ancestors specially created, and that varieties are the unstable results of accidental and second causes, what is the meaning of this fact? Why should species A present several varieties in a district where a dozen or twenty species of its genus are present, and only one or two varieties in one where no more than four or five flourish?—there is no conceivable connection, at least none has ever yet been suggested. The new theory however meets such a case fully. It most naturally follows that when circumstances have favoured variations from type the tendency to vary should continue active, a tendency well known in the products of domestication; or in the words of Mr. Darwin "where the manufactory of species has been active, we ought to expect as a rule to find it still in action." Here the species are the most divergent and probably the oldest of the varieties.

Why, on the supposition of special creation, should the species of those larger genera which embrace many varieties, themselves retain more the character of varieties than the less numerous species of smaller genera, among which few varieties appear, that is, why should species of large genera differ less *inter se* than those of small genera? Strange mysterious relations, resting we may be quite certain from analogy, on some sure and simple basis, utterly anomalous when considered by the light of the theory of creation of species; explained most simply by Mr. Darwin's theory.

"As each species tends by its geometrical ratio of reproduction to increase inordinately in number; and as the modified 'descendants of each species will be enabled to increase by so 'much the more as they become diversified in habit and structure, so as to be enabled to seize on many and different places

'in the economy of nature, there will be a constant tendency in 'natural selection to preserve the most divergent offspring of 'any one species. Hence during a long continued course of 'modification the slight differences, characteristic of the varie-'ties of the same species, tend to be augmented into the greater 'differences characteristic of the species of the same genus. 'New and improved varieties will inevitably supplant and ex-'terminate the older less improved and intermediate varieties; 'and thus species are rendered to a large extent defined and dis-'tinct objects. Dominant species belonging to the larger groups 'tend to give birth to new and dominant forms: so that each 'large group tends to become still larger, and at the same time 'more divergent in character. But as all groups cannot thus 'succeed in increasing in size, for the world would not hold them, 'the more dominant groups beat the less dominant." We suggest to our reader a very attentive perusal of this passage. Groups must increase in size, and diverge in character; increase implies extinction, a lot which must of course fall on the transitional, less thoroughly modified, that is on intermediate, forms. A gradual transition from one species to another is thus avoided, while the arrangement of all animated nature into group under group is the necessary consequence of descent with modification. How is this wonderful fact of the grouping together of all organic beings to be explained on the theory of creation of species? All analogy teaches us that the explanation offered by our theory is consistent with what we know to have been the plan of creation in other fields of action.

The new theory shows how modification by descent will account for our finding, "a bird formed like a woodpecker, prey-'ing on insects on the ground, upland geese, which never or 'rarely swim, having webbed-feet, a thrush diving, and feed-'ing on sub-aquatic insects." But can we conceive the creatures *created* with those structures and for those habits? How strange that the inhabitants of a country, animal or vegetable, if really created for the special locality, should be supplanted and exterminated by colonists artificially introduced from another and distant land, the special and very different conditions of which they had been created expressly for. Is it possible to really believe that if created as supposed, many creatures display what may fairly be called defects of contrivance, and incompleteness of adaptation? Guided however by the light of the new theory, we need not marvel at the sting of the bee "causing the bee's own death: at drones being produced in such 'vast numbers for one single act, and being then slaughtered by 'their sterile sisters: and at other such cases. The wonder in-

'deed is, on the theory of natural selection, that more cases of 'the want of absolute perfection have not been observed."

The discoveries of science have ever tended to bring to light more and clearer proof of design, to make plainer the meaning, as it were, of nature. It has been among their noblest triumphs to show how this or that apparent anomaly existed only through our ignorance and was not intrinsic in the facts themselves. How emphatically it may be asserted that Mr. Darwin's theory does all this we have perhaps said enough to prove: but bewildered by the numbers of such cases before us, we know not which to choose; one or two more however we must add, referring the reader to the work itself for fuller statements.

The case of rudimentary and abortive links is certainly a most inscrutable mystery on the supposition of specific creation. What can be the meaning of useless and superfluous appendages like the inefficient wings of the cofferhead duck? How explain the occasional blindness of certain borrowing animals, the habitually sightless eyes of others, the absolute blindness of the inhabitants of dark caverns. Mr. Darwin however shows us how use developes and disuse aborts organs, and how such effects of use and disuse are inherited and transmitted by descent. How in short these facts are parts of a perfect system and not exceptions to a great law.

Again, among the species of the horse genus stripes of color are occasionally detected on the shoulders and legs, and specially noticeable on the hybrids of those species. Among the domesticated varieties of the rock-pigeon species, the bars of color on the tail occasionally re-appear, and commonly so when two very divergent varieties are crossed. Now how is the former fact to be accounted for on the supposition that the species of the horse genus were each created separately, how simply explained if we consider those species only more long established varieties.

If species were separately created, why should specific differences be any more variable than generic: peculiarities to wit, common to many creatures, more stable than peculiarities common to fewer? Why should any particular part, developed in an unusual degree in some peculiar species, and therefore, one may naturally conclude, specially created for the benefit of, and specially useful to that species, be eminently subject to variation? What finally is the meaning of extinction of species? This subject has led naturalists to the wildest speculations on the analogies supposed possibly to exist between the life of a species, and that of an individual, and on the decay of vital power; but granting that this gratuitously assumed analogy exist, what are we to say

to the strange fact that the fossil remains of extinct beings found in each formation, are in some mysterious way, intermediate between those of the preceding and those of the succeeding periods? Or how comes it that some long extinct organism is found to be intermediate between some two existing and distantly allied groups; and why is it that the more ancient the fossil is, the more frequently this strange relation is apparent? Often have the geologist and the naturalist pondered in wonder over these mysterious facts, others have thus talked of the archetypic system, the plan of nature, &c., but what plan so completely fulfils all the requirements of the case, as that developed in Mr. Darwin's theory, that all those groups are connected by descent?

We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of closing our examination of this section of the subject with a quotation.

"The framework of bones being the same in the hand of a man, wing of a bat, fin of a porpoise, and leg of a horse, the same number of vertebrae forming the neck of a giraffe, and that of an elephant—the similarity of pattern in the wing, and leg of a bat, though used for such different purposes—in the jaws and legs of a crab—at once explain themselves on the theory of descent with slow and slight modifications:—and on the principle of successive variations, not always supervening at an early age, and being inherited at a corresponding not early period of life, we can clearly see why the embryos of mammals, birds, reptiles, and fishes should be so closely alike, though so unlike the adult forms."

Such are the claims of Mr. Darwin's theory on what we have called indirect grounds. We have been forced in our attempts at condensation to omit much which he has admirably set forth, and we can only add that we find it difficult to conceive the existence of such a mental condition in any moderately cultivated intellectual being, as that on which such claims will fail to produce a strong impression. A very considerable space is occupied by Mr. Darwin in considering the difficulties in the way of his theory; he meets, and satisfactorily (as he thinks) accounts for many of these; but we cannot follow him here further than to say that he never seems to treat any one of these lightly, but on the contrary gives to each the most careful and important consideration; and we think that the spirit in which this part of the enquiry is conducted is likely to leave the strongest impression on the reader's mind in favor of the honesty, and truly philosophical impartiality of the theorist; while he cannot fail to be astonished at the vast and varied stores of knowledge brought to bear on the all embracing subjects discussed, and to be charmed by the graceful and perspicuous style of the language in which these are laid before him. We will quote one passage. Among the difficulties which he experienced in attaining a thorough

conviction of the truth of his theory, he mentions the existence of "organs of extreme perfection and complication," and as an instance of such he takes the eye, of which he writes:

"To suppose that the eye with all its inimitable contrivance for adjusting the focus to different distances, for admitting different amounts of light, and for the correction of spherical and chromatic aberration, could have been formed by natural selection, seems, I freely confess, absurd in the highest possible degree. Yet reason tells me that if numerous gradations from a perfect and complex eye, to one véry imperfect and simple, each grade being useful to its possessor, can be shown to exist: if farther the eye does vary ever so slightly, and the variations be inherited, as is certainly the case: and if any variation or modification of the organ, be ever useful to an animal under changing conditions of life, then the difficulty of believing that a perfect and complex eye could be formed by natural selection, though insuperable to our imagination, can hardly be considered real."

It is however in the geological records of the past that he recognizes his greatest difficulty. If his theory be true, ought we not to expect to find there a perfectly graduated series of varieties, linking together, by however long a chain, the most divergent forms of existence? That nothing distantly approaching to this is found, Mr. Darwin at once recognizes, and he labors through many pages to show that we ought not to expect to find it. Those great teachers of geology, who for the glory of their prescience, have sown broadcast ideas, more or less exaggerated, of the amount and exactness of our knowledge of life in bygone ages, are responsible for grave misrepresentation, if Mr. Darwin can establish his views of the *incompleteness of the geological record.* If their confidence be well founded, Mr. Darwin can scarcely stand. For ourselves, although we are unable to advance anything which we consider in any degree conclusive against our author's views on the subject, we must confess ourselves incapable of the philosophical effort implied in the sacrifice, at once, and without a struggle, of the rooted convictions of years; this bigotry may be highly illogical, and will not we trust be imitated by our readers, but our well grounded confidence in palœontology, though we admit perhaps overstretched, peremptorily forbids our submitting to consider it henceforth as the "science which teaches us our ignorance of extinct forms of life." We quote a few eloquent lines embodying Mr. Darwin's views. After telling us that each formation does "not mark a new 'act of creation, but *an occasional scene taken from a slowly* '*changing drama*," he goes on; "I look at the natural geolo- 'gical record as a history of the world imperfectly kept, and 'written in a changing dialect; of this history we possess the 'last volume alone, relating to only two or three countries. Of 'this volume only here and there a short chapter has been pre-

'served: and of each page only here and there a few lines. Each
'word of the slowly changing language in which the history is
'supposed to be written being more or less different in the in-
'terrupted succession of chapters."

In the frame of mind natural to the most painful of intellectual predicaments, namely being convinced against our will of the instability of a long cherished ground of confidence, we shall now proceed to point out what we consider to be blemishes in the work, in matters not essential to the argument.

While enforcing his views of the incompleteness of the geological record, Mr. Darwin states his belief that from the oldest geological times with which the very lowest fossiliferous beds bring us into contact, the oscillations of level,—the changes from sea bottom to land, and back again—have effected only those portions of our earth's surface which are now *continental areas:* that is, existing dry land, and the adjacent seas. In support of this proposition, nothing even distantly approaching to satisfactory evidence is attempted to be adduced; true it is only mentioned as an hypothesis, but we doubt if an assumption so gratuitous can add anything to the argument it is brought forward to confirm.

Again in speaking of the gradual improvement of the telescope as an illustration of what he conceives to have been the action of natural selection in bringing the age to perfection, we think the analogy he seeks to establish fundamentally vicious. His metaphor personifies natural selection, presiding at each experiment, "intently watching each slight accidental alteration," scrutinizing the result of every trial, rejecting the bad, and surely recognizing the good. Now we submit that the analogy between the optician, and natural selection, cannot hold if the "slight changes" are spoken of as "accidental"; the experiments of the optician are made with an object; he hopes that, by increasing the convexity or diminishing the thickness of a lens, he may attain some object which he sets before him as desirable; his combination may, or may not, produce the anticipated result, or the result when produced may not, realise his expectations; we take exception here because we believe it to be important to guard against confusion of ideas arising between Mr. Darwin's theory, and the antagonistic doctrines of Lamarck. The illustration of the optician would have aptly fitted the views of the latter philosopher. He held that progressive improvement was a law of nature, which *did* act as it were experimentally, and with ulterior results in view. Mr. Darwin on the contrary means by *improvement* only more complete adaptation to surrounding conditions, and includes degradation,

as well as exaltation within the results of ever acting variation; as for example when disuse produces abortion of the eye or the wing or of any other organ. Let the slight changes, be then accidental, that is to say, themselves the results of the great law of variation, and accidental only in reference to the results which may ensue; but let us make the analogy correct by supposing the optician before a glass furnace, seeking material for his lenses among pieces of glass, made from ingredients of which he knew nothing, taking up at random a piece of flint glass, then a piece of brown glass, then a piece of plate glass, scrutinizing the properties of each, putting each to the particular use it is best fitted for, and *irrespective of the result on the final perfection of the telescope*, producing an achromatic lens with its good qualities of one kind, and failings of another. The result of his labor would thus have tended towards the improvement of the telescope in a way analogous to what Mr. Darwin states the action of natural selection to have been. It is of course unnecessary to add that the march of mechanical improvement has rarely indeed taken such a course; our object is to avoid confusion of the apparently slight, but really fundamental distinctions, between the two theories of the origin of species.

Again Mr. Darwin's calculations of the lapse of geological time, and especially what he says of the denudation of the weald, seems to us unworthy of other portions of his work; besides which, we rather distrust all such calculations, including those presented by Professor Phillips in his address as President of the Geological Society, and which have appeared in the last number of the *Society's Quarterly Journal.* Efforts to insist on the immensity of duration implied in observed geological facts will certainly be misapprehended by the non-geological reader, and, *pace* the illustrious President of the Geological Society, we will venture to promise that in the long run they will be found superfluous to the geologist.

Having briefly noticed the difficulties which Mr. Darwin himself discusses, and having offered a few words of criticism on what we conceive to be blemishes in his treatment of some sections of his vast subject we will now venture, at the risk of being charged with offering an insult to the good sense of our readers, to caution them against a kind of criticism which a work like this before us is eminently calculated to evoke. We know how easy it is to misrepresent any statement detached from its context; a link taken from any chain of reasoning, but more especially from such an one as this, may with extreme facility be made to appear weak in a detached position; we will

give an instance of the application of this to Mr. Darwin's book.

In a chapter discussing *transitional habits*, after heaping example on example, and producing by the assemblage of cumulative evidence the strongest impression on the mind of the candid reader, he proceeds as follows:—

"I have often watched a tyrant flycatcher (Saurophagus sulphuratus) in South America hovering over one spot and then proceeding to another, like a Kestrel, and at other times standing stationary on the margin of water, and then dashing like a king-fisher at a fish. In our own country the larger titmouse (Parus major) may be seen climbing trees almost like a creeper: it often kills small birds by blows on the head; and I have many times seen and heard it hammering the seeds of the yew on a branch. In North America the black bear was seen by Hearne swimming for hours with widely open mouth, thus catching, like a whale, insects in the water. Even in so extreme a case as this, if the supply of insects were constant, and if better adapted competitors did not already exist in the country, I can see no difficulty in a race of bears being rendered, by natural selection, more and more aquatic in their structure and habits, with larger and larger mouths, till a creature was produced as monstrous as a whale."

Here is a notable opportunity for the exercise of that peculiarly shallow wit which, on the principle of taking a brick as a specimen of a house, triumphantly refutes Mr. Darwin's theory by ringing the changes of ridicule on the closing lines of this passage; "what!" our imaginary critic will exclaim, "a bear swim about 'with his mouth open till he becomes a whale! very like one indeed!" We will not wait to enquire whether our case be wholly imaginary, but we may remark, that a long course of systematic neglect of logical thought, and a simultaneous cultivation of prejudiced argumentation, is capable of leading to the most monstrous results, even in the individual, and without taking into account the possibility of the transmission by descent of those curious, though unhappily not rare, deviations from the ordinary type of *homo sapiens*. Repeating our apology to the reader for supposing him to stand in need of a caution so superfluous to any reasonable and impartial mind, we shall now pass to another branch of this subject.

It has surprised us to find that Mr. Darwin has been spoken of by some of his critics as a disciple and imitator of Lamarck, and his work stigmatized as a *rechauffé* of the *Vestiges of Creation*. In some of the cases alluded to, there is unfortunately little room to doubt that there has been a motive behind this apparent mistake, and we need not hesitate to assert that this motive has been supplied by the desire to set in motion against Mr. Darwin the engine of religious prejudice, and rouse in opposition to his theory the odium theologicum attaching to the name of Lamarck. Many will, we fear, take the accusation as proved, who

would be uninfluenced by the motive which prompted it, and aware that the errors of Lamarck have long since been refuted, lay aside unexamined what they will prejudge on the strength of the above statement. Claiming for our author all that he claims for himself, namely, an impartial examination of his arguments, it becomes important to point out the injustice of this allegation. Let us for convenience sake take this proposition, that "all 'organized life had for starting point one original organism of 'the simplest kind." Both Lamarck and Mr. Darwin hold some such creed, each has presented us with arguments which he believes establish its truth: these arguments constitute their respective theories. In *limine*, we find them at issue: Lamarck concerns himself with the *act of creation* while Mr. Darwin never approaches it; the former discusses spontaneous generation, the irritability and non-irritability of primordial monads, their combination according to a law of progressive advance, so as to form a simple cell, &c. &c.; the latter in the spirit of philosophical research, has perceived, and respected the limits to which inductive reasoning extends; he knows that the first origin of organized life is, and must ever remain, beyond those limits; all observable facts of natural history, disclosed to us in the present, or in the records of the past history of the earth, have been well called its autobiography; our author does not, like Lamarck, misconceive this truly philosophical conception, and expect to discover there, anything about *birth*—the origin of things.

One would fancy that this single radical difference might have spared Mr. Darwin the accusation of being an imitator of Lamarck, but there are differences as broadly marked at every step. The basis and essence of Lamarck's theory, as indeed the name by which it has come down to us sufficiently indicates, is the doctrine of *progressive development;* higher forms are evolved out of lower, by a law which is of the highest universality. Mr. Darwin on the contrary—arriving at no such law—directly states that it cannot exist; proves that his process of natural selection includes descent, as well as ascent, in the scale of nature: indeed he deprecates too trenchant an application of these terms, terms essential to the very conception of Lamarck's theory; he tells us that "recent forms are generally looked at as being, *in 'some vague sense, higher* than ancient and extinct forms, and 'they are *in so far higher* as the later and more improved forms 'have conquered the older and less improved organic beings, 'in the struggle for life." The italics are ours. Nor does Mr. Darwin leave us in doubt as to what he means by such terms as *higher, lower, strong, weak, more improved, less improved*, on the

contrary, he over and over insists on his interpretation, viz., *more or less perfectly adapted to surrounding conditions.*

These discrepancies are wide enough, as is also the following. Lamarck laid down that "organization is the result of function," and moreover mystified this doctrine by a confused version of a theory of "second causes." Mr. Darwin writes, "it is difficult 'to tell, and *immaterial to us*, whether habits generally change 'first, and structure after, or whether slight modifications of 'structure lead to changed habits; both *probably* often change 'almost simultaneously."

That is to say, Mr. Darwin, altogether omitting the wild speculations which form the basis on which Lamarck's theory rests, directly stating that Lamarck's first fundamental law is inconsistent with facts, and adding, as above, that the second law of progress of his predecessor, is immaterial to his own theory, is nevertheless an imitator, and his work but a rechauffé of Lamarck's.

Well may Mr. Darwin (assuming that every reader would at once perceive that his theory was, as it is, subversive of, and inconsistent with, that of Lamarck,) after pointing out at considerable length, how certain facts in insect life (instinct, and neuter-insects) were in accordance with his own theory, write—"I am 'surprised that no one has advanced this demonstrative case of 'neuter insects against the well known doctrine of Lamarck."

If imitations consist in re-asserting a proposition which a predecessor failed (or whether failed or succeeded) in establishing, in refuting his errors, and by a totally different process establishing his conclusions, then why is Newton not called an imitator of Kepler? Kepler, in his famous laws, asserted the facts of celestial motion, his theory was that those facts were to be explained by supposing them to be performed under the guidance of animal life, or angelic superintendence. Newton re-asserted the facts, but *his* theory supplied a different account of the causes in action. In what has Mr. Darwin come nearer to Lamarck than this? The electric telegraph communicates between two distant points, saving the conveyance from one to the other of a written message—so did the Semaphore; is the latter ever spoken of as a rechauffé of the former? No doubt both Mr. Darwin and Lamarck do connect the first dawn of life with the world of organized existence around us, but *therefore* to say that their means of doing so are the same, that their theories are identical, that the later is a rechauffé of the older and its author an imitator, seems to us pre-eminently characteristic of the honesty and logical acumen of a school whose philosophy consists in damning unheard whatever does not flatter

their prejudged conclusions, and remorselessly rescinding all that stretches beyond the limits of their Procrustean scale.

We have insisted somewhat at length on this subject, because among the many notices which have appeared on the subject of this work we have seen the accusation made, but nowhere repelled. The motive we have above attributed to the accusers shows that we are aware no appeal to reason can reach them; but we trust that what we put forward will free our author from the risk of being condemned unheard by impartial men, who might have been influenced against our author by the knowledge that Lamarck has really been refuted. For the rest we are well aware that not only the theory of Lamarck, but also the proposition which that theory failed to establish, has come down to us branded with the anathema of religious criticism —religious prejudice will still have its quarrel with Mr. Darwin, apart from Lamarckism. Prejudice is powerful from its frequently very close resemblance to honest conviction; the fruits of reasoned belief and of unreasoned belief mix together, undistinguishably too often, in the minds of all of us. The common duty of all is to reject the dross, and retain the pure ore; and it is to the spirit of candid enquiry that we now earnestly appeal, to an unflinchingly honest scrutiny of facts and reasons and to the rigid exclusion of all foregone conclusions.

This is not the place for a lengthened discussion of the serious questions involved in an examination of Mr. Darwin's conclusions from a religious point of view. Acknowledging however the existence of the difficulty, we will state our own conviction that it needs only to be fairly faced, to disappear; and we will briefly state our grounds for this conviction. What is in fact the difficulty with which we really have to do? It may be thus stated: Mr. Darwin says that species, as we see them, were not *created* in the ordinary acceptation of that term: Scripture says "Male and female *created* he them." If then some simple, straightforward, and plain reason for believing that the ordinarily accepted meaning of the word create, has no necessary application to the passage, our author stands condemned *in foro ecclesiae*.

Premising (as we have already shown) that Mr. Darwin never approaches the subject of *creation*, in the sense of *origination* or first causation, but simply takes it for granted, we may ask what is it that we do understand, or imply to have taken place, when we assert that a being has been created, formed out of the dust of the ground and vivified, or as Eve, made from some part or parts of a previously existing being. The species spoken of as *created* may then have been the product of previously existing organisms. With the subject of miracles we have here no-

thing to do. It has been well remarked that preservation is as great a miracle as creation; what concerns us is that the passage above quoted should to the unprejudiced reader be capable of interpretation consistently with the belief that species were evolved by a gradual process, and not suddenly introduced by a single act. Why then need we suppose that when existing species first assumed their present forms, there was any *direct* interference of creative power: is the *indirect* action of power less miraculous?

Why may not the latter have rendered the former unnecessary, by the use of those secondary causes, commonly spoken of as laws of nature, causes which we certainly know to have been the efficient means of their preservation and increase up to this day. In what do we force on the words "male and female created he them" any improperly limited interpretation, by holding with Mr. Darwin that the great command "increase and multiply" included the evolution of new forms, and by thus exalting our conception of the act of creation, by as much as the making of a man is a greater effort of power than the act of making a watch? Any one familiar with the writings of P. Smith, Hitchcock, Hugh Miller, and other Biblical geologists, will not accuse us of stretching the meaning of the words—whether they may approve of, or condemn the conclusions—as far as those savans habitually do—we cite their authority only because we enter on their grounds of argument and we do this, because we think we can show that religious prejudice only, and not religious convictions, will stand between Mr. Darwin's theory and acceptance among religious men. His denial of special creation of species, instead of being antagonistic to, nobly encourages the loftiest and grandest conceptions of Divine power.

Before quitting the subject we will quote some remarkable lines from the writings of one of the most profound of contemporary thinkers, taken from works published before the appearance of Mr. Darwin's book, and approaching this subject from a different point of view from his. Of the creation of species this writer says*:—

"The only question is as to the sense in which such change of species is to be understood—whether individuals, naturally produced from parents, were modified by successive variation of parts, in any stage of early growth or rudimental development, until in one or more generations, the whole species became in fact a different one; or whether we are to believe that the *whole race* perished, without reproducing itself, while, even during its continuance, independent of it, *another new race*, or other new individuals (by whatever means) came into existence, of a nature closely allied to the last, and differing often by the slightest shades, *yet unconnected with them by descent*: whether there was a continuation

* Unity of Worlds, 2nd Ed., p. 424.

or propagation of the *same principle of vitality* (in whatever germ it may be imagined to have been conveyed) or whether a *new* principle or germ originated independently of any preceding, *out of its existing inorganic elements:* to which the principle of vitality (in whatever it may consist) was superadded in some way as yet unknown."

Quoting from Professor Owen the same author, farther on, writes* :—

"To what natural laws, and secondary causes, the order by succession and progression of such organic phenomena may have been committed we as yet are ignorant. But if without derogation of the Divine power we may conceive the existence of such ministers and personify them by the term *nature*, we learn from the past history of our globe that she has advanced with slow and stately steps, guided by the archetypal sight, amidst the wreck of worlds, from the first embodiment of the vertebrate idea, under its old Ichthyic vestment, until it became arrayed in the glorious garb of the human form."†

"To this noble passage I cannot forbear adding the single comment that, according to my view, not only *without derogation of the Divine power*, may we entertain the ideas so beautifully expressed: but if there be any truth in what has been before advanced, so far from anything *derogatory*, such a view constitutes the *very proof* and manifestation of that power and is just what enables us legitimately to trace its operations—as alone we can worthily trace them—in the indications of law and unity, order and system: while without such evidence of Universal Mind and Supreme Reason, arbitrary intervention might be only irresistible fate, and sudden revolutionary change and convulsions, only atheistical anarchy."

One more quotation and we have done: the same writer in another work, alluding to this subject says‡ :—

"But the successive introduction of new species of organic life, in the epochs of past terrestrial changes, are imagined by some to be instances of direct intervention. In the first place such commencement of new forms of existence were events not arbitrary, nor disconnected, but regularly recurring in successive epochs, always connected with other physical changes going on in these epochs, however little the laws connecting and regulating them are as yet known. But this mere fact of the frequent *regular* recurrence of such changes proves distinctly that they were not casual *suspensions* or *interruptions* of the *order of nature*, but *essential parts* of it. As indeed is rendered more undeniably evident by the circumstance that they were in every instance not isolated acts but the *commencement* and establishment of a series of *simply natural results*—and *succession* and *continuance* of the species so generated, by ordinary natural causes.

"On all sound inductive principles these events must be held to have taken place in strict accordance with natural laws, and with the regular order of physical causes, however little we may at present be able to trace precisely what the laws of their production actually were: and even without alluding to any theory of development, we must look to some GREAT UNKNOWN LAW OF LIFE at which the permanence of species under certain conditions, is only a subordinate part, and particular case."

* Unity of Worlds, 2nd Ed., p. 477.

† Owen on Limbs, Cit., p. 86.

‡ The Order of Nature, p. 252.

This "*great unknown law of life,*" Mr. Darwin has, we think, discovered, and on so truly great an achievement we heartily congratulate him, rejoicing at the same time that men of science among us have shared in its elaboration, and that from the East its first light dawned upon Europe.

We have been led into the discussion of the application of our author's theory to prevailing religious doctrines only by his critics. Nothing in the work itself would have invited such a discussion. By broaching such topics we have opened the floodgates, and know not how far we may be carried. An excellent comment is suggested by our difficulties on the pre-eminent prudence of Mr. Darwin's reticence. Certainly the wise and the honest way to proceed in all such matters is to confine physical research, and inductive science strictly within their own domains; if properly conducted they *must* lead to truth, they ever have and always will do so. Why then this nervous anxiety about the bearing of Holy Scripture on these things? Can truth be inconsistent with itself? Shall we the sooner reap the fruits of our laboriously sown seed, if we pull up the little plants to measure their tender roots by some typical scale of perfection? Such considerations no doubt have suggested the course followed by Mr. Darwin and by far the larger number of the most distinguished men of science of our time; indeed they go further, as a rule, and seldom trouble themselves to reply to attacks made on them from under the shield of religion, too often borrowed for such an occasion by persons not otherwise familiar with its use. Unwarned by the example thus set us we have thought it right to descend into the arena and defend (as we think) the right, but to have done this completely it seems to us that there is still one question to touch upon, one doubt whereon to throw what light we can.

It will unquestionably have suggested itself to the reader that Mr. Darwin's theory cannot be supposed to stop short where he has left it. If, as he says, analogy would lead him to reduce the origin of all organic existence from eight or ten, to a single, point, what about the other end of the scale? What of Man? It will be recollected that Lamarck was reviled as a misanthrope because he, unlike Mr. Darwin, *did* entertain definite opinions, and did expressly teach that man too was but a link in the long chain of progressively developed life.

We are left to draw our own conclusions as to what Mr. Darwin would say on this question, and, judging as best we may, we venture to suggest that he might, in accordance with the spirit of philosophic induction which seems to us to have been by him so rigidly followed, have pointed out that, consi-

dered only as an animal, man's superiority to the brutes would not imply any necessity for reserving him from the category. Perhaps from man to the highest ape may not be a gap wider than may elsewhere in the sequence be naturally accounted for. The *animal man* has much in common with other animals, and *in so far as we thus* examine him we see nothing to leave a broad line of demarcation open. Man's physical development, even his intellectual nature, *may be* but questions of degree, and may be treated as *legitimate* subjects of *inductive enquiry;* but here we come to a great gulf; the *very reasons* which render it illogical to stop short of the point we have reached, peremptorily forbid a single step farther, and for this simple reason, that man's *moral and spiritual nature* takes us to subjects *radically* and of their *very essence* different. A very elemental condition of physical knowledge is requisite to avoid the attempt to measure heat with a cup, or a liquid with a footrule; childish as the illustration may seem, we conceive that the absurdity implied is surpassed by those who apply the machinery of inductive science to the discussion of the problems suggested by man's moral and spiritual nature. He is made in the image of God: not his animal structure and functions, they are of the earth; but his spiritual being belongs to a *totally different order of things*, apart from, and belonging to new and distinct regions, transcending all material ideas. To clearly lay down the limits of the legitimate field of inductive enquiry, and rigidly to adhere to those limits, is an example of the wisdom which renders to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, well assured that by doing so we take the first step towards rendering to God the things which are God's. It carries its reward with it—obedience to our Creator's laws always does—in the satisfaction ever renewed, with which each fresh proof of HIS greatness is hailed, unalloyed by the miserable scepticism which, fettering Scripture with the ignorant interpretations imposed upon it by the insolent assumption of self-infallibility, has ever raised the cry of antagonism between the Word of God and the Book of Nature. These, as Archdeacon Pratt so eloquently teaches us,* "emanate from the same infallible author, and therefore cannot 'be at variance. But man is a fallible interpreter, and by mis- 'taking one or both of these Divine Records, he forces them 'too often into unnatural conflict." Let us thus combining "reason with a humble mind and a patient spirit" seek truth and truth alone: moral and spiritual truth where alone it can be found, in the infallible guide given us by inspiration for *that* purpose, and physical truth in its own appropriate records.

* Scripture and Science Not at Variance. J. H. Pratt. 3rd edition, 1859.

ART. IV.—1. *The Life of the Right Rev.* DANIEL WILSON, D. D., *late Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, with Extracts from his Journal and Correspondence.* By the Rev. JOSIAH BATEMAN, M. A. (In two vols.) Murray: London. 1860.

2. *Sermons and Tracts,* by DANIEL WILSON, M. A. (In two vols.) London: 1825.

3. *Sermons,* by DANIEL WILSON. 5th Edition, 1832.

4. *Letters from an Absent Brother:* by DANIEL WILSON, M. A. 3rd Edition, 1825. (In two vols.)

5. *The Evidences of Christianity:* by DANIEL WILSON. 4th Edition, 1841. (In two vols.)

6. *Two Charges, delivered at the Primary Visitation,* by D. WILSON, D. D., Bishop of Calcutta. (Madras.)

7. *Charges delivered at the Second, Third, &c. Visitations: and also various occasional Sermons.* (Bishop's College Press.)

8. *Sermons delivered in India* 1834-6; by DANIEL WILSON, D. D. (Third Edition, 1840, Bishop's College Press.)

9. *Sermons on the Lord's Day.* (London: 1830.)

10. *Lectures on the Epistle to the Colossians.* 1844.

MR. BATEMAN had an extremely arduous office to discharge when he became his father-in-law's biographer. We are glad to say that he has done his work with great care and diligence, with a fair amount of abstinence from irritating topics, and with no attempts to set him up as the idol of a party. His moderation has been already rewarded. Almost every section of the Church at home has received his volumes in a friendly spirit. High-Church Journals like the *Guardian* and *English Churchman* have spoken in terms of frank admiration of the doings of one who for half-a-century had been the recognised champion and choregus of evangelicalism. This is all as it should be. Truth has been spoken, and yet charity not violated.

We are far, however, from thinking this *Life* perfect as a Biography. On the contrary we view it simply as a collection of "*Memoires pour servir.*" This may not be felt by the few attached friends, who, like good Bishop M'Ilvaine,* read it "in

* "I am reading day by day the most profitable Life of Bishop Wilson. I take it in daily portions, because it is too good and searching and weighty to be read in the ordinary way—and would be passed through too soon." (Extract of a letter in the London *Record.*)

daily portions": but most readers will feel that the story of Daniel Wilson's life would have been more effectively told in half the number of pages. We do not think the worse—but all the better—of a man, because he is unable to write any other than a provisional memoir of a near relative. He is almost certain to print (partly from a mistaken notion of 'candour,') what had better for ever remain "*intra penetralia*;" and yet his representation as a whole will err on the side of extravagant admiration. We predict that when *the* life of Bishop Wilson appears, it will not exceed *one-third* of the bulk of the present one; and that the rescissions will be in something like the following proportions,—three-fifths of the first volume and three-fourths of the second.

Meanwhile we propose in the present article to lay before our readers a sketch of the most salient points of the Biography, interspersed with references to the Bishop's own writings and with such occasional remarks as may help our readers to form a truthful picture of the man. We shall write nothing (need we say?) inconsistent with the most unfeigned respect and affection for the memory of one, who, from the bright example he has left behind him of piety and beneficence and diligence and self-sacrifice, is, and will remain, one of the greatest benefactors of the Indian Church.

Before beginning our narrative, however, we think it well to dispose at once of a point which might otherwise hamper our course. It is this. Whilst always kind-hearted, and generally courteous, he often raised a prejudice against himself by a peculiar *mannerism*, which amounted almost to "eccentricity:" and along with this there was sometimes a *directness* of personal remark, which, but for the earnestness of the man and the dignity of the Bishop, (for he rarely failed to maintain that,) would have been thought rudeness.

Now, if we are not much mistaken, this defect was very much attributable to his early intercourse with Mr. Newton, Mr. Cecil, Mr. Rowland Hill, and others; who had a remarkable talent for giving utterance to pointed and graphic illustrations of truth, couched in rough, homely, language. Such a talent is a dangerous one, if not guarded by tact and delicacy. It is strongly allied to what, in its ordinary exhibitions, is called *humour*; which is, in fact, in many cases, only a method of escape that certain keen and powerful minds resort to, when brought in contact with folly and weakness;—the way they take of bridging over the chasm which they see yawning between their *will* and their circumstances, their *principles* and their position, their views of *ideal excellence* and their actual experi-

ence of imperfection in themselves or others. Now the mannerism we allude to arises from the same general habit of mind *operating in religious matters.* It comes in as a mediating element, when the mind, earnestly bent on setting forth high spiritual truth, is also intensely practical. It is a sudden self-recollection, when one who has been soaring aloft in elevated contemplation is reminded of the claims of earthly business. It is a *condescension* to the more ignoble part of life;—the explosion of fervid sentiment when brought into proximity to cold, secular, concerns;—the struggle of conscientious conviction to work outwardly in a sphere which it knows it *ought* to occupy, but which is not congenial to it, and in which, consequently, it does not move with ease or grace or comfort.

That characters of this kind belong to what is (abstractedly viewed) the *highest* order of mind, we are far from maintaining. There are calm, self-possessed, souls, that move about among men with a lowly dignity that seems never to fail them; and such are often found to exercise great influence on minds otherwise inaccessible. In a recent debate in the House of Lords, Lord Ellenborough,—on whom Bishop Wilson made no impression,—is reported to have said that "if 'the policy under debate (the Metropolitan Churches' Bill, 'we think,) had received—as was stated—the sanction of the late 'Archbishop, (Howley,) he should vote for it unhesitatingly; as 'that prelate seemed to him to have come nearer perfection 'than any human being he had ever known." But then, this kind of influence, however penetrating, where it does act, seems from its nature to be limited to a very narrow sphere of operation. It does not reach the great majority of the busy world. From the time of Socrates to that of Abernethy, some degree of rough, caustic, remark has helped on the effect of remedial prescriptions—moral or physical. If Socrates had not "gone 'about like a gad-fly, stinging the citizens with his questions 'about self-knowledge,"* he might have been more beloved,—but would he have done so much good to Athens? May we not say the same of the *œstrum*-like, pertinacious repetition, with which the late Bishop of Calcutta inculcated on all around him his lessons of religious truth? He was never weary of returning to the one important point:—What is your state of heart before God? All else—and of course, therefore, mere social amiableness—seemed in comparison but "one grand impertinence." Yet no man had a higher esteem, in general, for *les petites morales,* than he.

* See Plato's Apology.

With this preliminary explanation we proceed to carry out the programme announced above.

DANIEL WILSON was born July 2, 1778. His father was a silk-manufacturer in Spitalfields. His mother was the daughter of Daniel West, who had been one of Whitfield's trustees. This may explain what he tells us in a memorandum drawn up late in life—that his parents were "a loose kind of church people," going to Mr. Romaine's church in the morning and *the Tabernacle* in the evening. At ten, he was placed in a private school under the Rev. J. Eyre; who is reported to have said of him, "There is no milk-and-water in that boy; he will be 'something either very bad or very good." After remaining there four years, he was bound apprentice to his uncle, a wealthy silk-merchant in Cheapside; who was "a strict churchman," and a regular attendant first at Mr. Romaine's church and afterwards at Mr. Cecil's. Young Wilson had all along been religiously brought up, and could talk freely on theological topics; but, as he advanced into life, he found that he had no practical hold on religion. He fell away into sensuality, hushing his conscience with the excuse that "it was out of his power to do anything." This has too often been the effect produced by an unguarded preaching of predestinarianism: and it is noticeable that in after years he always retained a salutary dread of Calvinistic refinements.*

So matters were going on, when—in his eighteenth year—an incident occurred that changed the whole current of his life. We must allow him to tell the story himself. (The account is taken from a letter which he wrote to a friend, Nov. 29, 1796.)

'One evening (March 9th, 1796) I was as usual engaged in wicked discourse with the other servants in the warehouse, and religion happening (humanly speaking, I mean) to be started, I was engaged very warmly in denying the responsibility of mankind on the supposition of absolute election, and the folly of all human exertions, where grace was held to be irresistible. (I can scarcely proceed for wonder that God should have upheld me in life at the moment I was cavilling and blaspheming at his sovereignty and grace.) We have a young man in the warehouse whose amusement for many years has been entirely in conversing on the subject of religion. He was saying that God had appointed the end—He had also appointed the means. I then happened to say, that I had none of those feelings towards God which He required and approved. "Well, then," said he, "pray for the feelings." I carried it off with a joke, but the words at the first made some impression on my mind, and thinking that I would still say, that "I had done all I could," when I retired at night I began to pray for the

* See especially his paper on *Crude Theology* in the CHRISTIAN OBSERVER for 1814.

feelings. It was not long before the Lord in some measure answered my prayers, and I grew very uneasy about my state.'

This is by no means the only instance on record, in which an apparently simple remark has overturned an elaborate theory. It is not, indeed, always easy to analyse such cases; but we do not doubt that if we *could* analyse them, we should always find in them a due relation existing of means to ends. For instance, in the above account, we have evidently *one* moral means, at work,—the consistent character of the young man who made the remark. But, however this may be, the effect produced by so seemingly inadequate a cause was deep and lasting. He at once entered upon a serious and practical inquiry into religious matters.

In a letter written on the third day after (March 11) to his old tutor, Mr. Eyre, he puts a question which shows how real his fatalistic convictions had been. "What I think that I most want to know," he says, "is; whether a conscientious reformation of my outward life is in the least accessory to my future safety?" There is *reality* stamped on a query like that. The same most hopeful symptom is visible also in a letter which he wrote shortly after to his mother. It begins:—

'I have received your letter, and would answer in sincerity your solemn query, How is it between God and your soul?

'What shall I say? How is it between the great omnipotent God, the creator and preserver of my life, in whom I live and move and have my being; and the soul of me, a worm of the earth, who exists only at His will? Awful thought!

'But this is not all. How is it between a just and holy God; a God of infinite purity, and my soul, full of corruption and pride? How can I answer such a query?'

He would not reply to the language of conventional religion used by his mother, until he had laid it out in a form which he was sure had an appreciable meaning to his understanding. We shall probably not be wrong, if we attribute to this marked feature of his mind—its habitual Reality—much of the influence which he afterwards wielded as a preacher and as a man.

Another striking characteristic shows itself in the same letter. It concludes: "Oh! may the word ETERNITY never enter my ears without impressing my heart." Few men have had so vivid a sense of what is implied in that word; it seemed ever present to his thoughts,—engraven on his inmost soul.

As our chief object in this sketch will be to bring out to view the true character of the man,—to exhibit the principles that made him what he was,—we shall not scruple (when necessary) to quote illustrative passages from his Life or his Writings, though this may give our criticism somewhat more of a theolo-

gical air than is common in these pages. This is inevitable from the nature of the subject. We wish to paint the true man,—DANIEL WILSON,—and he *was* what his religious convictions made him. His work through life was to bring religious motives to bear on the consciences of men : and he so thoroughly identified himself with his work, that it is impossible to separate *him* from his *theology*. This was what inspired him, and gave him the power he possessed.

Now of all practical religious ideas the most fundamental is the one we were speaking of. Ignatius Loyola was, so far, not wrong when he made his probationers spend a month in meditation on Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell. What the *Spiritualia Exercitia* inculcated as a matter of necessary drill or discipline, the future Bishop of Calcutta was led to, in a freer way, under the ministry of such men as John Newton and Thomas Scott.* It would be easy to show by quotations extending over sixty years, what a predominant hold the thought of Eternity had on his feelings. We give a few as specimens.

The following is from a letter which he wrote, while an undergraduate, in 1801, but which might be supposed to have been written half a century later ; so thoroughly does it resemble his later style both of thought and expression. "To you, my friend, 'who have now entered into the vineyard, what shall I say? May 'every happiness, and every blessing, and every good be yours. 'Be faithful, be fruitful. Time is short. The Lord is at hand. 'Eternity approaches. Watch and pray. Let not your heart fail, 'for Christ is your helper. Be not puffed up, for you are ignorant 'and powerless. Do all things as if the Judge was standing at the 'door."

In 1822 he writes to a friend, from a sick chamber : "I write 'badly, because I cannot sit up. The world is passing away. 'Eternity (and how eloquent is that word now to me!) is drawing 'nigh Nothing affects me but that which appertains to the 'kingdom of God."

In 1823 he writes from Lyons : "Time carries us away as a 'flood. Souls are passing into Eternity. Judgment is near. All is 'mere trifling compared with Eternal Salvation."

At an hotel in the Canton Valais he copies out a printed paper which he found hanging up in the publication ; of which the following is an extract : "O Eternité, seule digne de nos pensées et de nos soins! Seule oubliée et negligée de la plupart des hommes...O Eternité ineffable, Eternité incomprehensible,

* In his *Fourth Charge* p. 38, he speaks of the debt he owed to Mr. Scott "for the guidance of his mind from 1796 to 1798." Mr. Bateman does not notice, or throw any light on this.

qui mesurera ta profondeur? Qui sondera tes abîmes? Des millions de siécles, redoublés autant de fois qu'il y a d'atomes dans ce vaste univers, ne sont rien au prix de l'eternite. Après ces revolutions de siecles innombrables, il restera encore une Eternité toute entiére. L'Eternité seule ne passera jamais... *Veillez-donc. Priez sans cesse. Travaillez avec crainte, avec tremblement à la grande affaire, à l'unique affaire, de votre Eternité.*" One might almost suppose he had written, instead of copying, the last lines. They are precisely in his style.

In his "Evidences of Christianity," (published in 1830,) he says: "What ETERNITY means, I know not;—how much is comprehended in that word, I know not;—whither it stretches, what it involves, what relation it bears to time, what are its continually augmenting benefits of joy or depths of misery, I know not,—imagination cannot conceive, words cannot express."*

We make these quotations, because we are persuaded that they supply the key to the interpretation of his character and influence. He was not a *learned* man, in the higher sense of the word,—nor, strictly speaking, an *eloquent* man,—much less a man of *Philosophy* or *Science*,—he was not, eminently, a *popular* man. His strength lay in his deep and calm realization of the Eternal World. He thus drew men, by force of sympathy, out of their ordinary devotion to things of Time, and sustained them, for a while at least, in an atmosphere of purer feeling:—and they knew that this was the greatest of possible benefits, and honoured and loved him, on account of the good he did them. It is true that such an all-absorbing sentiment presenting, as it does, to most men the appearance of violent and unnatural effort, *ought* not to be needed. Time ought to run *naturally* and easily into eternity. But it is not so; for man is no longer in his natural state. Man's world is in disharmony with the Divine Law; and, so long as this is the case, those who are employed in drawing it back to its right position, must be in an extraordinary degree penetrated with a sense of the nearness of that unseen world to which others are so unnaturally dead.

But we must return to the history of the change, which occurred in his eighteenth year, and which to most Indian readers, we imagine, is one of the most interesting parts of Mr. Bateman's two volumes. We, who knew him in the less demonstrative part of life, delight to trace the growth, in their more

* For other passages of a similar, or even more striking kind, see his *Sermons and Tracts*, vol. 1. pp. 439 and 563. *Farewell to England*, p. 40. *Pastoral Letter*, 1842, p. 3. *Fourth Charge*, p. 68.

impulsive state, of those principles, which we had seen working in the grooves of long-formed *habits*. The mannerisms of the old man of eighty somewhat overlaid, perhaps, the reality of character, which appears so fresh and energetic in the youth of eighteen. We are glad to have the veil lifted up.

In his darker days, he had been at least true to his doctrinal theory, (though not to his conscience.) He was persuaded of the utter impotence of man to take so much as a single step in the way of salvation;—and he carried out his fatalism to its legitimate issue. He would not engage in what to him seemed the mockery of prayer. "Prayer," he said, "rose as high as the ceiling." But when once his belief was altered, and he felt that prayer ascended into the presence of Him that "inhabits Eternity," *he acted accordingly*. His cousin Joseph, who at that time lived in the same house and shared his room, says that "night after night he saw Daniel sitting up for hours reading God's Word, and other religious books:" and that frequently, after he himself had fallen asleep and awoke again, he found his cousin "on his knees in long-continued and earnest prayer."

This habit of prayerfulness continued with him through life; and, perhaps, in the minds of those who saw much of him it remains as the *most* distinguishing feature of his character. We remember an old Indian chaplain's saying to us many years ago; "The Bishop has, I conceive, done me a serious injustice; but I will say this of him, he is a man who *lives very near to God.*"

In a letter written in 1798, young Wilson observed; "The dying words of Mr. Hervey are much on my mind;—'If I had my life to live again, I would spend more of it on my knees.'"

His biographer says of him; "The clue to all the success of his public efforts was easily traced, by those who knew what passed in private communion and intercourse with God. In the closed chamber, and by earnest prayer, he renewed his strength. No sacred service was ever undertaken, no drawing-room ever entered, without 'two or three' being [first] called to kneel and seek prevenient grace and divine guidance. Hence words of wisdom; hence peace with God; hence a cheerful countenance; hence above all the blessing of God, which maketh rich and addeth no sorrow.*"

So truly was the *youth* "the father of the man."

The season of inquiry above alluded to, during which he

* In his little book 'The Christian's Struggle,' (being his Lent Lectures for 1850) he says; "My late beloved friend and father, Mr. Cecil, whom I can never mention without peculiar feelings of gratitude, used to say in his graphic manner, 'Sir, the house may fall down, but *I must pray*!'" (p. 96.)

was feeling his way into light, lasted about 18 months. At length the new order of things was fixed and sealed by his receiving the holy communion on Sunday, October 1, 1797. The effect seems to have been of a very marked kind,—like the rolling away of dark mental clouds and the breaking out of sun-shine. On the following Wednesday he wrote to a friend;— "The Lord shines so upon my soul that I cannot but love Him, and desire no longer to live to myself but to Him ... ... *I have even wished, if it were the Lord's will, to go as a Missionary to heathen lands.*" This, be it remembered, was written two years before the foundation of the Church Missionary Society, when there was none of that comparative *dignity* belonging to the missionary enterprise which it has acquired in our day.

The fragrance of the memory of that Eucharistic feast and of the week of self-consecration that followed it, was not soon to pass away. Such brief periods have often been as the guiding-stars of a whole life-time. Nor do we doubt that, when—thirty-five years after his first expression of a wish to be a missionary—Bp. Wilson stood on the banks of the Hooghly, he remembered that era in his early history, and thanked God for it. He was not content, however, with mere imaginings of distant contingencies. Within three weeks of his First Communion, he had decided on seeking admission to holy orders. His parents and other friends dissuaded him from thinking of such a step: but his desire grew stronger and his reasons more definite, until at last they overcame all resistance, and it was arranged that he should be sent to Oxford. Accordingly on May 1, 1798, he was entered at St. Edmund's Hall; and, after spending the intervening months under the tuition of the Rev. Josiah Pratt, (then curate to Mr. Cecil) went into residence in the following November.

St. Edmund's Hall was, at that time, and for the next half century, the stronghold of what are known as Evangelical views. The persons who held those views, (and among them Daniel Wilson,) maintained, that their doctrinal tenets were on all fundamental points identical with those of the (then so-called) *Orthodox Churchman*;—that they were, in fact, the doctrines of Cranmer and Jewel and Hooker; but that the difference between the two parties lay in the degree of stress that was laid on a *heart-felt, practical, reception* of orthodox statements. Some of them, it was admitted, leaned somewhat to Calvinistic ways of expression; but, it was maintained,* "not

* D. WILSON'S *Sermon on the death of Thomas Scott*; (S. and Tr., vol. I., p. 650.)

a few of them incline to the *anti*-calvinistic exposition," and "decidedly protest against many important particulars to be found in the theology of Calvin."

There are few thoughtful men of the present day who would deny the substantial truth of the above representation. Cecil and Scott and the Milners, Simeon and Brown and Martyn, Pratt and Wilson, are names that every earnest and well-informed English Churchman now mentions with respect, as faithful sons of the Reformation, however he may think some of them defective in their estimate of the corporate privileges of the Church.

His undergraduateship passed happily. He was a hard-working student. He had a prudent and sensible man, Mr. Crouch, for his tutor. He had religious-minded friends, in company with whom he read scripture and prayed ;—some of whom became "pillars" of the school to which they belonged,—as Dr. Marsh, Mr. Fry, Dean Pearson, and Mr. John Natt. He learned the art *parvo bene vivendi*, for he lived free from debt on a hundred guineas a year,—the sum his father allowed him at college. His chief trial was that heavy one, which every God-fearing man must have felt, whose position subjects him to long-continued intellectual toil, unrelieved by ordinary social duties, —the trial of finding his thoughts wandering away to literature or science, when they ought to be fixed on God.

At length in June 1801 he passed his B. A. examination, and was shortly after ordained to the curacy of Chobham, Surrey, of which Mr. Cecil was Rector. His first sermon was on a text, which five years before had done much (when quoted to him by Mr. Newton) to free his mind from its doctrinal misconceptions: "Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out." It may be remarked, too, that the first sermon he ever printed was on a text equally, or, perhaps, still more, direct in its antagonism to Calvinistic error; "He that will do His will, shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God."

He now threw his whole soul into his pastoral work, so as to surprize even Mr. Cecil; who called him "the apostolic Wilson." He visited every house and hut in his parish, and kept a journal, in which he recorded the names and characters of all his parishioners. This was the best possible initiation into ministerial duties ;—of the highest value to one who was soon to be re-transplanted to Oxford, to spend nine years in tutorial engagements.

His removal occurred in 1803, which was, all together, an eventful year to him. About the middle of May he was a successful suitor for the hand of his cousin Ann ; and at the end of the

same month he was declared to have won the University Prize for the English Essay;—the subject of which was "Common Sense." The subject of the prize poem that year was, "Palestine;" and so, no sooner had Wilson recited his Essay, than his place in the rostrum was occupied by Heber.

Mr. Bateman remarks, (with a slight excess of that rhetorical style, which is noticeable throughout his volumes;)—

'There is something affecting in the picture of these two young aspirants, thus brought together in the morning of life, who were afterwards called to bear "the heat and burden of the day" in the same far distant land: something also in the scrolls they held, characteristic of the men: the one, throwing over India the charm of poetry, piety, and a loving spirit; the other, stamping upon it the impress of scriptural supremacy and evangelical truth: something of adaptation also in the Divine ordering of those consecrated spots where "they rest in their graves"—the chancel of ST. JOHN'S, Trichinopoly, and the chancel of ST. PAUL'S, Calcutta.'

Nor must we omit the very justifiable piece of grave academical pleasantry which is appended to the above:—

'The day following these recitations, one of the Heads of Houses met Mr. Crouch in the High Street, Oxford.

"Well, Mr. Crouch," he said, "so 'Common Sense' has come to Edmund Hall at last."

"Yes;" replied Mr. Crouch, with his quiet humour, "but not yet to the other colleges."'

His marriage, which took place in Nov. 1803, appears to have been every way a happy one. He had six children; and for nearly fourteen years enjoyed almost unbroken domestic felicity. In 1816, writing to ask a friend to stay with him, he concludes his letter:—"We are the most merry and happy household in London." The first serious inroad into this happiness was made in 1818 by the sudden death of a favourite daughter, Ann: three years later he lost a son, after a lingering illness: and in 1827 came the heaviest stroke of all, the death of his wife. He received all these dispensations with the same pious submission to God's will. We, who read of them now, may not be wrong, if we see in them a gradual loosening of the bonds that held him to England, and a Providential training for his future work. Certainly few posts in the whole world require of their occupants a larger share in the "*disciplina humanitatis*,"—sympathy with human suffering and bereavement—than that which he afterwards held in Calcutta. Hundreds can testify that he had learned the lesson well.

We believe, that Bishop Wilson has not always had justice done to him on this point. He was so much before men's eyes as a Rebuker and Exhorter,—bringing the terrors of the Gospel (sterner far than those of the Law) to bear upon the worldliness he saw around him, or entering with controversial

warmth into the defence of Dogmatic Truth—that few gave him credit for having much of the softer and gentler portions of our nature. Indeed, during his later years, his feelings were, in general, so controlled by his supreme reference of all to God, that some of his most intimate friends were disposed to doubt their existence. This, however, we are satisfied was a great mistake. There, undoubtedly, the tender-heartedness was,—full and strong at the centre, though rarely allowed to escape to the surface. The truth is, none are more averse to give free scope to their emotions than those who feel most strongly. Still, we have more than once ourselves witnessed striking exhibitions of feeling in him, and yet oftener a resolute—though ill-concealed—suppressal of it.

While on this point, let us add two extracts from his *Life* illustrating the way in which he discharged this part of his function—the work of consolation. We do not envy the person who cannot discern in them, amidst all the calmness of religious faith, a strong undercurrent of genuine and tender sympathy.

The first is a note written to Lady Malkin after the death of her husband;*

"GHAZEEPORE, *October* 1837.

"I commend you to Him, who is the ALL SUFFICIENT God: and who places His chief glory in sustaining and consoling the weak and destitute.

"His ways are indeed mysterious, afflictive, sudden, overwhelming, desolating at times. But He is in Himself, and His dealings with us, the same. His name is "I AM THAT I AM." He knows His designs and His purposes of grace.

"There is no reasoning with an INFINITE BEING. It is utterly in vain for us feeble, ignorant mortals. But we may cling to the skirts of His raiment, as it were—we may hang upon His gracious promises—we may trust His power, wisdom, and love. Eternity annihilates the few years which may intervene between our own dismission and that of those we most tenderly love. They are not lost, but only gone before in the procession of mortality!"

The other refers to an incident that occurred at Meerut during his visitation in 1836.

"Meerut was full of sickness and full of sad hearts, and deep sympathy had been aroused for one of the chaplains into whose house death had again and again entered. As three dear children were in quick succession carried to their burial, the hearts of all were moved, and prepared to receive the word when the Bishop on Easter Day addressed his crowded audience from 1 Thess. iv. 13, 14, and spoke of the "Child of sorrow consoled by the fact, the benefits, and the prospects of the Resurrection." It was hard to decide which was the most affecting sight:—when hundreds were melted into tears in the great congregation under the power of his

* Sir Benjamin Malkin, to whom he had been strongly attached, and to whose worth he bore public testimony in his *Fourth Charge.*

appeals; or when, the public service ended, he went into the house of mourning, and read his sermon once again to the bereaved and weeping mother!"

But we must again revert to his earlier life.

His connexion with Oxford, as tutor of St. Edmund's Hall, lasted from 1804 to 1812. He entered upon it as on a scene of trial. "I tremble," he says, "to think of its Dons, and its pursuits, and the general tone of its maxims and opinions...But to shrink from it would prove me faithless." This was in 1803. In 1806 he wrote to a friend; "Sin, disguising itself under the form of the literary pursuits I am engaged in, has deceived and wounded and almost slain me. I scarcely see Christ." The danger, however, was much mitigated by the fact of his having parochial work along with his tutorship; first as curate of Worton, near Banbury, and afterwards (in 1809-12) as assistant to Mr. Cecil at St. John's, Bedford Row. The services at Worton were attended by people from all the neighbouring villages. Mr. Bateman has collected a few reminiscences of the country-people about them.

"Many of the old people at Worton are still living, and may well be allowed to tell their own tale.

"Mary Taylor, an aged woman of ninety years, was asked if she remembered Mr. Wilson. "Oh, yes!" she replied. "I remember him well. My husband and I used to go and hear him preach. Great crowds of people came from all parts. One day, I saw the tears running down my husband's cheeks after the sermon was done. He said to me, 'What makes you look at me so?' I said, 'Well, John, I'm glad to see you as you are.' We were both crying under the effects of the sermon we had heard. My husband and I both felt it in our hearts, and I bless God that I ever heard him preach." Her daughter, Ann Gibbard, was standing by, and said that she remembered one of the last sermons at Worton. He said, "Folks say they don't know how to pray and to serve God. Now I give you one little word to remember: TRY, T-R-Y, T-R-Y."

"Two young men of the village of Swerford, named Thomas Wheeler and John King, had been living in carelessness and indifference about religion. On one occasion they set out to enjoy the pleasures of the Sunday feast in the village of Great Tew: but in the good providence of God something induced them to turn aside and enter Worton Church. They were so powerfully affected by the sermon, that by mutual consent, they gave up all idea of the feast, and on their walk home, conversing upon the things they had just heard, they went down into a stone quarry by the road side, and there, kneeling down, united in what was probably their first earnest prayer to the God of salvation. Thomas Wheeler continued a consistent Christian to the end: and John King went out as a missionary to New Zealand. Neither was this a solitary instance of the effect of Divine grace, for two other young men, belonging to Deddington, named Matthews, who received their religious impressions at about the same time, followed John King as missionaries to New Zealand."

That his residence in Oxford for these nine years was, on the whole, of decided advantage to him, we have no doubt: al-

though he himself, eighteen years afterwards, spoke of it with (we venture to think) undue depreciation.* His was just the mind that wanted such discipline. Contact with other minds, cast in a different mould and reared in a different style of thought; gave him broader views and wider toleration than most of his school possessed. Nor were his lectures on the Greek Testament and Aldrich's Logic without their use. They did for him what similar duties had done for John Wesley, (who was similarly Greek Lecturer and Logic Reader in his College;)—they enriched his discourses with matter, and gave point and vigour and clearness to his style.† Here too he found opportunities of making acquaintance with Aristotle and Jeremy Taylor and Butler and Bossuet and Pascal;—whose writings were among the best possible correctives of his earlier fatalistic tendencies.‡

Butler, in especial, seems to have exerted a very important influence on his whole mode of thinking. The latent references, which are traceable in his writings, to Butler's arguments, (e. g. on the probable nature of moral evidence, the contrast between active habits and passive impressions, the vastness of the Scheme of Redemption, and the like,) are very numerous.‖

How highly he valued Butler, appears from his "Introductory Essay," prefixed to a Glasgow edition of the Analogy; in which he speaks of him with the warmest admiration. Among other things he says; "Probably no book in the compass of theology is so full of the 'seeds of things,' to use the expression of a kindred genius, (Lord Bacon,) as the Analogy."¶

* *Life*, I. p. 132.

† We do not mean by this that Wesley's and Wilson's styles resemble each other. They are strongly contrasted. The remark in the text, however, is not the less true.

‡ His first printed Sermon, "*Obedience the Path to Religious Knowledge*," has on its Title-page a motto from the Nicomachean Ethics,—contains an extract, two pages long, from Jeremy Taylor,—and gives two passages from Pascal in the notes.

‖ In several places he makes distinct mention of Butler: e. g. First Charge, p. 30, Sixth Charge, p. 18, Sermons, pp. 425, 459, Letters to an Abs. Br., Pref. p. xxix. The gist of his Consecration Sermon lies in Butler's remark, (which he quotes at p. 23;) "Teach them, not that external religion is nothing, but that regard to one duty will in no sense atone for the neglect of any other."

¶ Mr. Bateman speaks of Wilson as "having aimed at *extending the argument from analogy*." We would, with all deference, ask, *Where* is this attempted? We strongly suspect that the idea sprang from misunderstanding a portion of Dr. Copleston's Letter to Mr. Wilson. (See the *Life*, vol. I. p. 161.) It is certain that Copleston intended nothing of the kind.

But now let us follow him from Oxford to London. His acceptance of the charge of Bedford-Row Chapel was highly honourable to his sincerity and disinterestedness. He resigned his tutorship, which with the curacy yielded £500 a year, for an income of £300. But he felt that tutorial work had a depressing influence on his religious state, leading, he says, to a "gradual decay of vital piety;"—and Mr. Cecil was most anxious to have him as his successor. He, therefore, held no further parley with his doubts, but undertook the situation of Minister of St. John's.

We will let Mr. Bateman describe the congregation to us;—

'Amongst the regular attendants were John Thornton and his sons—names suggestive of singular goodness and beneficence. There sat Charles Grant with his family, and two distinguished sons, the one afterwards as Lord Glenelg, President of the Board of Control, and Secretary of State for the Colonies; the other as Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay. There also sat Zachary Macaulay accompanied by his son, the legislative counsellor of India and historian of England: ennobling literature and now ennobled by it. Dr. Mason Good was there; a physician of high repute, the master of seventeen languages, and translator of the Psalms and the book of Job, who from a disciple of Belsham was now "sitting at the feet of Jesus." Near him might be seen Mr. Stephen and his family, Mr. Cardale, Mr. Bainbridge, Mr. Wigg, Mr. Charles Bridges, and many others of high repute and piety. Lawyers of note, also, who afterwards adorned the bench, were pewholders in St. John's. The good Bishop Ryder often attended, and Lord Calthorpe, Mr. Bowdler, the "facile princeps," as he was termed, of the rising barristers of his day, and Sir Digby Mackworth. Mr. Wilberforce was frequently present, with his son Samuel, "to take care of him." The late Duchess of Beaufort also often sought to hear him, with many members of her family. Individuals of every "sort and condition" were thus assembled—high and low, rich and poor, one with another. Thirty or forty carriages might often be counted during the London season, standing in triple rows about the doors; and though there was, as is too often unhappily the case in proprietary chapels, but scant accommodation for the poor, yet they loved to attend, and every vacant sitting-place was filled by them, the moment the doors were opened.'

Of the preacher he writes thus:—

'When through a crowd of standing auditors, he walked up the long

Rather he points out, in a very gentle and delicate, but perfectly precise, way, that the charges brought against Butler in the "Essay" are—not untrue in fact, but—irrelevant. He says: "He [Butler] has gone *as far as his undertaking required him to go*." Butler's endeavour was to bring men out of their carelessness and scepticism to *listen to* the Gospel. His book was not intended to supply a full exposition of dogmatic and practical Truth. *This*, adds Copleston, (that is, the full exhibition of Christian Truth—*not*—an extension of the argument of the Analogy) is "a work that gives ample scope for the abilities and zeal of all our fellow-labourers, and I willingly acknowledge that among them you have had a distinguished share."

side-aisle, before the sermon, with features set and full of seriousness, every eye turned towards him with a feeling of interest as to what the Lord God was about to say by his mouth. Those who have known him in the decline of life, or those even who have only known him in Islington, have no idea of his power in the pulpit of St. John's. In the decline of life, peculiarities often crept into his discourses; and in Islington, local and parochial matters upon which he wished to influence men's minds, were frequently introduced; but there was nothing of the kind at St. John's. He was then like a man, "set for the defence of the Gospel." Mr. Simeon used to say that the congregation were at his feet. All felt his power. The preaching of "Christ crucified," and the salvation of the souls of men were his great objects—never forgotten—never out of sight. There was a seriousness in his manner, before which levity shrunk abashed; an occasional vehemence, which swept all obstacles before it; a pathos and tenderness, which opened in a moment the fountain of tears; and a command, which silenced for a time the mutterings of unbelief.'

Among other testimonies to the effect of his ministry is the following:—

'A near relative of Daniel Wilson was one of a large company, when a gentleman approached and sought a personal introduction. "I wished to be introduced," he said, in explanation, "to a relative of one to whom I owe everything for time and eternity. I am only one of very many who do not know and never spoke to Mr. Wilson, but to whom he has been a father in Christ. He never will know, and he never ought to know, the good he has been the means of doing, for no man could bear it."'

Connected with St. John's was a large amount of parochial machinery,—Sunday-schools, Vestries, District Societies, &c. At one Confirmation he had as many as 525 candidates to present; of whom a large proportion were afterwards led to the Lord's Table. It was for these that he wrote his tracts on Confirmation and the Lord's Supper; both of which have gone through several editions.* Both, we may remark, have been translated into Bengalee.

The number of communicants in his congregation amounted to 700 or upwards. Sometimes as many as 500 stayed at one time. The collections in his Chapel on several occasions exceeded £200.

During the summer months he generally established his family somewhere in the country; and then placed himself at the disposal of the Bible or Church Missionary Society. On the last of these annual tours (which was in 1822) he visited the Channel islands, Normandy, and Paris. At the last of these places he made a speech in English to the Bible Society, which was delivered to the audience in French by M. Guizot.

A change, however, was at hand. He had to learn to suffer,

* We have now before us an American edition of the tract on Confirmation, (Philadelphia, 1842,) which professes to be "a reprint from the *seventeenth* London Edition."

as well as to act. Towards the close of 1822 his strength gave way, and for a while he was completely prostrate. In the following year he resumed his work for a while; but it was soon evident that an entire cessation from labour was necessary: and under medical advice he made a tour on the continent from June to November. On his return the letters he had written home were collected and published in two volumes under the title "Letters from an Absent Brother." As "Travels" they have little or no value. As a record of the impressions made on an Evangelical English Clergyman by what he saw of the Foreign Churches in 1823, they have still some interest. We need only say here that what he observed abroad sent him back to England with a deeper esteem for his own Church.*

He had scarcely settled down at home, when his old complaint returned in an aggravated form, (erysipelas,) so that for twelve months he was obliged to remain inactive; preaching during that time only once,—on the occasion of his Induction into the living of Islington, (the advowson of which had been bequeathed to him by his father-in-law.)

At the end of 1824 he resumed work,—with chastened spirits, but with no loss of activity. Some indeed complained that he seemed less fervent than he had been,—that he "restrained himself in the pulpit"—that he had been "very different at St. John's." What they said was true, though not in *their* sense;—he *was* putting a restraint on himself, schooling himself, in accordance with the advice of his old tutor, into fitness for a new course of duty. Mr. Pratt had written a letter to him, full of judicious counsel, and warning him against a renewal of those "exhausting efforts of mind" which had brought him to the brink of the grave. "Your changed circumstances," he said, "will 'require you to render prominent and characteristic in your 'ministry those qualities of tenderness and affection which will 'less exhaust your spirits in preparation and be more consola-'tory to your own soul in the delivery."

A few words may suffice to describe his Islington career. He found the parish estranged and suspicious: he brought it round to be deeply attached to him. He found them with an unliquidated debt, contracted by building a chapel-of-ease; he induced them to raise a sum of £12,000, which, with help from the King's Commissioners, enabled him to build three large new Churches. In the parish church he had three full services on Sundays, and one in the week, with morning prayers on Wednesdays, Fridays, and holidays. He had also an early Commu-

* See *Letters, &c.*, vol. I., p. 113, 170.

nion in addition to the usual celebration. He set on foot fifteen "Local Sunday-Schools," each with its lending-library. He instituted "Distict Visiting Societies" all over his parish. He successfully advocated the foundation of a Proprietary School in Islington for the sons of the upper classes.* He founded the Islington Association for the Church Missionary Society;—whose contributions now amount to nearly one-fiftieth of the Parent Society's whole income. Lastly, he composed his "Sermons on the Lord's Day," his "Lectures on Christian Evidences," (the most useful, probably, of his works,) and various occasional Pamphlets† and Addresses.

In these and the like engagements nine years passed away‡: and then, in the maturity of his powers and reputation, he was transferred to India.

There can, we think, be but one opinion about his character up to this point; and he was now in his fifty-fourth year,—a time of life when a man's character has been pretty well solidified. Every thing speaks of singleness of purpose, and devoted laboriousness in God's cause. He answered very much to the description, which he himself quotes from Jeremy Taylor,‖ of a man, "*who dares trust his proposition*, and drives it to 'its utmost issue, resolving to go after it, whithersoever it may 'invite him;" or to the character he gave of Mr. Cecil,¶ "He 'went all lengths and risked every consequence on the word 'and promise of God."

This, and no other, (we feel sure) was the spirit in which he now severed himself from all his old associations,—his family,—

* It now bears a fairly high character. The present Bishop of Lincoln was, for some time, its Head-Master.

† One of his pamphlets was a letter in favour of Roman Catholic Emancipation. Mr. Bateman observes. "Whatever judgment may be formed of the part he took in this matter, there can be no doubt as to the singleness of his purpose, and his earnest sincerity. He himself, in after years, expressed regret and a feeling of disappointment that the result had fallen short of his anticipations. But it is too soon to decide. We know but in part. The problem is even now not worked out. The results, when developed, may show that the tendency of the measure was to promote the glory of God and the good of the Church."

‡ It will readily be imagined that he could not accomplish thus much without being a rigorous economist of time. This did not add to his popularity with all. His old friend, Mr. Basil Woodd, who was fond of a little quiet talk, used to complain,—'When I go to see Mr. Wilson, before I have well settled myself in the chair and got into conversation, I hear him say, Good-bye, dear Basil Woodd, here is your hat and here is your umbrella.'

‖ Sermon and Tr., vol. I., p. 40.

¶ Ibid. p. 313. Compare also p. 559 of the same volume.

his daily enlarging circle of friends,—his newly-built library, with its ten thousand volumes,—to go to a distant country and occupy a post, which within nine years had been four times left vacant by death.

The history of his appointment is as follows. When the news of Bishop Turner's death reached England, the see was offered to several men of eminence, but (on various grounds) declined by all of them. On hearing of this, Wilson's spirit was deeply moved. He had long taken the deepest interest in missionary matters, and in India especially. Twice (in 1814 and 1817) he had been chosen to preach the Anniversary Sermon of the "Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East;" and in 1818 he had written a tract in defence of that society, which went rapidly through seventeen editions. For several years (as we have seen) he had advocated the cause of missions in various parts of England. Several of his friends—the Grants and Thorntons and Wilberforce and Macaulay—were intimately connected with, or interested in, India. Recently, too, another link had been added to this chain of influences. Turner had been invited, a little before he left England, to address the Islington Missionary Association. He did so, and afterwards when he was in private with the Vicar, begged him to send him any suggestions that might occur to him about the duties of an Indian Bishop. No notice was taken of this request at the time; but when it was repeated in a letter from Calcutta, it was cordially responded to.

We may now understand what Mr. Wilson felt when he heard that the appointment was (in colloquial phrase) "going a-begging." The idea, which thirty-four years previously had presented itself to his mind, revived in all its power. "I was compelled" he says "by conscience, and by an indescribable, 'desire, to sacrifice myself, if God should accept the offering 'and the emergency should arise." Accordingly (in December 1831) he wrote to Dr. Dealtry to say, that "if no one else could be found, he *was ready to go*." This was communicated to Mr. C. Grant; and after some delay, (arising, it would seem, from a dread of his "impulsiveness" and "impetuosity of character")* the bishopric was offered to him March 27,1832.

He left England June 19, landed at Calcutta November 5, and at once entered on work. He held an ordination on the following Epiphany; gave a series of Lent Lectures; began his monthly "semi-official synods" of the clergy, (the "semi" being useful in guarding against legal difficulties); held a con-

* See *Life*, I. p. 284 and Bp. Shirley's remark quoted at II. p. 324.

firmation; took possession of his visitor's room at Bishop's College; went to see the mission-stations near Calcutta; mediated between the dissident Trustees of the Free-School; founded an Infant-School; arranged the details of a new Church-Building Fund; set on foot a subscription for promoting *Steam Navigation between India and England;* framed rules for the guidance of the Native Churches in certain difficult cases;—* and despatched other pieces of business such as spring up so prolifically in the daily life of an Indian official.

For the first year everything moved on smoothly. His naturally buoyant spirits were excited by the novelty of all around him; and wherever he turned, success smiled on him. But in the beginning of 1834 a change came over the scene. He got into a misunderstanding with Government on a question of "prerogative." It is not easy to form an opinion on the case, as Mr. Bateman, after giving several of the Bishop's letters, (not however the important one in which the case is stated,) declines furnishing us with any of "the long arguments subse-'quently urged both by the Governor-General and the Vice-'President in Council, *in justification of the course pursued;* because" he says "even if valid, they were out of place." This is obscure. We cannot help thinking it a pity that the matter was not despatched in half a dozen lines instead of being spread over eight pages.

The Bishop's own comment on the matter, in private, was:—"We must now fall back on our proper position and high objects, the work of God and the good of souls." Here indeed was his strength. His diplomacy or casuistry might be defective; but on his own ground—that of the practical inculcation of religion—he was unsurpassed. And after all, if he could have had the authority in quasi-ecclesiastical matters, which is wielded by the Commander-in-Chief and all the Brigadiers in India, transferred to him *en masse*, would it not have been just so much taken away from his real work? Would it have enabled him to do one-tenth of the good, that (we hope) was done by the issue of the following simple paper of

"CONFIRMATION RULES."

'1. Pray every day of your life for more and more of God's Holy Spirit.

* Whether all his decisions were sound,—although he had excellent advisers in Archdeacon Corrie, and Dr. Mill—may admit of doubt: *e. g.* He decided that, if a man who had two wives became a Christian, he was bound to put one, the last whom he married, away; (*Life*, I., p. 365,) although she was certainly his *lawful* wife; and might have borne him children, or become a Christian, whilst the first had done neither.

2. Prepare at once for receiving aright the Holy Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.
3. Read every day some portion of God's Holy Word.
4. Reverence and observe the Holy Sabbath.
5. Keep in the unity of the Church.
6. Avoid bad company, and seek the company of the good.
7. When you have got wrong, confess it, and get right as soon as you can.

'In many a Bible and Prayer Book throughout India, these words will be found written: by many a civilian, soldier, East-Indian, and native Christian have they been repeated and treasured up. "Please, sir, will you give us our seven duties?" was the constant request to the Bishop's chaplain after service.'

Few persons ever had in greater perfection the faculty of laying hold of the prominent points of a subject and stating them in a concise form. He was seldom profound; not often ingenious; but he was always clear and intelligible, and generally impressive. The intellect might be dissatisfied; perhaps, the taste offended; but the moral and religious faculties had been appealed to. Something had been said that went to the root of the matter;—something that would not easily vanish from the memory. The following is a characteristic specimen of his power of concentration:—

"Once on a visit at a friend's house he was requested to officiate at morning prayers with the family, but to be very short, because of some pressing engagement. On the servants being seated, he said; "I am requested to be very short to-day: I will therefore give you Christianity in a nutshell. Our heavenly Father said of our blessed Redeemer, 'Thou art my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased.' Any soul that can say of that Redeemer, 'Thou art my beloved Saviour in whom I am well pleased' is a real Christian. Now, let us pray."

In August 1834 he commenced his Primary Visitation, which was not, strictly, concluded before March 1837. In the course of it he visited Maulmain, Singapore, Ceylon, Madras, the Malabar Syrian Churches, Bombay, Delhi, Simla, and the intermediate stations: traversing in all, by sea and land, above 13,000 miles. Instead of presenting a dry skeleton of his doings during this period, we shall take two or three of the most interesting, and give them with some fulness.

1. Among matters awaiting his decision in Ceylon was the (so-called) *Oba-wahansey* controversy. It originated thus. The Cingalese have two dialects, the familiar or spoken, and the written or dignified. This last is full of long complimentary words, which are thrown in simply "elegantiæ causâ." Thus in conversation with a friend a man would say "*oba*" for "you:"—but if he wrote a letter he must say no longer "*oba*," but "*oba-wahansey*." Now each dialect had its own version of the Scriptures;

and each had its warm advocates, who thought themselves entitled to the Bishop's support. He heard the cause, and

"recommended that the two versions should be made equally accessible, and that *time* should be the final arbiter. It was of course a Native, and not an English question; and experience would show the leaning of the native mind, and gradually bring about any change that was really desirable in the native churches. Thus the controversy for the time was stilled."

That this decision was the best, under the circumstances, scarcely admits of doubt. The Bishop evidently felt that he had got no sure footing; and he showed his usual good sense in not intermeddling with what he did not understand. We do not, however, think that the question *is* one that ought to be left for *time* to decide. It rests on principles that have been long at work elsewhere. The European languages have determined, on the whole with singular uniformity, that the simple, non-complimentary, form of the second person should be used in translations of the Bible; and this on the principle, that absolute truth, not social usage, should be there our guide. Hence the English says *Thou* not *you*, the German *Du* not *Sie*, the French *tu* not *vous*.* Hence the Bengali has decided on using *tumi* not *aponi*, and the Urdu *tu*, not *tum* or *ap*. On the same principle we hope some day to hear that our Cingalese friends have decided on adopting *oba* and discarding *oba-wahansey*.

2. If in this instance the Bishop showed a prudent reluctance to decide a matter he had not studied, he soon afterwards proved that he could act with decision, where he felt he *had* mastered his subject. On arriving at Madras, he had to deal with the CASTE question His views on this point have been, we believe, universally acquiesced in. Indeed in the opinion of some his conduct on this occasion is the great glory of his Episcopate, by which he will be hereafter known in the history of the Indian Church.

The case stood thus.—The earliest Protestant missionaries in Madras, (Ziegenbalg, Grundler, &c.,) had required their converts to renounce all caste superstitions. But after their death the insidious enemy began to creep back into the Church. First, separate *schools* were erected for Sudras and Pariahs. This was in 1726. Then in 1727 they had separate places in *church*. In 1736 they got separate *catechists*. In 1738 men of high caste refused to receive *the Holy Communion* from men of lower caste.

So matters stood in 1750 when Schwartz arrived. His plan

* The expression "*Vous, O Seigneur*," may be met with in Massillon's sermons and elsewhere. But the other is the rule.

was to root out the evil by moral influence rather than by direct authority: and, so long as he lived, the evil was at least kept in check. But when he was gone, and no men of equal calibre came in his place, it burst out with more than its former virulence. A Sudra would not allow a Pariah priest to eat with him, to preach to him, or to read the funeral service over his deceased relative. Nay, some went so far as to attend heathen feasts, and wear heathen marks on their brow, and to forbid any to marry beyond the limits of their own caste.

When Bishop Heber visited Madras, he heard what the missionaries urged in favour of introducing a stricter system: but he was not convinced. He had been led by the Rev. Christian David to think, that the native converts adhered to caste-distinctions simply as badges of ancient pedigree,—just as in Spain the Castilian (however poor) would keep aloof from persons of mixed blood. If this were so, he was of opinion that the attack should be made not so much on the usage itself as on the spirit of pride, from which it sprang: and that we ought not "to deal less favourably with the prejudices of this people, than St. Paul and the Primitive Church dealt with the almost similar prejudices of the Jewish convert." Acting under such impressions, he refused to take any measures, at present, beyond requesting that a select Committee of the Christian Knowledge Society at Madras might be appointed to inquire into the subject.

Bishop Heber himself did not live to receive the Report of this Committee. Articles of inquiry, however, were circulated, and the answers which were sent in by the missionaries collated. It turned out, that, of 27 missionaries belonging to different Societies all, with *one* exception, (Dr. Cæmmerer of the Danish mission,) stated their belief that caste was dangerous in the extreme and ought not to be tolerated in the Church.

Meanwhile the evil became more rampant: and soon after Bishop Wilson's arrival in this country he was officially informed that in the preceding year 168 native Christians had actually lapsed into heathenism. No time was to be lost. He wrote a circular letter to the native Churches in Madras (July 5, 1833,) in which after pointing out the evils of the system, he tells them that it "must be abandoned decidedly, immediately, and finally." At the end of the letter he explains, that, as regards those who were already communicants, it was to suffice if they "at once and finally" discontinued all overt acts connected with caste *in Church*; but that catechumens and confirmands should be required to renounce caste openly and before the Church.

This letter took the Missionaries by surprise, and it was not at once communicated to their flocks. Some things in it required explanation. A correspondence ensued, and in January 3, 1834, another letter was sent, containing more specific directions, and requiring the Missionary "after due notice and entreaties" to withdraw all employment and pecuniary aid from such as continued to "walk disorderly." This letter caused great excitement. At Vepery the whole body of the Sudras retired and formed a separate congregation. Many of the catechists and school-masters, after due warning, were dismissed. Some of these applied for protection to the Governor of Madras and the Governor-General. The case was even referred to the Court of Directors. But the Bishop was now strictly in order, and altogether impregnable against Government interference.

After such events it will be readily conceived that he approached Madras on his Visitation tour with some anxiety. It was a great satisfaction to him, that, soon after landing, he received a letter from Archbishop Howley, approving of the measures he had taken and promising him his support.

The stronghold of the caste system was Tanjore:—thither the Bishop hastened. The account of his visit is well told by Mr. Bateman; and is decidedly the most interesting narrative connected with the Bishop's Indian history.

After some preliminary interviews with the malcontents, the Bishop preached to them in the Mission Church. There were 750 seated inside, (of whom 300 were Sudras,) and many more were standing around the doors and windows. The text was "Walk in love, as Christ also loved us." Towards the conclusion of his sermon he dwelt on the character of the good Samaritan; and described in a pointed manner his meeting with the man in distress, his relieving him without inquiring who he was, his caring for him generously and tenderly,—and all because he was a fellow-being in trouble:—

"And what," asked the Bishop, rising from his seat, and with outstretched arms bending over the congregation which sat beneath him; "what did our blessed Master and Saviour say concerning this? What was His doctrine? What was His command? What were His words? 'Go, AND DO THOU LIKEWISE.'" A long pause of motionless and breathless silence followed—broken only when he besought every one present to offer up this prayer: "Lord, give me a broken heart, to receive the love of Christ and obey his commands." Whilst the whole congregation were repeating these words aloud in Tamul, he bowed upon the cushion; doubtless entreating help from God; and then dismissed them with his blessing."

Some days after, a conference was held at which 150 Sudras were present. The Bishop presided. He told them that the

cause of all this strife was "the fallen heart of man," which made them unwilling to receive the Christian law of love.

They were then invited to speak; which they did as follows :—

"*Devasagyam.*—In these parts Heathenism is like the sun shining strongly. Christianity is only a feeble light. It meets great hindrances from friends and foes, and if it is to spread, it must not be made difficult, and subject its converts to persecution. We do not mind being called professors of the religion of God : but we do not like to be called Pariahs. As God first threatened Nineveh and then pardoned it ; so we hope you who have threatened, will now excuse, spare, pardon us.

Rayappen Santappen.—You wish we should all come to the Lord's table without distinction. There has been no such rule from the time of our fathers. We find it very hard, and hope you will not insist upon it. Europeans have distinctions. They have family vaults.

Bishop.—And so may you have them. I have not the least objection. There is no heathenism in that.

Nyanapragasan Arroordapan.—Our Lord before his sufferings bade three disciples watch and pray, and then he went away. When He came back, He found them sleeping. And He did this again and again. So we wish you to overlook us this time. When He came the third time, He said, "Sleep on now, and take your rest :" that is what we want you to say to us.

A Native (name unknown).—The missionaries give very false accounts of the native servants.

Bishop.—Well, then, do you give a right account. I am here. I hear.

Native.—We were offended by what was said last Sunday about drunkards and adulterers.

Bishop.—Why? If none are drunkards or adulterers, why should any be offended? But what about compliance with my wishes?

Native.—We are willing to submit so far as our former customs go; but not to make any alteration.

Bishop.—Sit down.

Another Native.—I belong to the Cowkeeper tribe. Swartz converted my father, who lived to the age of ninety-eight. He endeavoured to convert others, and I have followed in his steps. My wife is dead. If I look out for another, they will say, "He is a Pariah. We won't give him a wife." The rules are very heavy. I hope they will be lightened. I gave fifty rupees to get a wife for my brother-in-law : and even then she would eat only with the heathen and not with the family. If you make us Pariahs we can get no wives.

Amoordapa Pillay.—I am a writer, employed by the Rajah. Caste does not spring from heathenism. You are misinformed. Caste is not a superstition. It is something by which respect is commanded and obtained. It is necessary for us. Pariahs are servants and slaves, who perform degrading offices. We are dishonoured by their coming near us. We can never submit. We cannot take the Sacrament with them.

Rayappen (again).—Amongst the Pariahs even, there are four or five castes. They will not eat indiscriminately. They have separate doctors and separate customs; so that even amongst these slaves, distinctions exist. They work for Soodras, perform menial offices, remove dead cattle, announce deaths; and they are paid for what they do. We love them very much. When a wedding is celebrated, we often give them a dinner. There are amongst them the washermen Pariahs, the scavenger Pariahs, and the pandaram or priest Pariahs.

Bishop.—I am glad to hear it, because they also will have something to give up, as well as the Soodras. But if a Pariah, by God's blessing, becomes learned, acquires property, buys an estate, has good manners and cleanly habits—where is the difference in God's sight between him and a Soodra? In that case all must be one in Christ.

Rayappen.—How can we make the heathen understand this? Swartz preached amongst them: some embraced Christianity: some did not. Those who did are subject to insults. The heathen will not associate with them.

Bishop.—What objection is there to that? Christians have nothing to do with heathens. They are commanded to "come out and be separate, and not touch the unclean thing." "Blessed are ye when men shall persecute you."

Rayappen.—The heathens will not even give us water to drink.

Bishop.—Will you give water to a Pariah, or drink with him?

Rayappen.—No: I will not.

Bishop.—Wherein, then, are you better in that respect than a heathen?

Rayappen.—I wish to bring in all the heathen: but your orders are a hindrance."

The conference was brought to a premature close by the intolerable rudeness of one of the interlocutors; and the Bishop dismissed them without his blessing.

Soon after, without deciding anything at Tanjore he set out for Trichinopoly. Here matters went on peaceably. For nine months not one of the Soodras had been near the Church. They now flocked in to hear the Bishop; and before his departure it was arranged that at a communion service about to be held a Sudra should receive first, then two Pariahs, then a European gentleman, then a Sudra, then some East Indians. The plan was carried out and thus the main point secured:—the nucleus of a sound Native Church of the future was formed.

On his return to Tanjore the same policy was pursued; and with the same success. Three hundred and forty-eight persons communicated; of whom 62 were Europeans, and 286 native Christians, 43 of them being Sudras.

The churches were thus re-established on a solid foundation.

3. In a charge which the Bishop delivered at Tanjore, he had said; "Perhaps not one in twenty of those who come out 'from Europe, in all the Protestant societies, with the best pro'mise, and who go on well for a time, persevere in the disin'terestedness of the true Missionary." This sentence was read in Calcutta, and remonstrances were sent in to him on his return by both Church and Dissenting missionaries. No satisfactory explanations were given; and the wound long remained unhealed.

The truth is, the Bishop *meant* what he said, and *was right*

in what he said: but was not right in saying it as he did. He was speaking in reference to *one* standard; and his words would naturally—almost certainly—be interpreted according to *another*. In his Anniversary Sermon of 1814,* he had said to the missionaries; "You must look upon yourselves as separated and dedicat-'ed to the energies of your high vocation. *You must be self-annihi-'lated. You must regard every thing as given up. ... The Missionary 'treads the highest walk of human effort.*" This was the standard doubtless, to which he was referring in his charge at Tanjore. Who would resent his words, so interpreted?

If the persons who felt themselves aggrieved by the above expressions had known the way in which Bishop Wilson was apt to speak of himself, (of which there are too many specimens in Mr. Bateman's volumes) they would have been readily pacified. So much we may urge in mitigation of the seeming harshness of his censure: and yet, at the same time, we admit that it would have been far better, if, *in speaking of others*, he had pitched his standard at the point, not of ideal excellence, but of what our old divines call "*a probable* profession."

4. During this same period he came into collision with the Church Missionary Society on the question of jurisdiction over their missionaries.

We do not see that the concession to a Society or Committee of the power to fix the station of their missionaries, involves anything *in principle* different from what is involved in lay-patronage in the church at home. The colonial Bishops themselves are nominated by laymen. But, that in general the arrangement of stations is better left to the Bishop, we firmly believe. In all such questions, however, *tact* is the great solvent. Mr. Bateman well remarks, that "under the wise and gentle management"—the *mitis sapientia*—"of Archdeacon Corrie no rip-'ple had appeared upon the waters, but the Corresponding Com-'mittee had been content to register his experienced decision and 'to carry out his prudent counsels."

The consequence of the above controversy was to bring upon Bishop Wilson the unmerited suspicion of *high-churchmanship*: so that in July 1835 we find him writing to his old friend the Rev. F. Cunningham:—"Rely upon it, the reports you hear about my extreme churchmanship are all unfounded." On more than one occasion afterwards he had to adopt a similar apologetic tone.

(5.) Another matter occurred about this time, which claims a passing notice, since it excited great interest at the time, and,

* Sermons and Tracts vol. i., page 128-9.

as Mr. Bateman observes, brought the Bishop "praise which he did not desire and censure he did not deserve."

The "Martinière" under the first decision of the Supreme Court (in 1832) was to have been in connexion with the Church of England. Three years later, the Governors of the Institution had this decision altered;—much to the Bishop's regret. Though beaten, however, on this point, he went on to maintain that "to 'teach Christianity without catechism, forms, or creeds was im-'possible;" and his arguments prevailed so far that Sir E. Ryan allowed his own proposition "That the school be conducted *generally on the principles of Christianity*" to be modified thus: "That the public religious instruction given to the children of 'the school be in conformity with *the principles held in common by 'the English, Scotch, Roman, Greek, and Armenian Churches.**" To give effect to this resolution, it was agreed that the Bishop, Dr. St. Leger, the Roman Catholic Bishop, and Mr. Charles, Chaplain of the Scotch Church, should be requested to draw up a catechism and a form of prayers for the use of the Martiniére. This was accordingly done, and done well,—with as much candour as perhaps ever swayed the deliberations of a board of Polemics. But they who undertake a work of compromise, must be content to look for their reward elsewhere than to their fellow men. All the parties to this "Formula of Concord" suffered for it. Dr. St. Leger was recalled by the General of his order, (the Jesuits); Mr. Charles was called to account by his brethren in Scotland; and Bishop Wilson was lauded by Lord Lansdowne and the Council of Education (in 1839) for the support his example gave to their latitudinarian scheme of "general instruction in Christianity."

Over the following years of his episcopate we shall tread with lighter step. His second visitation began in July 1838; in the course of which he travelled to Singapore in one direction and Simla in the other, spending the summer of 1839 at Simla. His second *Charge* was chiefly directed against the "Traditionist Scheme." In a mere controversial point of a view, its value was not great; but as the earnest *protest* of a pious Bishop, looking on from a distance and warning not only his own diocese but the Church at large of an approaching danger, it was not without weight. The vehement assertion and declamatory style of address, which took away from its *argumentative* effect, added force to it as a Protest.

This remark, indeed, would apply to most of his charges and controversial writings. His *positive* views were almost always

* See Mr. Bateman's Pamphlet "*La Martinière, &c.*" (London, 1839.)

right;—it could not be otherwise with one who was so constant and reverent a reader of the Sacred Text.* But his attempts at *refutation* were rarely successful.† Justifiably bold so long as he remained inside his own entrenchments, he was often weak and vacillating outside them. Frequently he would lay vigorously about him in demolishing a phantom dogma, such as none of his opponents would ever have thought of maintaining; (*e. g.* no sect of Christians, and certainly not Dr. Pusey, ever attributed *indefectible* grace, or an *unconditionally saving* efficacy, to the sacrament of Baptism,‡) or in vehemently maintaining what they would never have denied, (*e. g.* the importance of the conversion of the heart to God.||) Sometimes his real love of fairness would lead him to make a concession, which his impetuosity soon after made him forget: *e. g.* in his second charge he first speaks of the "Traditionist Scheme" as a *Re-action* produced by "a giant evil" of those days, which he describes as "*that rage for unset-'tling all old foundations, that general contempt of Christian anti-'quity*, &c.," and then after eleven pages he turns round, and ad-'dresses the Re-actionist party thus: "And why this new 'school of divinity? Ancient testimony in its proper place who 'had undervalued?...The study of primitive antiquity *who had 'renounced?* The witness of the early Fathers *who had disparag-'ed?*" Defects and inconsistencies of this kind, unhappily, served to make those whom he assailed believe that they had a monopoly of reason.¶

In August 1842 he opened his third Ordinary, and first

* We would commend to the thoughtful reader a very beautiful passage on the duty of seeking be to "cast as it were into the whole shape and form and lineament of the Scriptures," in his 2nd Sermon on the death of Rev. T. Scott, (*S. and Tr.*, vol. I., p. 557.)

† Anything like subtlety or refinement (especially of a metaphysical kind) repelled him. He called it, having a *minute* mind. "I stand" he would say "on plain, broad, principles." This was an intelligible position, —*if he had adhered to it.*

‡ See *Prim. Metropolitical Charge*; p. 47-48. 2nd *Metropolitical Charge*, p. 66-67.

|| See *Sermon on Regeneration*, (Serm. and Tr., vol. I., p. 87.)

¶ We have no wish to enter on a matter, to which Mr. Bateman gives considerable prominence,—the relations of the Bishop to Mr. Street of Bishop's College. It does not fall within our scope to do more than quote the Bishop's very characteristic description of him; "Professor Street is about thirty years of age, ripe scholar, iron constitution, fine health, active, enterprizing, zealous for missions, prodigal of his strength, rides twenty miles of a morning in the sun, manners good, no great talker; in short, he would have been a capital Professor, if he had not been imbued for seven years—steeped—in Tractarianism."

Metropolitical, Visitation; which took him again to Singapore, Madras, Colombo, Bombay, and Simla. At this last place he spent the summer of 1844, chiefly engaged in writing his "*Lectures on the Colossians.*"

In November, on his way down from the hills, he had a severe attack of fever, accompanied with delirium, which brought him to the brink of the grave, and rendered a visit to Europe necessary. He, therefore, came down by easy stages to Calcutta, opened his Fourth Visitation, (the charge being *read* for him,) and in May 1845 embarked for England, having first written a letter to his children, "announcing his departure and '*laying on them a solemn charge not to attempt either by word or* '*deed to influence his mind or persuade him to relinquish his con*- '*scientious purpose of returning to India.*"*

He had gone out to India in the spirit of Abraham's faith; the greater part of his time in it had been spent in wandering from place to place looking forward—not to a retirement in England, but to a City that has imperishable foundations. England was now to him a foreign land, India his adopted country. Here he had purchased his cave of Machpelah; and here he hoped to deposit his body, as a symbol of the entirety of his obedience to God's call, and of his identification of his own interests with those of the Church in India.

His English visit was cheering and beneficial to him. He mixed largely with representatives of every section of church-sentiment:—visiting amongst others the Bishop of Exeter; who seems to have been struck with the energy and simplicity of his character; and who, writing to him, after his return, said; "No difference of sentiment on points even of grave importance, can impair my regard for you."† His impressions of the state of the Church were favourable. He thought "the number of active, pious, laborious, clergy greatly increased" since he left England.‡

He returned to Calcutta in December 1846; and drove at once, on landing, to his CATHEDRAL, where he found his clergy assembled and ready to join him in the thanksgiving which he then offered up.

* *Life*, II., p. 243.

† *Life*, II., p. 313.

‡ As Mr. Bateman has thought it necessary to introduce into his narrative, with a highly dramatic air, an "impulsive" address which the Bishop delivered to the Propagation Society, soon after landing, it may not be amiss if we suggest to him the desirableness of weighing well what the Bishop says on this very point in his *Farewell to England*; pp. 191 and 192.

Of the history of this Church we must say a few words. In 1838 it had been proposed to add a chancel to St. John's: but the plan which was sent in was not thought satisfactory. About the same time there was a general feeling abroad that a new Church was wanted for Chowringhee. The two projects meeting together suggested a third—the erection of a New Cathedral. The Bishop first announced his idea in March 1839; and, having once given it shape, he proceeded with his usual promptitude* to carry out the idea into act. The Government of India granted the site in June: the first stone was laid in October 8; and that day eight years (October 8, 1847) the Cathedral was consecrated. The total amount subscribed towards it was seven lakhs and a half, five for the building and the remainder for an endowment-fund. Of this the Bishop himself gave nearly one-third, viz., *two and a quarter lakhs.* His liberality indeed was princely throughout his episcopate.

To inquire with some whether so large a sum were wisely expended on one building, were both infructuous, and too much in the temper of those who asked, "Wherefore was this waste?"† All India felt, and still feels, the benefit of having such an example.

Possibly, too, a time may yet come when his larger views about the use of this Church may be realized. He did not think of it simply as a Cathedral and Parish Church. He meant it to be an important help to the work of evangelization. He speaks of this over and over again,—in reports, letters, addresses, sermons—and refers to it as its *main* purpose. By its means he hoped to secure "a fixed and indigenous body of Clergy, dedicated to India alone and for life," and "learned lecturers on the Evidences."‡ He told the Archbishop of Canterbury that it was "chiefly 'designed for a Cathedral Missionary Establishment for six or 'more canons."‖ In his last sermon in England in 1846, he

* The following specimen of his energetic punctuality is too good to be passed over. It relates to the fitting up of the New Palace. 'The moment that the assent of the Government was expressed, he wrote to the builder, who was charged with the alterations and improvements, as follows:—"April 25th. Now is the time. From April 25th to December 25th are eight months. You must have all finished by the latter day. Let not the sun go down before you have made a beginning." This characteristic note, which was sent at six o'clock in the morning, elicited a corresponding answer the same evening, as follows:—"Agreeable to your orders, both men and materials were sent to the new Palace, and the work was commenced within a few hours after I received your Lordship's favour of this day.—C. MACINTOSH."'

† St. Mark, xiv. 3—9.

‡ Letter to S. P. C. K. (Report, p. liii.)

‖ Farewell to England, App. p. xvii.

said; "Its NATIVE MISSION is its great and glorious purpose."*
And in his 2nd Metropolitical Charge, (November 1848) he said:
"The third object, the most important of all, that of a Native 'or Mission Church for an indigenous ministry, is necessarily of 'slow progress. It is not, and will not be, appreciated by the 'present age. An Indian Cathedral must be for future genera-'tions ...... I rejoice to think that in some future period an 'Indian Bishop may preside over an Indian Chapter and adminis-'ter divine offices to a crowd of Indian converts in this first 'Protestant Cathedral of our Eastern possessions."

Of the last nine years of his life our record need only be brief. Between November 1848 and March 1852 he went from Calcutta to Bombay—to Allahabad—to Debroghur in Assam—to Singapore and Borneo. In 1854 he again went as far as Allahabad. In 1855 he performed the highest of episcopal acts, by the consecration of a Bishop for Labuan;—after which he commenced his Sixth Visitation, and went to Burmah and Singapore.

His step was still quick and resolute; his eye sight strong; his spirits cheerful; his mind active. His punctuality and business-habits remained to the last. We remember his telling with a smile of gratification that Lord Dalhousie had spoken of him to Lord Canning, as "the best man of business he had to do with in India."

At the end of 1856 he had a fall, by which his thigh was fractured; but although in his 79th year he rallied,—and survived to preach two public sermons† during the darkest days of the mutiny, and to hold another ordination on November 30, 1857. This was his last public act. On the 2nd of January following he was released from his long warfare. A few hours before his death, he scrawled a note to the Archdeacon, which is deciphered thus:

"7½ P. M. All going well, but I am dead almost. D. C. Firm in hope."‡

In his last will (made in 1856) he directed that plain tablets should be put up in the Cathedral, in Bishop's College Chapel, and in St. Mary's, Islington, recording his name, time of birth, period that he was Vicar of Islington, and Bishop of Calcutta, date of death, and that nothing more should be added but this text, "GOD, *be merciful to me a sinner.*"

Few men, we may safely say, lived more entirely through

* Farewell to England, p. 194.

† "On United Prayer," and A Humiliation Sermon."

‡ Compare his *Fourth Charge*, p. 13.

life in the spirit of humble contrition, than he had done. The *subjective* character of his mind led him often to *speak* of this in public. He even concluded his Fourth and Sixth Charges with quotations of this text.* Such evidence of his sentiments ought to have been sufficient. Mr. Bateman seems to have thought otherwise. We deem it right,—we consider it a public duty,—to notice this; for the evil is a growing one. We would deprecate in the strongest possible way the notion that it is necessary for a biographer to drag together all a man's private confessions of sin, and publish them to the world. It is a most injurious practice, and tends to defeat the very object that ought to be aimed at by a man's ownself in registering these private memoranda. If the present practice goes on, all honest men will prefer to forego the advantage of keeping such records. This very memoir supplies evidence confirmatory of what we are saying. Look at what is implied in the following entry:† "January 12, 1830. Twenty-three years have passed since I wrote in this journal. I can scarcely say, why. I believe that I ceased to write, because pride gradually increased, and I could not even describe the state of my soul without some inflation, which spoiled all." Unless such documents be intended to be strictly and inviolably private, some such feeling will almost certainly creep in, and so the legitimate use of the Diary will be destroyed;—and that, with no advantage to the world at large, for the very thing that constitutes the supposed value of these records to the public is—their (presumed) *abandon* and absolute privacy. If the journal, then, were *not* written with the intention that it should be strictly private, it has no value; if it *were* so written, to violate its sanctity is almost sacrilegious.

Nor is this the only evil. It tends to misrepresent a man,—and through him, religion. The chief characteristic of Christian faith is joy in God,—victory over the world,—fruitfulness in good works. Now when a man has been pursuing his course straight through "the burden and heat of the day," whatever service he may have done for God, he will, on reviewing his work at the end of the day, be penetrated with a sense of his shortcomings; and the higher he has advanced in real goodness the deeper will be his sense of unworthiness. But if we collect these evening confessions and present them in rapid succession, we give an utterly incorrect impression of the life *as a whole*—something like what Mr. Alfred Smee has so graphically described as the appearance of the landscape during the late

* See also "Sermons and Tracts," vol. I., pp. 519, 578; and Life, I., p. 229.

† Life: vol. I., p. 272.

eclipse, when perspective was almost lost and "outlines and black shadows" became the leading characteristics.*

But our space is exhausted, and we must hasten to close this sketch;—not, however, till we have attempted to give some reply to a question which many of our readers will (we foresee) have put to us:—*What of his position as a Churchman;—was he 'High-Church' or 'Low.'*

We are answering in the spirit of Daniel Wilson himself, if we say, he was *neither*, or rather he was *both*. In his first printed Sermon (in 1810) he quotes a passage from Pascal to the effect that men frequently run into dangerous error from holding one truth to the exclusion of another; whereas in religion and morals many truths, that *seem* to be conflicting, must be held together.† We all recognize this in certain cases. No well-instructed Christian child would hesitate what to answer, if asked, *do you follow St. Paul or St. James?* It were well, if the same care and pains, which have been bestowed on clearing up the connexion between faith and love, justification and sanctification, predestination and free-agency, could be brought to bear on that other question, the relations of the individual believer and of the Church to Christ.

There are two ways of speaking in Scripture corresponding to two important truths. It is written: "Who loved the Church and gave Himself for it:" and also: "Who loved me and gave Himself for me." He is the sound Churchman, who holds both these truths in harmony:—and so we believe Bishop Wilson did. We are far from saying that he always did this with the same degree of clearness: but still this was what in the main he struggled after.

* Few can have attended a Native Church service without being struck with the constant,—the dominant,—recurrence of the words "*pap*" and "*papi*" in the HYMNS. Is this all we can do towards reaching the state of which it is said, "Blessed are the people, O Lord, *that know the joyful sound*?"

To give another instance of the same modern tendency.—In a historical lecture given at Geneva in 1857 by M. Viguet, we have the following passage: 'Even the frivolous and worldly *Ovid* produced words of wisdom and thoughts which, coming from his pen, surprise us......It is he that puts the following *almost Christian sentence* [! !] into the mouth of Medea; "I see that which is right, and I approve of it; and I pursue the most evil courses."' (We quote from the English Translation published by Nisbet.) Alas for the prospects of Christianity in India, if we have no more cheering view of it than *that* to bring before the sin-oppressed Hindu.

† Leur faute n'est pas de suivre une fausseté: mais *de suivre une vérité à l'exclusion d'une autre.* Il y a un grand nombre de vérités, et de foi et de morale, qui semblent repugnantes et contraires, et qui subsistent toutes dans un ordre admirable. *Penseés*, t. ii. p. 175.

(Quoted *Serm. and Tr.*, vol. I. p. 45.)

At first it was natural that the question of his individual, personal, relation to Christ should absorb his whole attention. This was to him the question of questions. And never throughout life did he relax his grasp of it. As to the second question, —the nature and constitution and privileges of the Church of Christ,—it was one that in those days was rarely asked. He had been guided into the knowledge of God by clergymen of the English Church: he was content to be where providence had placed him. They bore with them their own credentials in their scriptural teaching and holy lives. They were to him representatively the Church. He had rather have Mr. Scott on his side than all the authors of the *Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum.* He commonly called him *Father* Scott; and to the end of his life was in the habit of reading through his commentary once a year.

This was the first stage;—in which he was attached to the Church of England chiefly because it was the Church of Newton and Scott and Cecil.

Then came the second stage, when he had examined the character of the English Church for himself. He found that it was distinguished by the profoundest respect for holy Scripture; that it had been a bulwark, in days of darkness and peril, against Romanism, Socinianism, and infidelity: and that its formularies breathed the spirit of the purest piety and devotion. He saw too that it had vast importance as a national institution; and that if its parochial organization were removed there was nothing to take its place.* All this was sufficient for him, *as a fact.* God had led him into what was to him, *actually*, the representative of Christ's Church,—the Dispenser of God's Word and Sacraments to the nation. What its *right* was to occupy such a position, was a question of which we believe no traces occur in his earlier writings. Indeed his cast of mind was eminently practical. "*I dread theories in religion,*"† he once said. Religion was to him a *fact.* God was calling men everywhere to repentance. The work of the Church was to proclaim that call. Providence had called him to be a Minister of the Church. He therefore threw himself, heart and soul, into the field of labour provided for him by the Church; giving effect to all the various portions of her discipline, and doing all he could to extend her organization.

Up to this time, then, we meet with nothing that can in any way be thought to correspond to *Church Principles.* He

* Life: I. pp. 158, 270.

† Tanjore Charge, 1835: p. 70.

might have acted as he did, if he had believed the Church to be simply an aggregation of volunteer units held together by the bonds of expediency.

But now we arrive at a third stage in his history. He was consecrated Bishop. He entered an order, which from the time of Ignatius downward had been looked upon as the divinely-ordained instrument for the maintenance of the Church's unity. And he came out to exercise these functions in India, where the very presence of heathenism forces on the mind the inquiry, "*Where is your Commission?* What are your credentials?" It was scarcely possible to set aside the theoretical investigation any longer.

Accordingly in his Indian Charges we find him referring to the "unbroken succession of the Apostolical Commission from the Primitive age,"* and speaking of "the Divine authority of the Episcopal Polity."† In one place he goes yet further, and inculcates definitely the duty of "a firm reliance on the 'larger measure of the presence of Christ with His Church than 'with any schemes which men might devise and substitute.‡" Here he distinctly adopts the idea, which has exercised so potent an influence on the Churches of England, Scotland, and Germany within the last thirty years;—the idea that the Church stands in a real, corporate, relation, to its Invisible Head, which relation is ordinarily the channel, through which certain privileges flow from the Head to all true and faithful members.

He used this principle, however, not polemically, but as a ground of practical comfort and encouragement. He ever rejoiced in believing that other communities, who, from no fault of their own, had a less perfect organization, were still Churches of Christ.

He had several times (as we have already seen) to bear the imputation of High-Churchism from his friends in England on account of his proceedings in India. He did not attempt to *justify* himself, though he repudiated the charge. As usual, he dreaded *theory*. He felt how momentous assertions on such subjects were. He was not prepared to make them. He had a great practical work pressing upon him, and must do that, using all the helps that God had given him, whether he could minutely explain the rationale of such helps or not. *He must* ACT, whatever the exact degree of weight which belonged to this or that exposition of speculative truth.

* See *First Charge*, p. 19 Sermon on Ap. Comm. p. 26 and Ordinat. Serm. 1837.

† Ordination Sermon 1841, p. 81, and App. p. xxiv.

‡ Charge 1838 p. 30. L C

But admitting that, on the whole, there was a deficiency in Bishop Wilson as regards ecclesiastical sentiment, in its strictest sense; let us boldly avow that he abounded in that which must for ever be the basis of all true Church-feeling,—love and reverence for Holy Scripture. It was the guide of his life;—his daily food;—to use St. Augustine's phrase, perpetuæ deliciæ ejus. Whatever other differences there may be between him, and any of his predecessors or successors, here is the golden chain, which, let us hope, will always bind them together in true Unity. He himself delighted to think of this fundamental community of sentiment as stretching down from the first of the line. "The arms of the see of Calcutta "he said," chosen by the first Bishop will, I trust, never be belied by his successors,—an *unfolded Bible* with the pastoral staff reverently placed, where it ought to be, behind it."*

We have now discharged our task. We undertook—not to write a Panegyric, but—to give a calm and discriminative sketch of the principles and habits of one, on whose memory we, in common with the great majority of our readers, look back with kindly and reverential regard. If we have furnished any suggestions that may lead to a truer appreciation of his single-hearted, devout, laborious, life, our end will have been attained.

* Second Charge p. xxiv.

ART. V.—*Oudh Administration Report for* 1858-59. *Published by the Government of India.*

THE policy pursued by the Government of India towards Oudh since the reconquest of the country has been of so marked a character and of so novel a kind, and has also been, up to the present time, so decidedly successful, that we think we are quite justified in bringing to the notice of our readers the leading features of this policy and in recording some of its practical results.

The characteristic mark of the treatment which Oudh has received at the hands of its new master has been a large and consistent liberality. By this term we mean not simply munificence in granting rewards to loyal chiefs, nor magnanimity in condoning or lightly chastising rebellion ; but the adoption of enlightened and far seeing views on all the main questions of administration, a liberal construction in the assessment of revenue, a liberal sympathy with the higher classes, a vigorous and, as yet, highly successful effort to enlist the influence of the leading men on our side, and, '*pari passu*,' a never ceasing endeavour to cause this liberality to react to the advantage of the poorer classes, without any direct or unpalatable interference of the officers of the local Government. To understand how the present objects of the administration are being worked out, there is one word which should be borne in the minds of our readers a word which every officer in Oudh should look on as expressing what is the basis of his success and denoting the safest means to ensure it—'*Influence*,' the power of the upright strong willed and just Englishman exerted over those through whom alone he must hope to act, and against whose opposition he will find his best intentions misunderstood, his kindest efforts ineffectual, and his energies thwarted if not wholly thrown away.

Let every officer look on himself as valuable to the Government and an efficient servant of it, in proportion as he feels he possesses the power to do good by the exercise of his influence with the population with whom he is directly brought into contact. Let him by unremitting courtesy and above all by untiring patience make himself an object of resort to those who stand in need of his advice and his assistance, and while compelled, as he often is, and as his sympathies lead him, to stand between the strong and the weak, let him recollect that a permanent alleviation of suffering is more likely to be attained by the mediatory weight of his influence, than by the just exertion of his authority.

But we are anticipating ourselves, we are putting the moral before the fable and shall reserve any further reflections for the latter portion of our article, where they may be properly introduced as applications of the particular facts which we now proceed to discuss without further preface.

The period which it is proposed to consider, is that subsequent to the pacification of the province by Lord Clyde. This may be conveniently set down as beginning with the year 1859. Then opened a new era on Oudh, not because a new policy was then initiated, but because it was then just possible to carry out in all their details the measures which had been decided on as appropriate for the Government of the country. True that some portions of the west and south of Cudh had been for some months comparatively quiet; true that the majority of the Bainswara clan was unresisting or prepared to submit; but there were still heads of revolt which required to be crushed or expelled. Not till late in 1858 did Benee Madho leave the fort and jungles of Shunkarpoor. Not till the last month of that year, did Feroze Shah see that the game was up in Oudh, that the soi disant Royal family were only a purposeless puppet in the hands of a skulking rabble, and that the struggle was only maintainable where the hill and forest of Central India gave a wide field for flight and foray to rebellious restlessness. It was not till 1858 that he saw that he was supporting a dynasty which the enthusiasm of its own country had abandoned, and made his escape by that wild dash across Oudh which is looked on as the most daring feat of the war, and which placed him with the shattered remnants of his free lances in the welcome fastnesses of Central India.

But by the 1st of January 1859 the whole opposition of the rebels in Oudh was concentrated in the body of men who slowly retreated northwards as the veteran general advanced, till they found themselves across the British boundary in the low wooded hills and valleys which form the frontier of Nepal. A wild country, inhabited by a peaceful people under a rule not ours, stopped in the main any further advance on our part. Nearly all the guns and all the munitions of war had previously fallen into our hands, during the different encounters which occurred wherever our forward columns caught up the wary foe. Disorganized and without any chief of military renown, they still fancied that they had secured a retreat whence, refreshed by rest and aided by the sympathies of the Nepalese, they could hereafter continue the contest and raise again the standard of rebellion. False hopes! From the day when the worn-out remnants of the once confident mutineer sepoys entered the wild hill country of Nepal their doom was sealed.

Plundered by the natives, thinned by the desertion of those who longed to exchange the ungenial climate of the north for the sun of their southern villages, and finally decimated by disease which prostrated minds and bodies, they suffered all the miseries which they had themselves inflicted on others; and unable to credit the sincerity of the spirit which offered an amnesty to all past offences, they died in suffering and silence, in forest and in plain, of hunger and sickness, with frightful rapidity.

Some months later a fraction of them, gaunt, famine and fever stricken, victims of combined patriotism and incredulity, returned to Oudh; some to die in our gaols not as prisoners but as hospital patients, and the rest to seek with tottering steps and death stricken limbs the sites of their former happy homes. Happy indeed he who found a home! Many found sad changes—new masters, new interests, new settlers, new grantees had filled *their* places, and the man who in old times had sought his home proud in the distinction of being a British soldier, now crept back to his village a marked and taunted wretch to drag on his days under surveillance and eat the scanty pittance earned by daily toil.

Future years will reveal the true story of the actual suffering caused by the mutiny of 1857, and which re-acted on the authors of it. When time has given confidence to the tongue we shall hear stories from old rebels whose lips fear now seals up. It is still early to expect the 'confessions of a mutineer.' Complicity in the revolt must still wear the colours though it meets not with the reward of crime, but hereafter we shall be able more justly to appreciate the sickening blow under which our enemies have been crushed. Those of our readers who have seen the report of the administration of Oudh for the year, 1858 while the province was in the hands of Sir R. Montgomery, will not want to be more than reminded of the steps then taken to bring about a resettlement of the province.

It having been decided that the Revenue administration should be on a different footing for that devised at annexation, when the general character of the settlement was to deal with small village holders in preference to large Talookdars, the necessary basis for the change was sought for and found in the proclamation of the Governor General of March 1858, which declared the whole of the soil of Oudh (with a few exceptions) to be confiscated, and all rights and titles in it to have ceased. This left the Commander-in-Chief at liberty to inaugurate a new regime. No question of existing interests could hamper him in his future course, and he proceeded at once to remedy the confessed evils which our previous mode of settlement had caused. It

has been usual to refer to the March 1858, proclamation as an empty blast, a dead letter; but that such was not the case may be learned from the fact that the full penalties of it were enforced against some persistent rebels, who, unable or unwilling to accept the offered amnesty, were either proscribed by us, or placed beyond the pale of negociation by their own obstinate adherence to delusive expectations.

As a matter of fact, land in Oudh of the annual value of Rs. 12,46,720 (or nearly 12½ lacs) was confiscated under the Governor General's proclamation, and the titles thus vested in Government, have been from time to time given away in rewards to loyal men who did good service in the hour of need. This amount represents an area of about ⅛ of the whole of Oudh, so that it can hardly be said that a measure which has had such effects, was a dead letter, while too, a further significance is added to it by the fact that every estate now held by a Talookdar in Oudh is held by virtue of a sunnud given under the authority which once deprived him of every acre. But we are harping on old themes, and it is our more immediate object to set before our readers some of the later acts of Government which exemplify the policy pursued towards the province.

Starting then from the 1st January 1859, the date which for convenience we have assigned to the conclusion of the campaign which replaced Oudh fully in the hands of the Civil power, we shall proceed to sketch the course of successive measures adopted for the well governing of the country and the well being of the people.

The system of the Civil Government of Oudh is too well known to our Indian readers to need more than a brief allusion here. The non-regulation principle of the union of all authority in one head, is that adopted in the Punjab. The Chief Commissioner unites in his person the fullest powers of every branch of the Executive, and the principle is repeated in every subordinate officer within the limits of his own jurisdiction.

The collection of Revenue, the Criminal and Civil Courts, the promotion of all works of public utility, such as roads and bridges, the establishment, ferries, bazaars and schools are all vested in the local chief officer, who is termed the Deputy Commissioner. His powers are considerable, and the Code which he is called on to administer is one of stern severity.

Up to the end of 1859 the special Acts XIV., XVI. and XVII. of 1857 were re-enacted and held applicable to Oudh. These enactments, especially XVI., visit all offences against property or person with tremendous penalties. Capital punishment may be legally inflicted in Oudh for burglary if attended with vio-

lence, and the same penalty awaits the disturber of the peace in affrays, once so common in the province, and to repress which it was ordered that the sentence of death might be passed and executed on offenders, even in those cases in which no loss of life resulted from the contest.

But this code was for peaceful times. Up to the beginning of 1859, every Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner in Oudh was to be ex-officio a Special Commissioner under the Acts of 1857; he was thus armed individually and irresponsibly with the powers of life and death. Happily however the exercise of these functions has been rarely called for, and the Criminal Code has been to all intents and purposes no harsher than it is at the time we write.

Death cannot be inflicted without the concurrence of the Chief Commissioner.

In all secondary punishments the Judicial Commissioner has full and final powers.

Transportation for life, in irons and with labor, unlimited fine and *a fortiori* all modifications of these sentences, are vested in that Officer.

Commissioners, sitting as Sessions Judges, can imprison for 16 years, give 200 stripes and impose fines at discretion.

Next in order stands the District Officer, and his range nearly equals that of a Commissioner in the Punjab – seven years' imprisonment, which can be made constructively to involve transportation, 100 lashes and a fine of 10,000 Rs. are the terrors of the law wielded by a District Officer in Oudh.

A Magistrate's full powers belong to a 1st Class Assistant Commissioner; or one of a lower grade may be specially empowered to the same extent. By such officers the infliction of the lash up to 50 stripes, is permitted, but no lower authority awards a punishment so terrible in its severity and in its nature inadmissible of remedy by appeal.

The great use of the lash in Oudh practically simplifies the course of appeals.

These are guided by the simple rule that one appeal lies from the sentencing Court to the next Supreme Court where a confirmation of the previous decision is final on judicial grounds; whereas a difference of opinion opens the door to a further appeal.

The Civil administration may be very briefly disposed of. The Deputy Commissioner is Civil Judge in all the Districts of Oudh except in Lucknow, where there is a special Officer for this Department.

All cases up to Rs. 1000 value are determinable by the Assis-

tant Commissioner, all above that sum are decided by the Deputy Commissioner. The law of appeal is on the same principle as that in criminal cases, and need not be repeated here.

But increased authority in the Civil Officer was not the only instrument used by the Government of Oudh. A strong and well disciplined body of Military Police, who, if any thing, were too much rather than too little of the regular soldier, was substituted for the old Thannah police. In a country lately the battle-field of a national rebellion, it was probable that, till arms were yielded up, and till feelings irritated by defeat and submission, were smoothed down, there might still be a stubbornness which the untrained activity and rude weapons of the "Burkundaz" could not successfully oppose, and which would call for the disciplined line and martial bearing of a well drilled Infantry Regiment, against which the idea of resistance would seldom occur to the native mind. Fifteen Regiments, each 800 strong, were raised, equipped and modelled on the pattern of the Scinde Police. That force, raised by the orders and under the eye of Sir C. Napier, was considered rightly to have answered well the purposes of its constitution. They consisted of Cavalry and Infantry, and had at least as much knowledge of drill and power of formation as any of the irregular troops which have always abounded in India.

Strong Detachments of this Military Police, which up to the end of 1858 was used as a force of regulars and as such had been brigaded with the different columns which traversed Oudh, were placed in the sites of our old Police posts or in those towns which it was considered necessary to overawe. Two English Officers of Police were attached to each District, and 3 Districts were placed under the supervision of a Divisional Commandant. As the column swept northward during the two last months of 1858 these Police took up the posts assigned to them, and completed the work of the bayonet and the sabre in fort and jungle by disarming the whole of the population. The known habit of the people of Oudh, in all except a few of the more peaceful and poorer northern jungle tracts, was for each man to carry a sword, dagger and shield, and to these many added a matchlock. The Brahmins and Rajpoots, to a man, had each their stand of arms. The Mussulmans who chiefly lived in towns were equally furnished, with perhaps a greater preponderance of flint and percussion muskets and pistols. The lower classes used the sword or spear—while the Passee tribe, a numerous and turbulent caste, which under the Oudh Government performed the offices of village watchman, village thief and general marauder, and ran errands for any one who would either pay him or let him

plunder others, used the bamboo bow with great skill and effect. During the whole of the cold weather of 1858-59, disarming went on with extraordinary rapidity. Every district Officer, every Officer of Police attended by a detachment of the force, went from village to village, town to town, and compelled a surrender of guns, firelocks, swords and all the other varieties of lethal weapons which Indian handicraft had in its fertility of imagination devised. Evasion was met by firmness, recusance by fine, and by the lash where fine was inapplicable. The terrors of the law were great. Any person convicted of concealment or non-surrender of arms, might be flogged. Fine, limited only by the means of the offender, and confiscation of part or all of his estates, if the culprit was a land-owner, were also the penalties which had to be braved by those who refused to comply with the English officer's demand for his dearly prized and long worn weapons. But the moral effect of the crushed rebellion, the tacit acknowledgment of deserved punishment, and the obvious fairness in a victor to disarm a possible future foe, expedited the work. In many instances the summons was anticipated by the delivery of arms, heaps upon heaps; in others each individual in a village brought his quota to the Officer's tent pitched in the neighbouring grove. Information was liberally paid for, search was resorted to in suspected cases, and from wells, tanks, ponds, pits, ditches, haystacks, thatchroofs, sheaves of maize and heaps of straw, were raised cannons old and new, ammunition and all kinds of weapons.

Meanwhile every landholder who was not an absentee, i. e. who had sent in his submission and received back his estate in part or in whole, was called on to level his fort, or his entrenched house. Loopholed walls were thrown down, ditches filled up, bastions razed to the ground, and all jungle in the neighbourhood of these ancient fastnesses cut or burnt. The last official returns, including fortified houses dismantled, give the number of forts destroyed as 1575 and the number of arms surrendered

Cannons,	...	...	720
Firearms,	...	...	1,92,307
Swords,	...	...	5,79,554
Other arms,	...	...	6,94,060
		Total,	14,66,641

To this total we must add largely to allow for arms carried into Nepal by mutineers and rebels, and which have never returned; for arms flung away in flight or captured in action by the military columns, of which no account was taken;—for arms buried by the owners, 1st, with the object of getting finally rid

of them—2nd, with the object of preserving them, and lastly for arms voluntarily broken up by their owners and converted into other implements. It is calculated that nearly two-thirds of the arms of the province are accounted for by formal surrender in the official reports. The remainder must be put down to the heads above given—and when it is considered that at least half of the arms hidden with a guilty purposé, must have been rendered useless by rust, it may be fairly presumed that the people have lost the use absolutely of five-sixths of the weapons in the country. All land is now liable to forfeiture if concealed arms are found on it. Every title deed contains a condition for surrender of all such; and in some cases confiscation and heavy fine have been inflicted on persons who, in spite of all efforts to open their eyes to their own interests or to a sense of their duty to Government, have persisted in retaining cannon and munitions of war.

But we must hasten onwards. Thanks to the activity displayed by the officers in the search for arms, a long continuance of the high pressure necessary at first, was avoided. With the cold weather every village had been visited, every Talookdar had made a surrender, and the fears of domiciliary search and summary requisitions ceased. Confidence was in a manner restored, amicable relations were begun, and the seeds of future intercourse, and peaceful administrative improvements were sown. The wish of the subject to remove all memory of his past and suspicion of his present behaviour, made him very complaisant and unusually accessible to persuasion. The District Officers were not slow to turn the position of the parties to the mutual advantage of both.

"Argillâ quidvis imitaberis udâ."

We had got our Talookdars at a working temperature, and it was our fault if they were not modelled to our own pattern.

The first step was to define the relations of the village occupants with these their reinstated and acknowledged chiefs. And here it may be worth while to say a few words to those whose ideas of a Talookdar in Oudh are formed according to the generally prevalent notions of the species. A kind of Ishmaelite, against every man and with every man against him, carrying on a perpetual struggle of disloyalty to the royal lieutenants, a deathless feud against his neighbours, breathing an inexhaustible spirit of cruelty and oppression against his luckless peasants, is the usual outline which is easily filled up to taste from the published Records of the internal state of Oudh in former years. But though instances did exist where authority was defied, where family quarrels were perpetuated between rival neighbours,

where exaction and rack-rent existed to the ruin of the cultivator, such was not the normal or prevalent state of things. A rebellious chief was generally a good landlord possessing the affection of his tenantry, for it was the unity of his following which enabled him to oppose the demands of the state; and it may be fairly said that so inveterate had the principle of large holdings become, that it was the exception to find small independent proprietors who had not allied themselves, as inferior to superior to some powerful landlord, either from ties of kin or preferring a secure dependence to the perilous enjoyment of an undefended isolation. This position, now generally acknowledged to be the true one, had been studiously ignored at annexation. Every man in Oudh, who held two villages was assumed to have one more than his share; force must have wrested it from some weaker but rightful owner, and the accumulation of such property was only evidence of more inveterate, more unscrupulous, or more successful iniquity.

But times were changed. Acknowledging the natural relation of the poor to the rich, of the weak to the strong without troubling ourselves to account for it, we are grown wiser and are not careful to intermeddle with the established status of the parties. To tie the upper class by a lease of his land at a low rate to those who lived on it, would be to deprive him of all share in improved cultivation or prosperous seasons and would be also premium on indolence. On the other hand to leave the peasant entirely at the mercy of men, who, though generally alive to the folly of overtasking the working classes, would sometimes gratify dislike by oppression, would not be fair.

It was decided that the inferior village proprietors should be maintained in the possession of all the rights and privileges they were found to be enjoying at the time of annexation. But often the recorded rent-rates were absurdly low, the object of a low rent roll being to present a small surface for taxation to the Collector of the Government Revenue. Large sums under various miscellaneous heads were paid over and above the recorded rent, and those were not by any means all illegal seigniorial exactions—but willingly conceded as the lord's just dues by his tenantry. It was ruled by the Chief Commissioner that all these cesses that were not unjust in their nature nor excessive in amount should cease to be paid separately, and should henceforth be consolidated with the nominal rent of the holding into one specific sum. Then a great step was taken. No less than a record of these consolidated rent payments was carried out. Printed forms of pottahs or leases were supplied in thousands and each man's

quota was entered in this by an arrangement between himself and the Talookdar, and this paper was filed by himself, as his touchstone in future questions of rent, in the record department of the District Officers. The ease with which this apparently intricate operation was performed was wonderful. In a few months nearly every village in Oudh had filed the attested document which was to regulate its future payments to the Talookdar. These leases will be reviewed and determined on fresh data at the ensuing regular settlement: in the meanwhile a fertile source of ill-feeling and contention has been removed.

But at this stage of the proceeding a new difficulty was brought to light.

With characteristic speciousness of submission, the landholders had apparently met our views in this matter with the greatest readiness; but time developed in them the true state of their feelings. A word dropped here and there, an expression in a petition, an unwillingness to invest money in land showed that the general feeling of the Talookdars was that the whole of our policy with regard to them was a temporary make-shift, a fair veil to cover far other purposes. "Only," said they" "let our forts be well levelled and our guns all given 'up, and our jungles cleared, and we shall see a different order 'of things. Our present lot is too good to last. Can a Go-'vernment which ejected us in 1856 from our rights, in defiance 'of lawful claims and long possession, now have gone so com-'pletely on the other tack, and intend to hold us in possession 'against the clamorous sub-proprietor?" "Our rebellion 'is not so easily forgiven, and our present exaltation is only to 'blind us to a coming downfall."—

It was absolutely necessary to dispel this self-imposed illusion. A mistrust between us and our subjects was the worst of terms on which we could stand—it made everything a hollow pretence—no confidence necessitated no progress, and no progress at such a time would at once turn into a relapse. Nor was it advisable that the village occupant, who still hoped against hope that all he saw was an unsubstantial fabric to be dissolved as soon as opportunity offered, when he was again to be taken by the hand and set up as lord in his own right of *his* fraction of the common holding, should encourage any longer these illusory dreams. Better that he should know that his position was a final one, and learn to acquiesce in it as he had done before, than that he should nurse his discontent and his expectations in the idea of a good time coming of humiliation for his landlord and triumph for himself.

Impressed with the importance of counteracting these ideas,

the Chief Commissioner addressed the Government of India, urging it to give the stamp of finality to the settlement which had been made in Oudh. Some act of the Supreme Government, he saw, was wanted to give to the assurance the requisite weight, and make it doubly sure to the mistrusting minds of the native population. It was pointed out that the unsettled state of men's minds was a more instant and crueller injury than the sudden annihilation of hopes founded on claims which we had once recognised no doubt, but which never could be realized unless the principle of the Talookdaree settlement were to be abandoned.

The expected fruits of the new policy were being retarded by the intervention of the cloud of doubts which hung between the state and the people. The sympathies of the aristocracy, to enlist which on our side the Government of India had ostensibly abandoned its policy of 1856, were being chilled and weakened. To decide the point once and for ever was to teach all parties what they had to look to for the future, what permanency of their lot they might reckon on, and to enable them with minds freed on the one side from idle fears and on the other from groundless hopes, to appreciate the reality which surrounded them.

The 20th October will be long a memorable day in the annals of Oudh.

The entourage of a Viceroy is always imposing; and the Governor General of Hindustan needs not to stint a magnificence which his swarthy subjects look on not as the body but the very soul of power. An escort as large as many of the Brigades which recently traversed Oudh in less peaceful style, an imposing array of tents in which the internal luxury is only adequately vouched for by the external display, a long line of march, in which Cavalry, Artillery and Infantry stretch far as the eye can see and mark their advance by clouds of dust which magnify their masses, a ceaseless locomotion of elephants, camels, carts, led horses and carriages, form an amount of disturbance and spectacle that gradually impresses the beholder with the magnitude of the event and the importance of the personage who is the centre and moving spirit of the pageantry.

Our Indian readers will have seen or read of these things till use has dulled the powers of admiration, but among the many tableaux of triumphal entries and state processions which thickly strewed the path of Lord Canning in his late progress through upper India, we will undertake to say, that on no occasion was there a feeling of deeper interest awakened in the minds of all concerned than when the Governor General made his entry into the lately conquered city of Lucknow. Space

does not permit us to enlarge on the spectacle which will long live in the recollections of those who, with ourselves, saw the glories of that day. We must omit the stately march from the entrance of the city up—up by slow steps, to the bristling ramparts of the Muchee Bawun Fort. We must not linger to paint the scene as the line rolled on its interminable length in the ruddy gleam of the new risen sun which well set off the moving figures between the crowds of still statue-like natives lining the way, and which lit up with a painter's tint the buildings which lay on the route of march. Past the key of Lucknow, past the old Baillie Guard which, grim and threatening with a new enceinte of massive earthwork, thundered out a Royal salute as the cortege rode on, on through the Civil Lines to the wooded grounds of the Martiniere where the viceregal tents were pitched we must conduct the reader hurriedly, and close the scene by a brief picture of the event which, more than any other in that brilliant week, gave a deep meaning and a sound practical result to the glitter and grandeur of the show.

There are in Oudh about 300 Talookdars or landholders, whose possessions may be denoted by the more dignified term of Talookas or Estates. To these men a reception by their own king had been an unknown honor, or would have involved a risk of personal peril which the honour could have barely compensated. Some 177 of these were desired to attend at the Durbar to be held at Lucknow by the Governor General of India. Painted as the Oudh Talookdar has been by British colours he has in him more of common humanity than he is often given credit for. He is somewhat simple in his ideas, he is countrified in his appearance, he may be boorish in his manners and ultra-provincial in his dialect. His measurements of things English are not easily taken. He was sorely puzzled at the invitation to the Durbar. What could be the object of his going to Court? He nor his father had ever been there since their grandfather, under a promise of safe conduct, had ventured into the capital and been shot (by dacoits of course) on his way home. He was no courtier and had nothing to say to the Governor General, and the less that august personage could say to him the more happy and easy would he feel. Some sinister plot must be afoot; the Durbar tent would be pitched over a charged mine, and the assembled nobility of Oudh would only be united to be infinitesimally divided limb from limb by an explosion which should blow them into fragments—or the Dragoons, who formed the guard of honour, or the dreaded "Gora Log" (British soldiers) who kept the ground, would be let in to avenge with the bayonet the many bloody scenes

which had attended the first steps of mutiny in Oudh. Either idea was unpleasant—yet go they must—yes, the 'hookum' was given in a way which left no option ; no deputations of sons or brothers were commutable for the chief of the house, who never before felt so uneasy in the personal enjoyment of his hereditary honours. Absolute incapacity for travelling from illness was his only hope. Well then he must go, and take his chance with the rest of them—he would only go where the others went. So rummaging out his finest clothes and mounting as many spare and useless servants as he had horses to carry, he set out with some uneasiness to the capital of his country.

Now the above picture, though perhaps more the exception than the rule, is no over-statement of the feelings which many of the landholders entertained towards us and our (to them) utterly unintelligible policy. It was a powerful corroboration of the existence of the sentiments which we have noticed above as held by these chiefs in regard to our settlement arrangements. Nothing less than ocular demonstration of the sincerity and guilelessness of Government would convince these rustic Barons of little faith.

The day, the 26th of October, came. The hour of noon appointed for the Durbar saw the park of the Martiniere thronged with the crowd of English Civil and Military Officers, and a mass of Talookdars, who were to be admitted to the presence of the 'Lord Sahib.' The lofty and spacious tents, which form the most striking part of the viceregal encampment, were thrown open to the expectant crowd of courtiers. Tickets of admission had been previously distributed to all whose presence was desired at the ceremony, and a finer sight than met the eye, on entry into the reception tent, could not have been presented. On the left of the throne of the Governor General were seated in rows the full length of the position the British Officers, the uniform of the military contrasting gaily with the sombre black of their Civil comrades. On the opposite side were ranged the Oudh proprietors, a motley group of every age and caste. There was the young lad whom his mother had parted from in terror and distress lest mischief should befall her first born—there was the aged chief who had seen change after change in Oudh, but none so wondrous as the scene his eyes now looked on, there were the fighting chiefs of Baiswarra, who had lived in chronic rebellion with the former sovereigns of Oudh, men who had been bred up to hold their own with matchlock and sword, and oftener seen at the head of their clan in the field than making salaams on the carpet of one to whom they owed obeisance as their lord. All at once a gun from the Artillery

park close by, thunders forth the first note of a Royal salute, and ere the assembled natives have recovered the shock which all their oriental stoicism could not save them from manifesting, another and another discharge usher in the Governor General— and his brilliant staff.

All rise and stand, while acknowledging the obeisances which greet him Lord Canning followed by the Commander-in-Chief slowly passes up to the head of the tent and takes his seat on the throne.

Then follows the business of the day. We will not fatigue our reader with the oft told tale of these impressive ceremonies. They must imagine the Talookdars passing one by one before the presence, and on bended knees presenting his Nuzzur or present of gold coins, the usual tribute which Asiatic custom demands from all who come before a superior. The customary dress of honor is given to each, and those whose loyalty had been manifested in the hour of need, were rewarded with more costly gifts, a few words of approbation, and more than all with the firman which made him master of a grant of lands than which no gift is dearer to a native of Hindostan. The usual courtesies are exchanged, the perfumes and sweetmeats are handed round and expectation waits for the final scene.

Lord Canning rises, and as all rise too, he in an impressive manner and peculiarly earnest tone, which was not lost on those of his audience who could not understand his words, delivered a speech to the Talookdars of Oudh which by its force, clearness and fitness to the occasion, was hailed by all as the exposition of a statesmanlike and eminently wise policy.

We have dwelt at length on this scene not merely to enliven our otherwise dull pages, but to represent vividly to our readers the position of the Chiefs of Oudh before and after the event of the Durbar. The speech of the Governor General, translated and circulated among those who had so much interest in the import of it, was read far and wide in Oudh, and the effect of it was at once traceable in the altered expression of the chiefs to whom it had been addressed. A confident and happy air succeeded the gloomy looks which, in spite of all their efforts, had betrayed the sad doubts which hung about the corners of their minds.

Many a happy individual had received with complimentary expressions from the hand of the Governor General himself the firman which assured him of the permanency of his tenure, all were to receive similar deeds, and all looked on this as the earnest of a security which they had hitherto failed to apprehend. And here, while we leave our landholders in happiness and peace,

to enjoy the prospect which had at last opened on their mental vision, we may properly advert to the impression which for some time pervaded a portion of the Anglo-Indian press as to the real extent of the measure thus happily consummated by Lord Canning. It has been stated that the land revenue in Oudh has been fixed by a perpetual settlement like that of Bengal, the idea of permanence at once carried with it the notion that Government interest had ceased in the future development of the resources of the land. Some said too, that Government had sacrificed large and valuable crown lands to please and set off lately rebellious proprietors,—that the gain was entirely on one side, and the good-will of the Talookdar had been purchased by precious if not unworthy concessions. A third mis-statement we have seen is that the change of policy has also involved a change of revenue demand, that the proportion taken by Government is now so small that the landholder has no reason to refuse an arrangement which makes his liabilities to Government so much lighter than before. In short the idea prevailed that no new principle had been started, but that the same results might be expected whenever Government was willing to make the same sacrifices to secure them. The facts however will not support any one of the three complexions which have been given to them. The grand principle in the perpetual settlement of Bengal is that the amount of the demand is fixed for ever. In Oudh the assessment of the land revenue, or the amount payable to Government, is the one point left open. True the proportion is fixed, but till the whole term is known, the half of it remains also an unknown quantity. It will be the work of future years to discover and assess the value of the land produce in Oudh, and the measures for carrying on the regular survey are already begun.

The second error may be at once corrected by a statement of the fact that in Oudh there were no crown lands i. e. no lands held in proprietorship by the state and tilled by it. The proprietary right to such land as escheated to the sovereign —a rare occurrence—was always vested in some person, usually a courtier, whose influence with the revenue minister enabled him to secure the much desired prize. Much land indeed became the property of our Government owing to the confiscation under the proclamation of March 1858, but no acre of that land was ever looked on as more than a source whence the fidelity of our allies could be best rewarded. The whole fell into the hands of Government, to pass away again at once under grant and sunnud of the Governor General to some deserving loyalist. It never has been the policy, nor could it serve the interests of Government, to become landholder in India—and it has only

acted on long established and invariable principles, in the disposition which it has made of the forfeitures which the chance of war has lately thrown into its hands in Oudh.

Neither has the contentment of the native population been purchased by sacrifice of revenue, as the mis-statement which we have placed third in order would imply. The assessment which was made at annexation has been adopted now. The Talookdars, in so far as they have superseded the village proprietary then dealt with, pay the same revenue to Government as that demanded in 1856—and the present measure can only claim the advantages of a permanent settlement, in so far as it has removed all doubts as to the parties who are to be admitted to engage for the payment of the Government demand.

Where a Talookdar has been thus admitted the decision in his favor has been declared irrevocable. His superior right is recognized and the inferior proprietors; while secured in their just rights, have been permanently subordinated to him. The natural order of Indian society has thus been preserved. Not so with the claims of rival proprietors; these, as being the rights of equal parties, are reserved as open questions; and any injustice which is brought to the notice of the authorities, is capable of present enquiry and redress. Such cases however have been comparatively rare, and the tranquillity of the present arrangement has been still further promoted, by reserving all such questions, to which present attention does not seem necessary, to the next or regular period of the settlement, when the information acquired by the professional survey and the other data amassed in the progress of the measure, will enable the Civil Officers to deal with these questions with greater ease and more intimate knowledge of the facts.

But the social position of the Talookdar, as ameliorated by the wise policy of those statesmen to whom have been entrusted the interests of Oudh, has not yet been fully described. At the risk of wearying our readers, we would beg of them to follow as we detail, step by step, the measures which were from time to time enjoined to promote this object.

To give the greatest freedom of action to the well directed influence of these native gentlemen, it was desirable that, while taught that their responsibilities were enhanced, they should at the same time feel that no petty feelings of suspicion or jealousy interfered with the liberty of their actions. It is well known that one great gulf which separates the English Officer from his native subjects, is the Native Executive Officer through whom the two parties usually correspond. Those gentlemen who from birth, from position and from rank are less patient of the annoy-

ances to which native officials in power are never slow in subjecting them, are estranged from us by the influences at work poisoning the ordinary channels of official communication. No native of rank would willingly bring himself into contact, as an inferior and as a suitor, with those whom he felt were beneath him in social status and importance.

Unhappily too the behaviour of the official was not calculated to reconcile him to his interference. The Tuhseeldar, or native officer of revenue, delighted to show his own consequence by making himself officially disagreeable to one whose word was law in his own ancestral domain, but who, once in Court, was the equal of his lowest peasant, and a defenceless object for all the petty impertinences of authority. To liberate him from this galling yoke and assure him, in all circumstances, of that consideration which his position fairly claimed, was a necessary and welcome measure. It was a measure which would go far to complete the work in hand, and one which, in the creation of cordial relations between us and our most powerful subjects, might, it was confidently hoped, have the most important and happiest results.

Those who have studied the character of natives of birth and influence and independent position, will understand us when we say that so long as the Talookdar labored under the annoyances which he might daily meet with, while subjected to the discourteous official who, by encouraging his peasants to prefer appeals against his decisions which they heretofore had never dared to question, could at any moment place him in the undignified position of a litigant cast in a paltry suit for rent; his honours, his estates, his rank were not worth having. A splendid rent roll was dearly purchased by loss of independence, and to become a pensioner on his own estate liable to be defied by the meanest cooly on it, was a position which turned all our gifts into ashes, our grants into gall and our rule into everlasting bitterness.

The loss of arms, the demolition of his fort, the surrender of his cannon were flea-bites in comparison to the sharp thorn of personal degradation which rankled perpetually in his side. He could understand that a strong civilized Government would not tolerate a fort which defied it, and armed men whose only object could be to thwart its authority or commit a breach of its peace, but he would always think with regret of the good old times when, though plundered by a rival, or driven from his fired home by a Chukladar, he was still a chief among his own people, and brooked no divided authority in his clan.

The District Officers were accordingly desired to correspond directly with the Talookdar in the form of khuts or letters.

This prevented all chance of applications on one side and orders on the other being misrepresented or tampered with by intermediate influence. A proper style of address, suitable to the position of the party, was enjoined, and these letters were to supersede all the curt and summary formulas in which the usual processes, summonses and notices of the Courts are couched. But further, in some instances District Officers were encouraged, whenever a complaint was preferred against the Agents of a man of property, to send the petition of plaint to the Talookdar himself with a letter expressing a hope that he would take the trouble to repair any injustice which had been committed, but that if he was not able to do this, the case would be tried in the Courts in the ordinary way. This had the effect of putting the Talookdar on his mettle. It was seldom in his interest that the influence of his Agent had been exerted, but more often in a dispute between two sub-tenants in which the interest of the landlord was not at stake, and his interference would probably be that of an impartial arbitrator.

But whether the proceeding resulted in an amicable compromise effected out of Court, or was ultimately decided in Court, the practice involved an interchange of ideas and actions between the Talookdar and the Deputy Commissioner which was at least desirable. To get these men to undertake their responsibilities in a straightforward and manly way, to get them to feel that their own interest and dignity might be consulted at the price of a little trouble in investigating alleged wrongs and reconciling conflicting interests, was a great step, and paved the way for the final experiment of entrusting the most fit of these hereditary chiefs with magisterial and revenue powers. This measure was in fact but the corollary of the preceding measures. To associate the leading men of the aristocracy with us in every branch of the administration, so far as their influence could be beneficially used, was the basis of the system ; the investment of the most fit and most able with judicial powers was the capital which crowned the work.

The late Chief Commissioner, Sir Robert Montgomery had recommended the bestowal of petty magisterial powers on some of the leading Talookdars. The present Chief Commissioner warmly advocated this wider scheme. Deeply impressed with the importance of the measure and anxious to devote himself to the realisation of it, Mr. Wingfield strongly urged Government to confer on a small number of the most able and influential landholders in Oudh the criminal and revenue powers of an Assistant Magistrate and Collector within their several jurisdictions.

The experiment was one which required care. To trust such

powers in hands of individuals whose ability and integrity did not afford a security against the abuse of them, would be to peril the whole principle involved—and this was one of no ordinary import. Gradually had the Government worked up to this point by the use of liberal and consistent measures, and now it was going to test the value of the men who had been the objects of its care, and to estimate the worth of the material in the working up of which it had taken such pains and trouble. Whether the moment for making the experiment was not somewhat premature may be doubted by some, who, though in favor of the measure, mistrusted the suitability of the men, but if they could be found fit for the exercise of the functions with which it was proposed to intrust them, there was nothing to be gained by delay. Nay the present temper of the Talookdar afforded a seasonable time for the trial—and now it was that he was most accessible to external influences; there was also this argument, that the existing Chief Commissioner was ardently devoted to the project, and in the deep interest he would take in its working and in his selection of the fittest men for the office lay the greater guarantee of success.

Six men were chosen in whose ability trust could be placed, and these men were inducted into the Magisterial Office by Mr. Wingfield in person before a large gathering of their clansmen and dependants. These were told what was the nature of the powers with which their chief was now invested, and enjoined to pay him that respect and obedience as their local 'Hakim' which they had hitherto paid as to their natural head.

We believe that up to the present time Government has had no reason to repent of the confidence which it has entrusted to these Native Magistrates, but on the contrary that the experiment has succeeded beyond expectation. The facilities which their position gave them for the administration of the law in those petty criminal cases which so vex our Magistrates, and often entail such delay or annoyance on the seekers for justice, render their tasks comparatively easy. Their subordinates will serve them far more faithfully than they will us, their foreign masters, and their own notions of justice naturally coincide more with those of the parties between whom they are acting as Judges. It has not been thought proper to entrust them with power to flog, and this reservation, in Oudh, where the lash is freely prescribed, brings their proceedings so constantly before the Deputy Commissioner of the District, who must sanction their sentence of stripes before it can be carried out, that there can be but little fear of any abuse of power by the Talookdar not being at once exposed. Moreover their decisions in criminal

cases are reviewed every month by the Chief Commissioner. Our readers will have seen that the Supreme Government has lately extended the principle to the Punjaub, and has also largely increased the number of Oudh Talookdars vested with these powers. We augur the best results for this policy if it is cautiously watched and promoted by the influence of the District Officers; but whatever limitation of the principle Government may see fit to lay down after sufficient trial, there can be no doubt that the introduction into the Talookdaree tenures of Oudh, of a Revenue administration devised for the village communities of the North Western Provinces, could not have resulted in anything but dissatisfaction and failure.

The internal reforms and improvements which have kept pace with the more important measures above detailed, now demand from us such notice as our limits can afford.

Perhaps the most important of these is the abolition of vernacular deposition writing in our Courts. In all cases the Judge who tries the case makes his own record in his own hand. In the pettiest cases a mere note of the purport of the depositions of the witnesses is made, and this is all that appears to record the trial; but in more serious charges an abstract of the current of evidence as it flows from the witness is given, while in the most important or intricate cases, and in these alone, are the replies of the witness to the Magistrate recorded in extenso. All questions are put by the Judge; and this system, by checking the interference of the subordinate Court officials, has raised the administration of justice immensely in the estimation of the people, and has had the happiest effects in simplifying the course of the trial and abbreviating the duration of the proceedings. Formerly it was the reproach of our Courts that the Judge did not confront the parties before himself and hear the charge, evidence, and reply from the parties themselves, but that often the whole was committed to writing by a clerk in technical terms quite unintelligible to the poorer classes, and subsequently recited before the Hakim in a voice and tone defying the comprehension of the deponents, who stood in amazement till the practical enforcement of the final order of punishment or release gave them to understand that their case was disposed of.

This union of the duties of recorder, Judge, prosecutor and Counsel for both parties in the English Officer, naturally increases the labor of the Magisterial Office, but this has in great measure been lightened by the introduction of a highly paid Officer, who, under the title of Clerk of the Court, relieves the presiding Judge of all routine duties which formerly so needlessly

occupied a large portion of time which might have been more usefully employed in purely judicial labors.

This Clerk of the Court, or Moonsarim, is not merely a Serishtadar under another name, and irresponsible for his acts as the latter officer who is supposed to do all he does under the orders of the Magistrate, but he is responsible for the separate uncontrolled discharge of all that lies in his department. Thus he scans petitions in Civil suits, points out informalities in them, and sends those suitors who have mistaken the functions of the Civil for those of the Criminal Court (and these are not a few) to their proper quarter. He consults the cause list and if an action clearly lies, he causes the issue of summons and fixes a day for the presence of both parties for settlement of the issues. By this division of labor much relief is afforded to the Judge, and tasked as he is with the preparation of his English records he needs all the aid which his subordinates can give him.

We recollect an expression in one of Mr. Campbell's published circulars in which he alluded to the absurd amount of reliance which natives place in one another, and their unsparing distrust and bitterness when that reliance has been once betrayed. The method of doing business among the lower orders of trades-people and agriculturists, is in truth one of the points which strikes an Englishman most forcibly. Verbal agreements are made daily and acted on hourly with all the confidence which in England we should limit to the security of a written deed. But when slips do occur, when accidents put it out of the power of one party to a bargain to fulfil his conditions, these undertakings form but a sorry ground-work for a suit for breach of contract. This difficulty is heightened by the fact that the native who will be truthful to his comrades and his fellow dealers, will be like a school boy to his master, the moment he sets foot in our Courts.

There all acts are fair, and with no bonds to show, a good deal of hard swearing is the inevitable result, the Judge having ultimately to decide on the relative values of two diametrically contradictory assertions. Thus small loans of money—conditional sales, mortgages, contracts for supply of articles of trade and agreements as to price, are daily made with no bonds and without witnesses, and in the most favorable cases the record, if there be one, is a casual entry in the village money-lender's loose sraps of paper, which he calls his "book." The advisability of remedying this state of things needed no arguments to be clear to the understanding of any one, and the establishment of public registrars in towns and villages, who for a trifling fee are bound to register

the transactions of any contracting parties who shall appear at their offices for the purpose, has done much to check indiscriminate and indefinite bargains. The attestation of this public notary or registrar, is '*primâ facie*' good evidence in Court, and we have no doubt that as the people get to find the practical value of having their liabilities and demands recorded, they will very generally resort to these bureaux for their own security and satisfaction.

The Cazees in Mahommedan towns and the Ex-Canoongoes, who, under our economical revenue system, have no employment, have been, as far as possible, made use of for this purpose ; and the gains thus thrown into their hands render them more tolerant of the loss of their professional posts. These Ex-Canoongoes have been most liberally maintained in the possession of their rent-free tenures for life, in order that they may have ample means of subsistence until resort to registration shall make the office of notary yield a sufficient income.

We have already alluded to the Military police of the province and shall have occasion to notice them again, but there is another branch of this subject to which we must devote a short space. This is the Native police or the Chowkeedars. The existence of self-supported local police in every town and village of India is of ancient date. It is one of the approaches which Asiatics made very early to civilization, but beyond which they probably would not have advanced for ages to come. The mixed elements of which modern Indian society is composed were at one time, we may suppose, of a far more discordant and conflicting nature than we see them now after centuries of amalgamation. The poor Rural population of India may be said to live in the open air. The men, when not occupied in the fields, congregate in the open space under the shady tamarind or neem tree which usually occupies some central spot in the village ; or by the well they sit grouped with that peculiar expression of stolidity which must be held to denote satisfaction and enjoyment, as it is invariably worn by the Hindustani when he indulges in squatting on his heels—an occupation which as being clearly less sensual than sleeping or eating, we consider to be the highest and most intellectual relaxation which they voluntarily engage in.

The women of this class carry on their household work inside the small mud or wicker enclosure which fronts every house. The shelter of the roof is more for exceptional than usual resource, and this method of living exposes them much to the depredations of thieves. These are one of the most ancient institutions of India, and are professional plunderers, either resident or in

peripatatic gangs, ostensibly of travellers, but really of plundering vagabonds.

Protection of self, the first law of nature, induced the laboring classes in open villages to provide for the safety of themselves and their property, by appointing an individual as the public guard and watchman of the little commonwealth, and on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief the members of this force were invariably selected from the classes which were most notorious for thievery. To the inevitable tendency which every profession in India has to become hereditary these village police formed no exception, and we find them now, not as individuals but as families, in every village in Oudh, their services not being confined to their original limits, but at the disposal of the headman as public servants, to watch crops and thrashing floors, to kill the wild pig and antelope which destroy the sugar-cane and growing wheat, to run on errands, to summon tenants on rent day, and finally to act as guides to all travellers, in which last capacity they are mostly known to our English readers. Their remuneration was derived from rent-free land, dues on harvests, marriages, &c. It was considerable for it supported an entire family, and the office was much prized. Indeed Oudh possessed a valuable indigenous system of village police.

The discovery and repression of crime had never been a leading feature in the administration of the Government of Oudh by its Native Rulers. Such duties, if performed at all, were left to the local magnates, and unless the career of an offender was marked with the commission of crimes which constituted him a public nuisance, or carried the cry for aid to the ears of the Court or Resident, the culprit, if caught, expiated his offence on the spot; being either cut down by the hand of the aggrieved party, or more formally punished by mutilation, fine or corporal inflictions at the order of the Zemindar or headman of the village. There did indeed exist a channel for the communication of all important matters to the Government in the reports of the news-writers, but these officials had degenerated into the creatures of the local executive, and gave only so much of the truth and such colouring as it suited them to give.

There was then no direct connection between the rural police and the paid Officers of Government in Oudh when it fell under British rule, and one of the first steps of the then administration was to introduce the system which prevailed in our older provinces. This system, according to which the chowkeedar is paid a money salary from a cess imposed on the Zemindars, makes the chowkeedar, from being the servant of the Zemindar, the servant of Government, and as the late Lieutenant Governor

N. W. P., Mr. Thomason, has described him, a disreputable ill-paid burkundaz. It is unpopular with all classes; with the village population because several villages are combined to make a single charge with a good salary and thus each village no longer possesses its own chowkeedars; with the Landholders whose authority is weakened, and with the chowkeedars many of whom lose their employments and who found their old perquisites go further than a salary in money.

But with the disposition which our Government has shewn in Oudh to ally itself in the most complete manner with the influential men of the country, and to press their influence into the aid of its own officers, there have been found some difficulties in adhering to the above detailed system, and the Chief Commissioner has considered it advisable to try the experiment of a return to the old method. The result has been to replace the native chowkeedar in his natural position of servant to the landed proprietor, and to leave to the latter the responsibility of reporting crime. Such a course was inevitable in those estates where the proprietor was not only to discover but magisterially to punish offenders. In these cases the responsibility is throughout his and his alone, and he has to answer for the peace and security of the population on his land just as the Magistrate in his more extended jurisdiction over a district. Nor do we see, for our part, that it is any other but a fair extension of the one great principle of the Oudh Government, to throw this same responsibility on every landholder as far as possible. He never was, in the older provinces, exonerated from the duties which his position entailed on him. He could always be taken to task for failure in co-operating with the executive in the repression and discovery of offences—and when the Oudh Government had determined that this responsibility should not only be enforced in exceptional cases but as a general rule, it is, we repeat, but fair to leave the landholder perfectly free to discharge his duty in the manner he found most easy. To deprive him of the control of the machinery and to exact work, was truly to ask for bricks and not to give the straw, and this was often and forcibly represented by themselves as a novel and unfair position from which they appealed to the sense of the executive to relieve them. This has been done, and the few months which have elapsed since the restoration of the village watchman to his original sphere have not given any reasons to regret the change.

The financial embarrassment in which the Government of India found itself on the close of the mutiny had the natural effect of turning attention to all the chief sources of revenue with the

purpose of seeing whether any improvements in management, or decrease in the expense of collection, might present themselves as means to fill our impoverished treasuries.

The Government of Bengal early turned its attention to the system of Abkaree management. For the sake of our non-Indian readers we may premise that Abkaree is the duty which is paid to Government on the retail of spirits and drugs. The usual and most inexpensive plan pursued by native Government and followed by us is to farm this duty. Taking a district or sub-division of a district as an area, the monopoly of spirits and drugs is let out to the highest bidder, who repays himself by the retail of the articles and is protected by the excise laws from contraband dealers. This method has many circumstances to recommend it, but, it had many grave drawbacks, and it was desirable to know whether any other system would be free from the same evils and yet prove more productive. The Government of India therefore directed that the system of *direct* management or of Sudder distilleries should be given a trial. The general result of enquiries among the Collectors of Bengal as to the possibility of increasing the revenue by a higher duty than eight annas (equal one shilling) a gallon proved that in the opinion of those gentlemen the spirit was not capable of bearing a higher price than that already demanded.

Mr. Carnegy, the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, tried the Sudder Distillery system, and met with a decided success in the attempt. Lucknow is a large and densely populated town of at least 400,000 inhabitants, a large proportion of whom are of a low class, and vicious and profligate. In such a town the consumers of spirits form naturally a large proportion of the population, and thus the extent of the operations gave a favourable avenue for a speedy trial of the point at issue. One Sudder Distillery was established in the city itself—all others situated in the arrondissement were suppressed, and all retail venders of the article were supplied from the head quarters of manufacture. This was carried on under the superintendence of a native contractor, who manufactured the liquor at 1½ anna a wine quart bottle. It is hardly fair to compare the revenue under this system with the year 1856 which is the only year in which the contract system has been adopted in the city of Lucknow since the annexation. That was an exceptional year, but the rise of the revenue from Rs. 58,000 in that year to Rs. 80,961 in 1859-60, is not only to be attributed to this cause, but to the superior method of direct management. After a few months, during which the experiment was restricted to the city and suburbs, Mr. Carnegy extended it to the whole district, at

first establishing a Distillery at each Tehseel, but ultimately the manufacture was confined to the Central still at Lucknow. The first three months after the adoption of the new system of management, showed a loss in the receipts as against the contract system, but experience in the management having been acquired the succeeding months shewed an increase on the former plan* of Rs. 1793 while consumption and consequently intoxication were greatly diminished. In round numbers it is calculated that while the returns under the old contract system may be put at Rs. 75,000 the direct management will return Rs. 1,25,000.

Two qualities of spirit were distilled; one about 30 degrees below London Proof, was sold at a price which gave an excise duty to Government of 1-0-6 per gallon. The other, about 25 per cent. above London proof, realized a profit on excise duty to Government of 1-11-6. Thus the feasibility of the spirit duties being raised above the 8 annas a gallon, which was considered in Bengal the maximum that under general circumstances would be obtained, has been clearly shown.

But it would not be fair to generalise from the particular instance of Lucknow under the able superintendence of Mr. Carnegy to the several districts of the province. So much depends on the interest which the individual district officer may take in the operations and the careful selection of the agency, that the Chief Commissioner has not insisted on the introduction of the system into all the districts to the same extent. One Distillery on this principle, however, is to be established at each Sudder Station, where it can be more immediately under the supervision of the Deputy Commissioner, and the method of dealing with the other sub-divisions in his jurisdiction is left to the option of the officer himself. The high prices, however, realized at Lucknow cannot be expected among the poorer agricultural classes, who are naturally more temperate and also under less temptation to spend their money in drink. It may however be mentioned that at the Sudder Stations of the poorest districts of the province, the Sudder distillery system has proved highly remunerative and at the same time conducive to morality.

* The figures are

Six months under direct management, ...	Rs. 18,847
Do. Contract, ...	17,054
Increase, ...	1,793

It must be remembered that the first three months of the six shewed a decided loss so that the profits of the three last, made when the new system had got into work, have to be set against a large former deficit.

Objections have been made on the score of it being undignified for Government to engage directly in the traffic of liquor, but so far as enquiry has elicited the feeling of the natives on this point it does not appear that this objection has represented itself to their minds, and that the expression of the feeling where it has occurred may be ascribed to the unpopularity with which the spirit dealers now thrown out of employ naturally regard an invasion of their trade. The better classes do not sympathise with them, there is no tax which is to the native mind so legitimate as the excise on spirits, and the method which brings consumption to a minimum, and revenue to a maximum, is in the view of the majority, the best. Nobody sympathises with the would-be sot in India; any difficulty he may meet in the attempt to indulge his vicious propensity is considered as voluntarily incurred and to be a laudable discouragement of intemperance. Now it appears that the Sudder Distillery system, if it be fully carried out and no half measures permitted, must be the best for lowering the consumption and raising the receipts. The Government has the monopoly of the trade and is only prevented from charging too high a price by the certainty that as men will drink spirits they will be driven to contraband stills and smuggling if the legitimate method of supply is beyond their means.

The whole question however is now confessedly on its trial and it would be premature to infer much from our present experience, we will therefore dismiss the subject with the concluding remark that the increased revenue from this source in the Lucknow district has been accompanied with decreased consumption of spirits. A fact from which those who look at the matter from a moral point of view may draw their own conclusions.

The constitution of the Military Police has been sketched above. This body has been much reduced in number and comprises now 1,554 cavalry and 7,996 infantry—or 9,550 men, and the cost of it now is barely the half of the sum which at first was appropriated to this head of expenditure. The organization and discipline remain unaltered from those first adopted, but the position of the force in reference to the place which it occupies in the executive machine has been materially modified. The Office of Commandant of Division has been abolished and the District Superintendent of Police has less independence of action than formerly, having been subordinated to the Deputy Commissioner, who cannot in fact be responsible for the state of his district unless he has the undivided control of all matters in it.

The inexperience of the Officers of the police, who were all men who had to learn their new duties, made it imperative that

they should receive as far as possible the guidance and advice which the Magisterial authorities could so well have given. But it has been found that the divided systems interposed impassable barriers to this being done, and the only means of rendering the police effective as a detective force has been to place the Officers completely under the control of the District authority. It is to be regretted perhaps that the previous independence which was accorded to the Police Officers has been found in some instances to have unfitted them for co-operation in a subordinate position, but the superior experience of the Magistrate ought in fairness in all instances to be acknowledged by the other party, and time alone is wanted to bring both into harmonious working; means have also been devised for giving police officers a knowledge of criminal business, for it has been found almost impossible for an officer who has not served in a Magistrate's court to appreciate the true value of evidence and successfully to conduct a prosecution.

But the praise which is justly due to the Oudh Police as a protective body needs acknowledgment. Their discipline has well fitted them for the work of overawing the discontented remnants of the rebels who would assuredly have taken advantage of a weak police, to form gangs of armed robbers, and, under the form of dacoits, to keep alive a reign of terror and disturbance. No one acquainted with the Police of the old regime would suppose that the security to property and life which has lately reigned undisturbed in the cities and villages of Oudh would have been attained by anything like the force formerly at the disposal of the old Thannahdars. They were indeed blots in our Executive which rather invited assault, than repressed violence. With means of resistance only equal to those possessed by the villagers themselves, they could at any moment be outnumbered by the coalition of two or more robber gangs, and the shelter of their semi-fortified post seldom gave them courage to hold out beyond the first opportunity of flight which offered itself. A stealthy evacuation of his post on the night succeeding the threat of an assault, and a devious flight in disguise to the head quarters of the district there to relate, with no small disregard to facts, the prodigies of his own valour and the overpowering forces of the enemy, were ordinarily the limits of devotion in the cause of Government, which a good native policeman allowed himself.

But the native of Hindostan, bold enough to venture when the odds in his own reckoning are sufficiently overpowering to present no chance of failure, is not an enterprising creature. A considerable inducement in the way of certainty of success

is required to move him to action, and his superabundant caution is ever on the alert to any symptom which forebodes the possibility of a favorable result to his foe. The mere establishment therefore of the Military Police has been sufficient to quell the martial ardour of the 'mauvais sujet' in Oudh. He sees a force which he supposes invincible, and he at once resigns the idea of entering into any thing of which he has such a rooted horror as an encounter on fair terms and of doubtful issue. It must have struck many of our readers how few of our opponents during the late Mutiny have died *fighting*. The Hindoostani is beaten morally. Once let the moral certainty of your superiority possess him, and he ceases to struggle. There is in him none of the animal vivacity which dictates resistance to the last, and only is extinguished by the blow which deprives him of life.

The question of taxation is one of such vast dimensions, and in its nature and scope of so universal Indian interest, that it will not become us here to do more than allude briefly to the experiment in direct taxation which has lately been made in Oudh under the orders of the Governor General.

The general object of increased revenue, to restore the finance of the empire to the equilibrium of income and expenditure which had been so nearly attained before the Mutiny and which that commotion so seriously deranged, was the object of the movement. The principle and detail of the tax were left by the Governor General to the local Government, the only restriction being that the holders of land were not to be subject to the imposts.

A move in the direction indicated, had already been made in the Punjaub, when the authority for the execution of the project was given to Oudh, and the form there assumed by the demand for revenue was the imposition of octroi rates at a higher percentage than formerly. In this there is obviously no new principle; and the arrangement was well calculated to secure its object in so far as it stirred no prejudices and introduced no novelties to alarm the native mind. But the incidence of this tax is general, and can only be heightened in its pressure within very moderate limits. An import duty on articles of food or clothing can only be raised to that point which places no bar to the enjoyment of them by the poorest of the mass of society. Necessary articles cannot be taxed beyond the minimum incomes, and those are soon reached. The moment that point is passed, distress is felt by the lowest grades, and the tax is an oppression. Nor indeed is an octroi tax in any way graduated to the abilities of rich and poor. Each wants food and clothing; and the small reduction which the rich man might make to economise

under the pressure of increased rates on these articles, might represent the half of the poor man's food and the whole of his scanty wardrobe; moreover when widely introduced it has a tendency to degenerate into a transit duty.

It is thus clear that, on the whole, the object of making the wealthier classes, the well to do shopkeepers and private gentlemen, contribute a sum proportionate to their means, is wholly unattainable by a system of octroi imposts.

The Chief Commissioner of Oudh saw the position (octroi duties were little known in Oudh) and wisely preferred to attempt the hitherto untried experiment of a direct tax on the profits of all classes, those profits derived from land being, of course, excepted. The obvious difficulty in such a tax is the inaccurate knowledge of the real profits of any individual trader, &c. The first step taken was to get as accurate a return as possible of the population subject to the tax without making the enquiry into men's gains vexatious. But the assessment was not the result of a guess by the district officer. A sound method pervaded the proceedings. Lists were first prepared in which the names of all traders and men of business, other than agriculture, were entered, and in the same lists appeared the estimated amount of profits of such persons. The Tehseeldars and other subordinate officers entrusted with the preparation of these lists were enjoined to abstain from personal enquiries, and to be guided chiefly by current rumour and presumption. The assistance of all men of experience and influence was largely used in this process, and thus, often indeed without any recourse to the individual himself, a fair general estimate of the amount of his returns during the year was made. Headmen of villages, Putwaries, or village accountants, Zemindars who were themselves exempted from the impost, gave the fullest information on these points and with great fairness and judgment. In large estates, the whole process was almost wholly undertaken and carried out by the Talookdar and his agents. But no tax-payer was thus even ultimately rated as a matter of course. The district officers were told not to look on these returns as the basis of their calculations when from their own knowledge or the representations of any individual tax-payer they had reason to distrust their accuracy. In every case they have full discretion to raise or lower the assessment. Having then thus got a clue to the amount of profits a calculation of 3 per cent. on them gave a lump sum which was to be raised on the district. The quota of each payer were to be arranged among themselves. In towns a jury of the traders and in rural districts the Zemindars and Talookdars generally undertook this part of the work, and

in very rare instances did they find their task hard. The Collectors of the money were remunerated by being allowed to collect two pice over and above every rupee of the tax. The success which has attended the experiment, in all the agricultural districts especially, can only be ascribed to this plan of availing ourselves of the aid of the landlords—by whose influence, if in antagonism, we should have had many difficulties created and a strong feeling of discontent originated and fomented.

The wisdom of the policy of enlisting the influential grades of the population on our side never received a more striking illustration than in this tax. The only places where any difficulties have occurred in assessment and reclamations against the awards of the native juries have been frequent, have been towns where there is no supreme influence to act on the mass of traders. No doubt too, the ordinary difficulties incident to the work of taxation were increased in the large towns, but in no place has there been a single sign of any combination against the payment of the demand. The principle of self-distribution was admirably successful in the rural districts, and if not so satisfactory in the towns it is impossible to say whether any other plan could have been adopted which would certainly have been satisfactory, if indeed any other had been even practicable.

As a consequence of the imposition of this tax, the choongee or octroi duties which had been begun to be levied generally in all marts and important centres of trade, were at once abolished, wherever there did not exist a need for a special establishment of police for purely local purposes. This need exists in very few of the towns in Oudh, so that the octroi impost may be said to have been abolished in Oudh with the exception of Lucknow where it is enforced for the purpose of defraying the various expenses incident to a large and populous town, in which all the usual necessities of roads, public buildings and conservancy have been aggravated by the late destructive operations of war.

Before we quit the subject of taxation we feel bound to allude to the recent Libel case tried at Lucknow, which in the eye of the public, before which the case was somewhat tediously paraded, became identified with the proceedings under which the Trade tax was collected in Oudh. The notoriety with which the Indian Press readily stamped a suit in which one of their confreres played its unprofitabe part, relieves us from the necessity of giving our readers any detailed information on the case of *Ramdial versus the Oudh Gazette*.

Holding as we do individually the opinion that an officer of Government is solely responsible primarily to his immediate

superior and, ultimately, to the Supreme Government of India for all his official acts, we consider the conduct of the Plaintiff in this case in indicting for Libel a newspaper which maliciously misrepresented his official acts, as a breach of discipline; and a precedent which, if extensively followed, would lower the position which Government must assume in India if it is to command respect, a legal despotism *in esse*, but an autocracy *in posse* unquestioned in its acts and admitting of no law but the *salus reipublicæ.*

But a native officer may be excused if he does not appreciate the feeling which would, we believe, have deterred any English Officer from noticing false aspersions on his character without distinct permission of his superiors to reply to them by legal or any other proceedings.

It is the destiny of the press in India to be in permanent opposition—it would die of inanition if it could not carp plausibly at every measure by exposing with vigilant acerbity the worse of the two sides which every human question must infallibly wear—it would want a credit sufficient to command a circulation if it lacked the ability to represent all rumoured accidents, mishaps and shortcomings as the long foreseen consequences of a perverse deafness to their own patriotic yet disinterested instructions. The propensity of human nature to be amused with virulence, the strong propensity of Anglo-Indian nature to subscribe to periodicals of all kinds, make the press in India, if conducted with a due reference to these its grand principles, and no deficiency in audacity, a self-supporting and in some instances a very profitable speculation.

We recollect hearing a story of an Indian Editor whose chequered personal adventures must have given him at least an intimate acquaintance with the criminal administration of India, who in answer to some remonstrances inculcating the theory that *some* regard to truth, impartiality, temperateness and sobriety would prove useful in the conduct of a journal, declined to discuss the point, as it was evident that his friend's estimate of qualifications for the Editorial chair differred in toto from his own humble opinion by which he would be tempted to rank the absence of any such weaknesses as those hinted at by his friend as more valuable than the most precious literary attainments for the due discharge of his peculiar office.*

The more masculine disposition of the English officer is inclined to look on the attacks of the press as the somewhat coward-

* This story is a fact, but we only tell it as a story and not with a view of creating any impression that this worthy is to be considered a type of the class of Indian Editors.

ly assaults which women at times will make on men, taking advantage of the certainty that if their object of attack has only sufficient self-respect to restrain him from retort they will escape suffering for their violence. But they sometimes err in judgment. The more feminine-minded native has less control of his feelings, he retaliates if he is strong enough to do so, and if his hands and life are clear enough to stand the lists of legal scrutiny.

Our first impression when made aware of the indictment of the *Oudh Gazette* was, that the Plaintiff had let his feelings outrun his discretion. Few men, be they black or white, will run the gauntlet of the unsparing enquiry of a law court which, if not legalized by the necessities of the case, would be the most insufferable and impertinent tyranny. The popular opinion, we know, does not hold a high estimate of native official integrity, but here was a man courting enquiry on a direct charge including as he believed bribery, a charge however ultimately disclaimed and withdrawn by the defence. Surely the natural conclusion must be that the Plaintiff must be either a reckless and worthless man or an honest official. Now no man, not even his accusers, has ever represented Ramdial as a man playing a desperate game, as holding on for bare life to the last shreds of a damaged reputation, putting all his hopes in life on one cast of the die. And this he would have been doing had he come forward with a weak case.

We see therefore no primâ facie conclusion that can be arrived at, but that he was an innocent and maligned man. And we take this opportunity of stating this to be our well weighed and deliberate conviction.

At first, as we have said, we thought, that though the actual charges might be false or exaggerated yet that something must have occurred to give rise to the clamour, some act of omission, if not of commission, would be proved; some carelessness, or want of watchfulness over his underlings would be brought forward, and though no positive oppression might be found yet a severity overstepping the bounds of strict legal forms would have been proved to have been exercised which would go far to justify, if not substantiate, the general accusation. But as day after day no individual was brought forward who had suffered from the oppression charged, when the witnesses for the defence boggled about the locality of the place of detention which from its foul nature was the gravamen in many of the alleged instances, and ultimately shifted the scene to a spot which was no place of detention at all or ever used as such. When only the stories and not the men who bare them were produced we felt that the defence was

indeed weak, and very like the story of Jack Cade's parentage which rested on the bricks of the chimney which his father built, being "alive to this day" to testify to the fact.

But we do not hope to convince those who, after the exposure of the perjury of the witnesses for the defence by the Judge, have made up their minds to an opposite view, and dispute the verdict either from party feeling or from an indolent adoption of the hue and cry which has been set on foot. We repeat that we regret the whole matter. The purpose has been served of getting up a clamour to discredit a measure which all who have understood its details have agreed to call a successful solution of the question of direct taxation in India. From the highest to the lowest in India we are all about to be submitted to a somewhat similar impost; necessity may make us yield tamely, but it cannot recommend taxation to our pockets. What wonder then that while there was a hope that the income tax might be avoided, no one should willingly disbelieve a story which told so palpably against the only attempt on a large scale to depart from the groove of old established precedent in finance. The principle of direct taxation, unassailable while confined to the debates of the Legislative Assembly, might be blasted by a side wind, directed against a measure generically the same at Lucknow. Other concomitant circumstances were not wanting to tempt the assailants to fight with a perseverance which partly, too, owed its existence to the patronage of an official section whose personal feelings threw them into their ranks; and to make a stir and raise a cry to have the credit of exposing errors and, if fortune demanded a victim, to make a virtue of necessity and succumb with a loud claim to the honor of martyrdom, was so precisely what was wished that, next to a victory, the best thing which they could suffer was the defeat, which ultimately befell them. It was a well chosen dilemma and they are entitled to all the credit which those who marvel at a nine days' wonders are sure to give them. But we do not wish to recal the past when we may so well occupy ourselves with our probable future. We will not draw comparisons to the disadvantage of the new scheme of taxation with the one now being quietly carried out in Oudh. We only hope it will be as easily carried out.

By the time these pages meet the reader's eye time will in great measure have justified or removed our doubts. But whatever may be the issue we do not hesitate to express our belief that no measure, so universal in its action, could avoid many difficulties and run counter to many well-founded objections, and that while the Government of India has in this crisis deliberate-

ly adopted what seemed least objectionable, it has looked to the devotion and skill of its officers to carry it through, and right certain we are that it will not look in vain.

Having now completed our rapid sketch of the most remarkable transactions which have lately taken place in Oudh, in the internal administration of the province, it remains only to advert to the incidents which attended the crushing out of the embers of rebellion which so long smouldered on the Nepal frontier. The refugees who composed the party of Birjees Kudur and the Begum his Mother, had, it will be remembered, made an unsuccessful attempt in the months of April and May 1859 to run through the trans-Gogra Districts, cross that river, and get once more into the jungles of Southern Oudh. Had this attempt succeeded, and had any leader of local distinction presented himself to the inhabitants of the Baiswara territory, there would have been, not perhaps a general relapse into rebellion, but an excitement and spirit of resistance would have been aroused, which would only have ceased with the extermination of the foe after a harassing and desultory campaign. But fortunately the Gogra proved an insurmountable obstacle to the intended evasion. Very few of the rebels ever reached its bank and those who did so only found themselves forced to turn back again. In two instances the larger bodies of those rebels were surprised and utterly routed with considerable slaughter, while numerous petty engagements occurred in which the weary and harassed remnants were cut up by the Native Cavalry, or fled without their arms into the hills which they had left. This miserable result of an enterprise which they had fondly anticipated as possible, prostrated their surviving hopes, and it is a matter of history, with which we will not weary our readers, how they succumbed, without a blow, to the Nepaulese forces sent to dislodge them from their hiding places.

The only further marks which they afford to trace their inglorious termination are found in the fate which befell their leaders, Mummoo Khan and Khan Bahadoor Khan. The latter was hanged at Bareilly, contumacious and rebellious to the last. The former by a scrupulous consideration of a plea, to which we ourselves can attach no weight, viz., that he acted under fear and pressure from the sepoy element in Lucknow, escaped the gallows and expiates his ambition as a life convict in the Andamans. Two Oudh Chiefs, the heads of the house of Dhourera and Mittowlie, have also reaped the reward of their baseness in surrendering to certain death English fugitives at the order of the de facto rebel Government. It is somewhat curious that the same Officer who sentenced these

criminals for surrendering Englishmen to death finds it impossible to convict the head of the Government who killed them, of murder.

We have now exhausted our subject and our space, and must conclude. We have endeavoured to set before our readers briefly the main principles which guide the present administration of Oudh. We do not fear that those who are best acquainted with the facts should accuse the Government of any unworthy truckling to class prejudices or a powerful aristocracy. The policy of allying the upper classes passively and actively with the executive is professedly that of an aristocratic complexion, and long may it continue so to be, if future years only shall continue to exhibit the present successful results.

The Government now possesses in a marked degree the good will of its subjects in Oudh, and this has been won by a ready acknowledgment of the station and rank of those who give the tone to the mass of the population. No undue concessions and indiscriminate conciliations have been practised, but the condition on which our favors have been granted has been that of prior unhesitating obedience on their part, not to the orders only, but the wishes of the Government. Instances have occurred where Talookdars have not understood this, and have shewn a spirit of recusancy and fractiousness to what they deemed a mild and perhaps weak Government. But they have met with a stern justice which has effectually cured themselves and opened the eyes of their neighbours to the fact that, willing as we are to meet our subjects half way in all questions of their personal rights and comforts, anxious as we are to see well conducted aristocracy take its proper position in the country, yet, no latitude is allowed in obedience to the orders of Government, and that they will best increase their own influence by promoting the objects which their rulers have at heart.

We do not hesitate to express our belief that the majority of the landholders in Oudh would eagerly seize any occasion which would enable them to exemplify their loyalty and good feeling towards us. The late circulation of Hindee letters which was pretty general in this province and the North West Provinces, though it is not considered to have borne any political significance but a precaution against the spread of cholera, was first brought to light by Maharaja Maun Sing, one of the most powerful of the Oudh Chiefs—and we do not look on this man, who is foremost in his devotion to the Government, as owing to it so entirely as others do the high position which he enjoys. His voluntary information is merely cited as an evidence of the existence of a feeling which is widely shared by the mem-

bers of his class, and we venture to predict that under a continuance of the present liberal policy, the feelings of good will and kindness which exist between the officers of Government and the people of Oudh will be surely and rapidly developed to the mutual advantage of both parties.—

We now take leave of our subject, and bid farewell to Oudh and to her Government. Circumstances have lately caused it to occupy a position in the eye of the public beyond the proportion of the interest which it can fairly claim from its area or political importance. When scarcely freed from the effects of the Mutiny of 1857, it was selected as the arena on which the most liberal policy which has yet emanated from the Government of India, was to be introduced.

The abolition of all former landmarks afforded peculiar facilities for inaugurating a new regime, which we suspect will ultimately extend far beyond the limits of the province itself. Naturally the experiment has attracted great interest, among all classes of society. In truth, it marks a most important period in the annals of India, and one pregnant with great results—whether for good or for evil time alone can show, but for ourselves we have no doubt of the issue.

Hitherto, the tendency of British rule in India, as in all other places, has been to level all distinctions of races, creeds and classes—to perfect the system, at the sacrifice of the individual. The result has been everywhere to give great weight to what in England are known as the middle classes. Under our free institutions the growth of such is a matter of course, and where this section of the body politic represents, as it does in England, a great amount of intelligence, a vast amount of industry, and an ineradicable love of fair play, law and order, the encouragement which gives weight to such a class can hardly be too freely given.

But, to venture a truism, Asia is *not* Europe. The want of education, and the absence of cohesion among the middle classes in India, the diversity of their interests, and their inherited instinct to follow rather than to lead, places them on a far lower level than the *masses* in England and America.

They are not yet of sufficient substance to form a party, and no Government can yet rule India, by attaching itself to the interests of those, who in the hour of trial have no one principle of action to guide them, and no steadiness of character on which their rulers can confidently rely for support. The true ally of the British Government in India is, not the independent, or quasi-independent prince, or the representatives of the old dynasties, nor is it those lower classes of society

whose welfare and comfort our policy has so eagerly sought and secured; but it is the hereditary class of nobility, the aristocracies of birth and land. These form the class which it is the interest of England to encourage, that she may in her turn look to them for support and assistance. Such men represent real, strong, well-defined and tangible interests—they have a stake to lose, and a status to maintain—and a sound healthy appreciation of their position, while it gives them a clear and determinate principle of action, renders them a reliable support against such convulsions as have lately shaken British rule in India to the very centre. It is idle to speak of patriotism and loyalty in a country which has never known either. Despotism, the only mastership which an Asiatic recognises, promotes the growth of neither, and depends on neither for its stability.

We are indisputably supreme in India, we fear no outward rival there, all our dangers must ever be from the people of the soil itself. Our empire stands assured to us from day to day by the presence and support of a large British army; but England feels the drain. With the enormous calls upon her strength in every quarter of the globe she cannot give but a portion of her strength to her Eastern Empire. To hold that with the least strain on her population and her finances, is the problem of Indian Government; and to solve that, it should be the object of our rulers to ally themselves with that class of the community which can best ease our burden and best give the assistance we want. We have absorbed rivals; we must seek for the required support from our own subjects, and we believe that in the hour of need this will be best found in the ranks of a judiciously fostered and liberally governed native Indian aristocracy.

ART. VI.—*A Collection of 510 Pamphlets on the East Indies and China, in 95 Volumes.*

IT is 10 years since we wrote the article, "Calcutta in the Olden Time—its *Localities*," in which we endeavoured to take up what was interesting connected with sites in Calcutta, the *genius loci.* We now resume the second part, "Calcutta in the Olden Time—its *People*," which will refer in a *cursory* way to the various classes of inhabitants last century, their social state, dress, food, recreations, manners, and diseases.

Late years have witnessed the annihilation of that mighty East India Company, "the Empire of the middle classes," which so long ruled with absolute sway over the East, and whose name was every thing in Calcutta last century, which survived all the shocks to trade under which the Dutch, French and German East India Companies sank. It is a question whether it has yet been succeeded by a better form of Government, one that will guard Indian interests and finances so faithfully and which will not allow the rights of natives to be sacrificed, in order to swell the coffers of Mammon. The Company invariably resisted, as far as they could, the spirit of political and military aggression, they might have been reformed, but destruction was not the remedy: and now we fear in spite of themselves and their better principles, the Queen's Government is imperceptibly drifting into a policy like that of Austria in Italy, whose main points were unity, and centralization to the sacrifice of local Government, a foreign agency to administer as conquerors, and an entirely foreign army to back their views out. We know the result now in Italy, in spite of Austrian cannons and soldiers,—nationalities will have their sway and so it will be in India.

The East India Company won India, the problem is will the Queen's Government keep it. Without the Company's influence at one time it could not have been secured, as Cromwell found when in 1654 he abolished the Company, but discerned that the Dutch made such way in India and Ceylon that he was obliged to restore the Charter. The following lines were often quoted in old books in reply to people who argued that the best remedy for Indian evils was to transfer the Government to the Crown—

I was well,
I would be better,
I took physic
And here I lie.

The remedy was worse than the disease and the victim of empiricism died.

St. Petersburg was founded by Peter the Great at the same time that Calcutta was by Job Charnock, both were erected in swamps, amid an unhealthy climate, both became the capitals of mighty empires. How little could either of the founders have anticipated that by the year 1860 both the Anglo-Indian and Russian Empires would nearly meet in Asia, separated only by a few hundred miles and that Kossacs would have done for one what Sepoys have effected for the other.

We want in this antiquarian article to avoid all reference as much as possible to questions of the day, which now unhappily divide Europeans from natives. Looking at the past we have great reason to thank God and take courage. The Europeans have greatly improved in morals and socially, the natives also have better houses and are higher in the social scale: the millionaires of Calcutta among the natives are men who have realised their property by trading, like Mutty Loll Sil who rose from being a seller of bottles at 8 rupees monthly to be the Rothschild of Calcutta; last century had such men as *Kanta Baboo,* Hastings' Dewan, who made such enormous sums by bribes. In contrasting Calcutta now with the Calcutta of last century we must take into account the progress of things every where; when we find so low a state of things among the Europeans in Calcutta last century, should we have found them much higher in London. Talk of Barwell's and Francis' profligacy, what was it to the Court of George the Fourth or that of Versailles; debasing pleasures were common to England and Calcutta—each had its Ranelagh.

The reader of this article will, we trust, see in comparing the present with the past, that in various points we have improved, not merely the *nous changeons tout cela:* the hand of God ought to be seen in social changes as well as in his Revelation or his Book of Nature; our own spirits have been often cheered when discouraged by existing evils, in reviewing the past.

One of the difficulties of dealing with Old Calcutta is the danger of taking single instances as examples instead of exceptions. Thus any one having known Calcutta would have been surprised at the statement of Sir J. Royd to the Grand Jury of Calcutta in 1812 that "not a single instance of depredation on private 'property has occurred during the last six months of magnitude 'sufficient to be brought before you and this Court." As exculpatory on one side as Sir M. Wells on a recent occasion was condemnatory on the other.

We profess to give only a very brief sketch here of Old Calcutta, to enter into the subject fully would fill the whole of this *Review.* We shall as far as possible avoid repeating things which are generally known, or drawing from the ordinary books

which treat of India. Our materials are derived from reminiscences of conversation with the late Mrs. Ellerton, who saw Warren Hastings carried away bloody from his duel with Francis; of Mr. Herkloz, who was fiscal of Chinsurah in Dutch times, of Mr. Blaquiere, &c. &c., and from books of which copies now in India are rare, such as Hartley House, the East India Chronicles, Sketches Ecclesiastical and Civil of Calcutta, and Stavorinus's Dellon's Voyages, Williamson's Vade Mecum, Kinderley's and Fay's Letters, and above all a collection of 510 Pamphlets on the East Indies and China filling 95 volumes. These are invaluable and contain many statements of great importance relating to Calcutta last century. Old Libraries are few, one of the best of them was the late *Hurkaru* one, but at an auction of books this year rare old volumes were sold for a few annas to sirkars, and thus a valuable collection has been scattered; it contained some of the Calcutta newspapers of last century which are not now to be had.

Calcutta is a regular *colluvies gentium*—the Jew that excels the Bengali in cheating—the Armenian with his semi-Asiatic habits—the rich Mogul—the Marwari merchant—the black Portuguese—the muddy-looking East Indian—have all made it their residence, but our object in this article is chiefly to give a glance at the English in their social life. Many estimates have been made at different times of the actual population of Calcutta. We give the following for 1850 as a standard, and with exception of the Europeans who have increased, it might stand as an average for last century; this must be borne in mind that 100,000 Hindoos daily enter and depart from Calcutta.

	Male.	Female.	Total.	
Europeans,	4,848	2,686	7,534	=4,15,063
Eurasians,	2,472	2,188	4,660	
Armenians,	499	393	892	
Chinese,	699	148	847	
Hindus,	1,65,817	1,08,689	2,74,506	
Mahommedans,	72,476	38,694	1,11,170	
Other Asiatics,	8,225	7,229	15,454	

The names of residents in old Calcutta will be known best by consulting the monumental inscriptions, for comparatively few then returned to their own land to ease and competence—death intervened, and the shattered, mouldering monuments in Chowringhee great burial ground, "city of the dead," are the only memorials left of them. Let us make a pilgrimage to the tombs there, the well known Indian names of *Becher*, *Barwell*, *Reed*, *Sykes*, *Law*, *Jackson*, *Hayes*, are to be met with. *Sir William Jones* lies buried in it, of whom it is recorded on his tomb;—Here lies "The

'mortal part of a man, who feared God, but not death, and main-'tained independence, but sought not riches: who thought none 'below him but the base and unjust; none above him but the 'wise and virtuous:"—a statement new to the Calcutta people of his day though, if we are to believe those marbles, "the inhabi-'tants of ancient Calcutta were a race of virtuous, industrious, and 'honourable men; of pious and beautiful women, who enlivened 'society in general, and afforded every domestic and social com-'fort to husbands far distant from the house of early consanguini-'ty and the joys of England." The oldest monument is of *Job Charnock*, who in 1692 "Mortalitatis suœ exuvias deposuit 'reversus est domum suœ œternitatis;" then of his daughter, "Qui per elapsa tot annorum millia culpam Primævœ luit Parentis, et luet usque dum eternum stabit." "In dolore paries filios," —here lies *Captain 'Poyning*, who most bravely defended the Resolution Indiaman against thirty sail of the *Mahrattah* fleet." Those were days when Indiamen mounted 20 guns, the crew and the passengers were all trained to arms. *Cleveland* who "accomplished by a system of conciliation what could never be effected by Military coercion."—*Oldham* who died in 1788 was an undertaker who erected several monuments in the different burial grounds in Calcutta, and particularly in the ground where he himself lies interred, "he was the first undertaker who settled in Bengal; Tomb-stones before his time came as bespoke from Madras, he first cut stones from the ruins of Gour." There is an inscription over the wife of an Attorney *Jones*.

"Though low in earth your virtuous form decayed,
My faithful wife my loved Nancy's laid,
In chastity you kept a husband's heart,
To all but him as cold as now thou art."

Justice Hyde was one of the Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court in which he spent 21 years, longer than those Judges ordinarily stay now.—*Colonel Kyd* distinguished for his botanic researches and *William Chambers* Prothonotary of the Supreme Court noted for his Persian studies and Biblical translation. In the *Mission Burial Ground* the oldest tomb is of 1773; in the *New Burial Ground* of 1793; in *Tiretta's Burial Ground* 1796; the *Hospital Burial Ground* "on the banks of the Gungah" 1786; the *Church of the Virgin* 1712; the inscriptions Latin, Portuguese, and English; *Bytakannah* 1787; *Greek* 1777; inscriptions in Greek; *Orphan Ground, Howrah* 1791. Out of Calcutta the oldest Tombs are *Dum-Dum* 1790; *Barrackpore* 1783; *Serampore* 1745; *Chandernagore* 1729, viz. that of Monsieur

Blanchatiere, Director of the French East India Company; *Chinsurah* 1743; *Bandel* 1756.

We know not when Calcutta* first got the title "City of Palaces;" though last century it was a misnomer in a place having no glass to its houses and few verandahs to shade off the heat; in whose streets dead animals were to be seen putrifying, and sometimes even human beings. Defective as are still the municipal arrangements of Calcutta, it is a great improvement on last century, when drains three feet deep were reservoirs of filth, sending out annually their three hundred and sixty stenches; the receptacle of rotting animals; even human corpses have been known to be two days in the streets, before being taken away by the police, and thrown into the canals. In some cases they were left for the jackals to make a two days' meal of them.

The following verses, taken from Atkinson's Poem, the City of Palaces, well describe its then state:—

Calcutta! what was thy condition then?
An anxious, forced existence, and thy site
Embowering jungle, and noxious fen,
Fatal to many a bold aspiring wight:
On every side tall trees shut out the sight;
And like the Upas, noisome vapours shed;
Day blazed with heat intense, and murky night
Brought damps excessive, and a feverish bed;
The revellers at eve were in the morning dead.

"Worse than Batavia, thou wert then, a tomb;
What art thou now, amidst thy various brood?
Though unincumbered by a forest's gloom,
Thou robbest beauty of its eloquent blood,
Youth of its lustre, and the opening bud
Of infancy is blasted in thy view,
Fell as the Vampire in its thirstiest mood:
All ranks alike thy direful influence rue:
Thou bane of lovely looks and health's inspiring hue."

No wonder that the Europeans, gradually migrated from the Belgravia of that day—Tank Square,—and took up their abodes in Chowringhee "out of town." The common soubriquet was "the settlement," and its inhabitants called themselves, "the

* The native name of Calcutta (Kalikatta), we believe, was given it from Kalighat, but the English metamorphose native names sadly thus—*Mannakali* point is called *melancholy* point.—Suraje Daula was called *Sir Roger* Daula: they called all natives *Gentoos*, according to Voltaire a contraction of *gentiles*.—*Kedjeri pots* were so called from Kedjeri where crockery was abundantly supplied to the shipping—A native went by the name in 1780 of *Sam* Chakrabarti! Where is this to end? We have Dover Village and Shrimp Channel marked on the old maps as South of Calcutta—where are these? How much better to keep to permanent native names.

exiles,"—though never did exiles live in such luxury, and in so many cases forget home and all its associations.

Viewing the rapid succession of residents and the "voice from the tomb" we need not be surprised at Europeans being de terred from coming to Calcutta last century—at its being regarded as a land of exile and death. Gladwin gives the following view as entertained even by the Mussulmans of Bengal. "In 'former reigns the climate of Bengal on account of the badness 'of the air and of the water, was deemed inimical to the consti-'tution of Moguls and other foreigners; and only those officers 'who laboured under the royal displeasure were stationed there, 'so that this fertile soil, which enjoys a perpetual spring, was 'considered as a gloomy prison, the land of spectres, the seat 'of disease, and the mansion of death. The ministers of state 'and the Dewans appropriated the greatest part of these valu-'able lands to *tankahs* for the *jageers* of the *munsibdars*, so 'that *the amount collected in the Khalsa was so inconsiderable, 'as to be inadequate to the demands of the Nizamut troops;* 'which deficiency was supplied from the treasury of Delhi 'and by tankhas on other Soobahs." But we find in 1757 the soubriquet of "the terrestrial paradise" was applied to it, this certainly could not be stated of it by Europeans,—but they had chiefly to blame themselves;—with tables groaning under the weight of heavy joints of meat, washed down with Arrack-punch, it is not surprising to find that one-third of the cases in hospital arose from liver complaint. We do not quite understand what is meant by "the hot winds of Calcutta," a fertile source of disease so often referred to by old writers thus. "When the hot winds are abroad the angel of 'death is busy in all quarters; and though numbers survive, the 'devastations are awful. Then is existence only supportable in 'the morning and evening; and the whole European people 'droop the head and dissolution solely occupies their thoughts." In reading old accounts of heat in Calcutta, such as that it was usual to throw water on the wheels of carriages an hour before going out, also to pour water on stones for coolness, we must remember the heat was not greater then than now, but persons had no means of alleviating it, excepting changing their linen, as the Judges of the Supreme Court did three or four times a day during Omichand's trial; it was doubtless the air that blew hot when the houses were all opened, no punkahs, no tatties, to escape from the horror of which our predecessors rented houses at the so-called healthy villages of Baraset and Chinsurah, where, seated behind the felted canvas, which in early times served the purpose of *cuscus tatties*, they

refreshed themselves with gallons of *Arrackpunch* and country beer, to keep off the effects of the climate, and remedy the debilitating influence of copious perspiration.

Ives gives the statistics of the Calcutta hospital from the ships in 1757 between February 8th and August 8th of that year, 1140 patients were received, of those 54 were for scurvies, 302 bilious fevers, and 56 bilious cholics; 52 men buried. Between August 7th and November 7th, 717 fresh patients were taken in, of those 147 were in putrid fevers, and 155 in putrid fluxes, 101 were buried. No wonder for in the same year Dr. Bogue remarks of the fevers in Calcutta,—"*bleeding* was commonly used in fever cases."* The rains were the deadly time in Calcutta, and particularly for new arrivals. Ship's crews in the river then used to lose one-fourth of their crews, or 300 men, chiefly owing however to their exposure to night fogs, and to the punch houses, though the stoppages at Diamond Harbour, laid the foundation of the disease of the majority; scurvy was almost universal, there were no Agri-Horticultural Societies in those days to supply vegetable seeds.

For improving the *sanitary condition* of Calcutta, the Lottery Committee did much. We find that as early as 1794 there were Lottery Commissioners: in that year they advertised for benevolent and charitable purposes a lottery of 10,000 tickets at 32 Rupees each, and some of our best streets are owing to their funds. The English knew nothing of sanitaria last century, Baraset, Chittagong and St. Thomé at Madras, were the places for change of air. W. Hastings, Sir R. Chambers and others used to go to Bircul near Hijli for sea-bathing; the remains of their Bungalows are still to be seen there; Sukhsagur was another retreat.

Much of the disease in Calcutta and in other parts of India has been owing to the English not conforming their mode of living, dress, &c. to the climate. The Anglo-Saxon in every part of the world has wished to carry his home system on with him, he is the *Topi-wala* in Calcutta as in London; he is like the Dutch at Batavia, who in the swamps made canals or fetid

* This is an important point in connection with the amalgamation of the armies; all the old medical writers on Calcutta state that *new* comers are most liable to the diseases of the country. Dr. Lind in his celebrated work on tropical diseases published in 1776 affirms, that "by length of time the constitution of Europeans becomes seasoned to the East and West India climates, if it is not injured by repeated attacks of sickness on the first arrival." Still the fact remains the Europeans can not bring up a healthy offspring in the plains of India. An old soldier 44 years in India told us that he considered one soldier seasoned after three years was equal to two recruits.

ditches run through their capital because Amsterdam had them, —the results were pestilential fever, hence the canals have slain more Dutch in Java than the swords of the natives. We find Calcutta people warned in 1780; "from the many sudden deaths 'which have happened lately, gentlemen should be cautious not 'to eat too freely during the continuance of the heat (June;) the 'Surgeon of an Indiaman expired in the street after eating 'a hearty dinner of beef, the thermometer was at 98."

But last century tropical countries were generally unhealthy. Jamaica formerly buried to the amount of the whole number of its white inhabitants *once in five years*; Batavia lost one-fifth of its Dutch population annually, the Portuguese lost all their European Missionaries in Guinea, and found it necessary to raise up a class of black priests; one-third of the Europeans died annually in the African factories.

No wonder fever was prevalent in Calcutta. People slept on the ground floor; few houses had upper stories, though the first floor was raised and was approached by a flight of steps. There was a disease common to the lower classes of Europeans called the *Barbers*, a species of palsy, owing to the exposure to the land winds after a fit of intoxication. Abscesses of the liver were very fatal—one of the charges advanced against Comte Lally was, "of causing himself to be treated as if he had an abs-'cess of the liver, before an abscess was formed, which, had 'it ever happened, would have caused his death" though this is absurd—it shows the view entertained then of abscess.

Dr. Lind writes of the fevers of the middle of last century in Calcutta. "The distempers are fevers of the remitting or inter-'mitting kind; sometimes they may begin under a continued 'form, and remain several days without any perceptible remission, 'but they have in general a great tendency to a remission. 'They are commonly accompanied with violent fits of rigors or 'shiverings, and *with discharges of bile upwards and downwards.* 'If the season be very sickly, some are seized with a malignant 'fever, of which they soon die; the body is covered with blotches 'of a livid colour, and the corpse in a few hours turns quite 'black and corrupted. At this time fluxes prevail. Which may 'be called bilious or putrid, the better to distinguish them 'from others which are accompanied with an inflammation of 'the bowels. In all those diseases at Bengal, the *lancet* is cauti-'ously to be used. It is a common observation, both at Bengal 'and Bencoolen, that the moon or tides have a remarkable in-'fluence there an intermitting fevers. I have been informed by 'a gentleman of undoubted veracity, and of great knowledge in 'medicine, that in fevers at Bengal, he could foretell their precise

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'time when the patient would expire, it being generally about 'the hour of low water. Thus much is certain, that in the 'year 1762, after a great sickness of which it was computed '30,000 blacks and 800 Europeans died in the province of 'Bengal, upon an eclipse of the moon, the English merchants 'and others, who had left off taking the bark, suffered a re-'lapse. The return of this fever was so general on the day 'of the eclipse, that there was not the least reason to doubt of 'the effect."

Respecting the mortality of Europeans in Calcutta, it is difficult to get accurate statistics, Hamilton states that in 1700, there were about 1200 English in Calcutta, but in the following January 460 were buried, higher than any year up to 1800, excepting 1760 when 305 died; the last century gives an average of 164 annually—but we doubt its correctness.*

Dr. Strong has made elaborate tables in which he calculates the mortality among natives in Calcutta 1831-40 at four and three-fifths per cent. annually :—

The *adventurers* (a term applied in the days of the Company's commercial monopoly to every man who came out not in the service of the Company; India was designed to be a pet preserve of the civil service) cannot be ommitted from the sketch

*"Respecting that disease which has proved such an awful scourge in Calcutta—*Cholera*, it is a commonly received opinion, that it broke out first in the Marquis of Hastings' Army, and made its appearance in the Nuddea District in 1813, but by a reference to old writers we find, that if not known as an *Epidemic* something very similar prevailed in Calcutta, but as an *Endemic*. Lind mentions "that in the great sickness of 1762 in which 30,000 blacks and 800 Europeans died in the province of Bengal, it was marked that a "constant vomiting of a white, tough, pellucid phlegm accompanied with a continual diarrhœa, was deemed the most mortal symptom." Cholera was called *Morte de Chien*, "very frequent, and fatal ;" and the treatment was emetics opiate, hartshorn, and water, it took the patient off in a few hours. Monsieur Dellon in 1698 writes of a disease called, the Indian Mordechi, which kills people in a few hours' time, accompanied with vomiting and looseness. The remedies reckoned effectual, are applying a red hot iron to the feet across the ancles, and taking kanji water with pepper. When Cholera as an *Epidemic* first broke out in the Marquis of Hastings' grand army natives were first attacked, in the case of Europeans it was accompanied by spasms, caused intense thirst, but the Doctors did not allow a drop of water; though some men that got water by stealth rapidly recovered. Besides brandy and laudanum, one of the remedies was placing the patient in a hot bath, and bleeding him while there in the arms—provided blood flowed. The doctors considered the disease was in the air, and it was at first thought to be contagious ; the camp followers were cut off so rapidly that the Marquis of Hastings was obliged to pitch a standing camp near Gwalior."

of Old Calcutta,—they were few and despised.* The "*Eonats*" a poem in ridicule of "free trade and empty speculation;" published in 1813, gives a frontispiece in the style of Punch; close in the background, is the India House to be let, one man holds a scroll on which is written "since the loss of the slave trade our '*Liver* has become a *Pool* of grief to us dissolved in woe—more- 'over our port (Liverpool) stands so snug for smuggling that the 'free trade need not go North about for that purpose." Another "Cork jackets for Indian Divers, salted Pork for Fakirs," then a Scotchman "your petitioners request that leaving to the 'Company the Hull, you would give us the kernel of the East In- 'dian Commerce" then to barter "for converting Scotch pearls 'into orientals, snow boots, fire screens, warming pans, in- 'visible petticoats, tragedies for warm weather:" then the ship "*Venus* receiving her cargo of 'white and willing nuns' for the 'consumption of the East Indies, which from the intended 'schemes of speculation, will naturally become 'Bankrupt in 'Morals as in Trade.'"† The writer, to show how little demand there is for the interloper to trade in Calcutta, states that if a labouring man, wife and two children, can live on $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees monthly, what an overplus he must have to expend on articles of foreign luxury—he overlooked Young Bengal.

Any one found without a license 10 miles from the Presidency

* The following extracts from the pamphlet show the feeling. Thus it describes the importations to India:—

Pale faded stuffs, by time grown faint
Will brighten up through art;
As British gives their faces paint
For sale at India's mart.

* * * *

Another in his bark receives
Coffins for undertakers;
For Bramins, Cassocks and lawn sleeves
And feather beds for Fakirs;

* * * *

This packs up ice in earthen jars,
And happily creates,
For Sheffield manufacturers,
A large demand for skaits.

* * * *

And lo! to mend the sunburnt breed
Of Asia's tawny sons,
What a vast freightage is decreed
Of white and willing nuns.

† Yet in 1623 the king of Japan styled Sir T. Smith and others in "the honorable and worshipful *adventurers* to the East Indies."

was liable to be marched under a guard on board ship and sent back to England forthwith.

While the settlement of *European capitalists* having a good moral character, and willing to treat the natives kindly and justly, would be a great boon in the Mofussil, the indiscriminate admission of Europeans was always considered bad; the East India Company have never had justice done to their views with regard to interlopers in this point; one of the best exposés of them however was given in a speech of the Right Honorable H. Dundas made in the House of Commons in 1793, and which called forth the decided approbation of Pitt. He states on this point. "An indiscriminate and unrestrained colonization would destroy that respect or rather eradicate that feeling which is general among the natives, of the superiority of the European character. It is a fact, that upon this feeling of the superiority of the Europeans the preservation of our empire depends, and it is owing to the limited number of them, and to their being the covenanted servants of the Company, or licensed inhabitants, that the idea of the superiority is so general, or that it effectual as a means of administering the government of our provinces. I cannot illustrate these observations better, than referring to the correspondence between Meer Cossim and Mr. Vansittart; the Nabob complained to this governor, that the natives were oppressed and harassed by numbers of *vagrant Europeans*; thinking, perhaps, that the Nabob was alarmed without reason Mr. Vansittart replied, that these Europeans were too contemptible to deserve notice. 'They may be contemptible' answered the Nabob, 'in your opinion, but the dog of an European is of consequence among the timid natives of this country.' If then, the superiority of the European character must be maintained in India, it is impossible for us to think of authorising an unrestrained emigration."

Griffs, though so abundant of late in India and particularly old Griffs, were not unknown formerly. Captain Williamson states regarding them in 1800. "Nothing can be 'more preposterous than the significant sneers of gentlemen on 'their first arrival in India; meaning thereby, to ridicule or des- 'pise what they consider effeminacy or luxury. Thus, several 'may be seen annually walking about without chattahs (i. e. um- 'brellas,) during the greatest heats, they affect to be ashamed of 'requiring aid, and endeavor to uphold by such a display of in- 'difference, the great reliance placed on strength of constitution. 'This unhappy infatuation rarely exceeds a few days, at the end 'of that time, sometimes only of a week (nay, I have known the

'period to be much shorter,) we too often are called upon to at-'tend the funeral of the self-deluded victim. The first attack 'is generally announced by cold shiverings and bilious vomiting, 'delirium speedily ensues, when putrefaction advances with such 'hasty strides, as often to render interment necessary so soon as 'can possibly be affected." The Colonel of a King's Regiment was considered the beau ideal of an old Griff. An anecdote is detailed of one who sent to the office of the Commander-in-Chief to request that a "cool station" might be selected for his corps ; and of the commandant of a brigade who hearing continually of the allowance for doolees (palanquins), enquired what sort of "animals" they were since they seemed to eat so much.*

An old writer of 1808 thus describes a griff officer of the Royal Army on his arrival in India.

"On his arrival in India, it is, somehow or other, a natural 'bias which prompts him, (and I may say every European, King's 'or Company's) to feel a sensation of repugnance, nay, little 'short of abhorrence, to the natives in general. Whether 'this has been born with us, or is the effect of education I 'know not ; but I can appeal to the truth of it, to the breast of 'any person who has been into India, everything a native 'does is executed exactly contrary to European ideas; and 'these people are so addicted to telling the most barefaced 'lies, that a stranger falling into the hands of the most villainous 'part of them (the Madras dubashes) on his first arrival, is 'naturally confirmed in the abhorrence he has felt for them at 'first sight. I have seen many sensible persons who could not 'conquer their aversion, for a length of time, so far as even to 'touch the skin of a native "Blackey," ; 'black fellows,' and ''black scoundrels', are the opprobious terms generally used 'in speaking of them, amongst every class of Europeans."

The King's troops were all noted for their griffinage—the following anecdote is recorded of one at the period of the Vellore Massacre:—"The arrogance of a reply to a Lieutenant Colonel, of 25 'years' standing, who commanded a corps of sepoys, and asked 'a King's Colonel (commanding the station) leave for his 'sepoys to attend an annual Hindoo festival ; urging, when this 'was denied, that it had been an invariable custom to grant the 'leave, for 25 years he had been in the service.—" Then," 'replied the commandant (who was not three years old when the 'Lieutenant Colonel entered the Army) " I, Theodosius, Pam-

* Not as bad as Lord Hardinge's ordering Chaprassies to be cooked for breakfast—he meant chappatees.

'padore Mount Razor, Colonel, commanding the * * * * * * * 'do now abolish, and put a stop to the said custom, in its 26th, 'year !" turning upon his heel on finishing the sentence." This griffinage was near costing the loss of India, as the Vellore Mutiny was mainly caused by king's officers interfering ignorantly with the prejudices of the sepoys, requiring them to wear a peculiar kind of turban like a hat and to shave their whiskers: the principal conspirator going to execution declared as his last words that "he would rather suffer death than wear the hat"—yet people in England in that day pooh-poohed it saying "What is the matter—Is it a turban or a whisker ?" A young Griff in the hands of native servants was always an object of the deepest pity, about 1810 he is graphically described thus. "His clothes disappear first—his money goes next, he 'knows neither the coins of the country, nor their value—for the 'worth of two pounds he is lucky if he obtains one—and so on. 'Without a soul on whose recommendation for servants he can rely, 'he beholds himself the prey of sharpers of whose villainy he is well 'aware, though utterly at a loss how to supply their place with 'others in whose fidelity he has confidence. Those servants who 'ply at ghauts, or landing places, are usually of the very worst des-'cription ; and it is truly to be lamented, that these men by 'speaking English, become so useful to the stranger, unacquainted 'with a single word of Hindoostanee, that all confidence is vested 'in them, of which, as may be supposed, they fail not to take 'every advantage."

In direct opposition to the Griff was the *Old Indian* of whom so much has been written ; here are the descriptions of one of last century. "Having lost all affections for, and all remembrance of the 'land of their nativity, they settle down to some engrossing em-'ployment, and vegetate in dulness and obscurity, perfectly satis-'fied with the gratification which a regular supply of European eat-'ables and drinkables can afford, never desiring to change their 'situation, or to enter into a larger or higher sphere. A vast num-'ber of strange notions may be acquired by those, who, confined 'to a narrow circle, contract their minds within the same boun-'dary, and are as little fitted to mix with the world as if their facul-'ties were benumbed by the wand of the enchanter." Or again "Amorous in the extreme, possessed of nice sensibility increased 'by the climate and passionately devoted to a luxurious and idle 'life, the generality of Indians find too many resources in their 'Zenanas to exchange them voluntarily for the cares of Cutchery 'or the tumults of camp."

But with improved religious and literary tastes the old Indian

is passing away and men are inclined to go to the other extreme and remain "Everlasting Griffs"—ever learning.

With the exception of Buchanan, Thomson, Martyn, Browne and a few others, the *India Chaplaincy* has been bare of men distinguished either for pulpit eloquence, pastoral visiting or theological knowledge. David Browne who came out in 1786 was the first man of any note; previous to that period and 1756 there were 13 Chaplains; of these 2 died, one in the Black Hole, another at Fulta among the fugitives, 5 died after about 3 years' service, none of them "studied the language of the Gentus." The first Chaplain we have mention of in Calcutta is the Rev. S. Briencliffe in 1714. Seeing the want of schools, the Portuguese "having none, but bringing up their slaves in their own faith," he proposed to establish one, but met with no encouragement. Mr. Bellamy perished in the Black Hole. Butler and Cape were Chaplains in 1758 and assisted Kiernander in raising money for missionary operations, they died there in 1761. Stavely succeeded but was carried off by an epidemic in 1762. Dr. Burns, Hulser, Chaplain to Sir E. Carter, Owen, Blanshard and Johnson were subsequent Chaplains. Large fortunes were made by them in days when 16 or 20 gold-mohurs were a common fee for a marriage and 5 gold-mohurs the smallest fee for a baptism. "Goldmohurs are dealt about in Calcutta as half-crowns in England." We in vain search for traces of any of the Chaplains last century having been distinguished for oriental scholarship. Valentia writes of them in 1802 "as noted for the unedifying contests that prevail 'among them even in the pulpit, which tend to lower the religion and its followers in the eyes of the natives of every description." The late Bishop Wilson's opinion, regarding Chaplains was similar; he once declared publicly, that half his time was spent in settling their quarrels. Major S. Waring recommended in 1807 that Chaplains should in future confine themselves to the souls of their own countrymen,—there was little occasion for that advice, as the Chaplains have never been over zealous in "teaching the Gentus."

The name of *Doctor* will ever be dear to Calcutta, in connection with Surgeon Hamilton who cured of a malignant distemper the great Mogul, and was allowed by him as a mark of gratitude a piece of ground for his countrymen. Surgeon Kerr who died in 1782 was distinguished as well by his medical knowledge, as by his "improving the Arts, and enriching Science by his discoveries in India." Dr. Wade died in 1802, he published various medical tracts and had finished a large volume on the His-

tory of Assam,—where is it? Hartley House states last century of the Doctors:—

"Physic, as well as law, is a gold mine to its professors to work it at will. The medical gentlemen at Calcutta make their visits in palanquins, and receive a goldmohur each patient for every common attendance, extras are enormous. Medicines are also rated so high, that it is shocking to think of: in order to soften which public evil as much as possible, an apothecary's shop is opened at the Old Fort, by the Company, in the nature of your London Dispensaries, where drugs are vended upon reasonable terms. The following charges are specimens of the expences those Europeans incur, who sacrifice to appearances. An ounce of bark, three rupees; an ounce of salts, one rupee; a bolus, one rupee; a blister, two rupees,—and so on in proportion, so that literally speaking, you may ruin your fortune to preserve your life. But then to balance this formidable account, every profession has its amazing advantages: accordingly, as I am told, that it is no uncommon thing to clear a hundred and forty per cent. by merchandize on many European articles and particularly the ornamental for ladies and on men's hats."

In 1780 the following squib on some of the doctors appeared in one of the Calcutta papers—we fear it was too true:—

Such Doctors who never saw Leyden, or Flanders,
Run counter to reason, and bleed in the jaundice.
If your wife has a headache let Sangrado but touch her
And he'll jobb in his Launcet like any hog Butcher
Tho' in putrid complaints, dissolution is rapid,
He'll bleed you to render the Serum more rapid.

But consider the cause sure, 'twill give one the hip man,
To see dubb'd a Doctor, a special good Midshipman,
Who handels your pulse as he'd handel a rope,
And conceives your complaint, just as clear as the Pope.

English ladies in Calcutta last century were few and very expensive. Stavorinus thus describes them in 1770. "Domestic 'peace and tranquillity must be purchased by a shower of jewels, 'a wardrobe of the richest clothes, and a kingly parade of plate 'upon the sideboard; the husband must give all these, or according to a vulgar phrase "the house would be too hot to hold 'him," while the wife never pays the least attention to her do- 'mestic concerns, but suffers the whole to depend upon her ser- 'vants or slaves. The women generally rise between eight and 'nine o'clock. Dinner is ready at half past one; they go to 'sleep till half past four or five; they then dress in form, and 'the evening and part of the night is spent in company or at dan-

'cing parties, which are frequent during the colder season. They 'are fond of parties of pleasure, which are frequently made, both 'upon the delightful banks and upon the pleasant waves of the 'Ganges. Yet these and all other amusements, are here peculi- 'arly expensive." Up to the close of the century they amounted to no more than 250 in Bengal and its dependencies, while the European male inhabitants of respectability, including military officers, were about 4000. Besides, few coming out through dread of the climate, no lady could be landed in Bengal at a less cost than 5000 rupees; freight was high, a monopoly of the Company—£25 a ton paid for goods, now to be sent at £5; a good table was kept during a long voyage, which then as now afforded leisure and scope for fiery hearts and gossiping tongues. Hickey's *Gazette* states of this in 1780. "In my last I sent you an ac- 'count of the number of ladies which has arrived in the late 'ships, there came eleven in one vessel, too great a number for 'the peace and good order of a Round House. Millinery must 'rise at least 25 per cent. for the above ladies, when they left 'England were well stocked with Head Dresses of different kinds, 'formed to the highest ton. But from the unfortunate disputes, 'which daily arose during the space of the three last months of 'the passage they had scarce a cap left when they arrived.'*

The *marriage question* is one that occupied an important place in Old Calcutta, in the days when Edinburgh was called "the flesh market for the Indian marriage mart." London sent supplies out too. Grand Pre states of this. "From a knowledge

* What Stavorinus states of the Dutch ladies at Batavia is cœteris paribus applicable to those of Bengal. "They are in general, of a very delicate make and of an extreme fair complexion; but the tints of vermillion which embellish our Northern ladies, are wholly absent from their cheeks; the skin of their face and hands, is of the most deadly pale white. They have very supple joints and can turn their fingers, hands, and arms in almost every direction; but this they have in common with the women in the West Indies, and in other tropical climates. They are commonly of a listless and lazy temper; but this ought to be ascribed to their education, and the number of slaves of both sexes, that they always have to wait upon them. They rise about half past seven, or eight o'clock, in the morning. They spend the forenoon in playing and toying with their female slaves, whom they are never without, and in laughing and talking with them, while a few moments afterwards, they will have the poor creatures whipped unmercifully, for the merest trifle. They loll in a loose and airy dress, upon a sofa, or sit upon a low stool, or upon the ground, with their legs crossed under them. In the mean time, they do not omit the chewing of pinang, or betel, with which custom all the Indian women are infatuated; they likewise masticate the Java tobacco; this makes their spittle of a crimson colour, and when they have done it long, they get a black border along their lips, their teeth become black, and their mouths are very disagreeable."

'of this general predilection in favour of matrimony in India, the English, who are inclined to every sort of speculation, send thither annually whole cargoes of females, who are tolerably handsome and are seldom six months in the country without getting husbands. These cargoes were impatiently expected by such as not liking the orphans, are tired of celibacy, and on the look out for the arrival of the ships they were eager, as in other places, for a freight of merchandise to make purchases of goods. What is more extraordinary, these marriages are in general happy. The women, removed from Europe from a situation of mediocrity, often of unhappiness, to a distant country where they pass suddenly into a state of opulence, feel as they ought the sentiments of gratitude due to the men, who share with them their fortunes. They become both good wives and good mothers, and are therefore generally preferred to the natives, who are continually wishing for the luxuries in which they were brought up. These matrimonial ventures afford the means of keeping up the white race, at Bengal, and prevent the Portuguese caste from increasing so fast as on the coast. This caste is called here *topas*, from the word *topi* which signifies in the Portuguese language a hat. The name is given to such Indians as change their own for the European dress and wear a hat instead of a turban."

On a young lady landing the church itself was made a place for courtships, and the first three nights after landing the young lady —who came to see her aunt,—remained up all night to receive visitors who crowded the house of some lady of rank, as if at an Irish wake—the rule being "strike the iron while hot." Marriages were accordingly as quickly got up as those at Kidderpore, but the Governor General's licence to be married was necessarily to constitute it a legal one. Many matches were concluded even before the third night of exhibition, but in special cases a fourth night was required for the banquet of bachelors from the interior. There were no punkahs in those days—with tight lacing, musquitos and a crowd, the lady must have suffered much—and she had to return all the visits. About 1780 the practice began to fall into disuse owing to the increase of people and of houses, some of which were at a great distance from others. There was great competition then for marriageable ladies, as the following notice of Hickey's *Gazette* of 1780 illustrates.

"It is said that Captain H— was last night or will soon be married to Miss P—, a lady of merit and genteel accomplishments. We are told here that several other happy unions of the same nature are now meditating and will soon take place in Calcutta. Happy people! who have the opportunity of rendering yourselves to the fair, a blessing seldom experienced by us poor fellows in this remote part of the country. Make the most of your

present situation, I advise you; for the gentlemen out of the provinces, believing that forestalling is contrary to law, as they are assured it is repugnant to equity, are determined to apply to the Judges for an order of Court, that an equal division of beauty may be made, and they hope to have the support of Government in this their prayer as Remits are no less necessary than civilians to the welfare of the state."

The consequences of hasty marriage were often deplorable, Calcutta having been noted for its *Affairs de Cœur* almost as much as the Court of Versailles, and a husband was often regarded by the lady as an Italian lady generally views hers. On the slightest attack of illness the wife found a pretext for leaving for Europe a husband, to whom she had no attachment nor had he for her,—in various cases the ship had scarcely reached Kedgiri, before the husband had supplied himself with "a seraglio of black dames." Cases have been even known, when the doctor was bribed by the husband to give an order for a change of climate. Men old enough to make a girl guilty of a breach of the canonical articles which positively forbid your marrying your grand-father, were wedded to girls in their teens with little or no attraction. No wonder it was remarked of those marriages "Hymen in Calcutta is seldom attended at the nuptial ceremony by Cupid." Marriages were celebrated in the evening, we find it so in 1778—how much earlier we do not know. "Weddings here are very joyous things to all parties; especially, I should suppose, to the padre or clergyman, who frequently receives twenty goldmohurs for his trouble of performing the ceremony. The bride and bridegroom's friends assemble, all elegantly dressed, at one or other of the young couple's nearest relatives, and are most sumptuously entertained; and the congratulatory visits on the occasion put the whole town in motion."

Notices of marriages were written in a curious style, this is one of 1780. "Married last Saturday at Cossimbazar the 'Honourable David Anstruther, a Lieutenant of the yellow, to 'Miss Donaldson of that place, a young lady of beauty and infinite 'accomplishments." In those days all ladies were considered beauties, "tritons among the minnows," but few ladies of good education or good family would venture out of England. Scotland sent a supply and of them it is observed in 1800. "The generality of ladies who come annually from Europe, though doubtless of unsullied virtue, are by no means such as a person at all scrupulous in the connexions he formed, would select from, for a partner for life."

The establishment of the Supreme Court in Calcutta last century introduced the *lawyers* into Calcutta, to the great loss, and sorrow of the natives, who have found English law the

dearest and worst of all law. Asiaticus writes thus in 1774. "The numerous dependants, which have arrived in the 'train of the Judges, and of the new Commander-in-Chief of 'the forces, will of course be appointed to all the posts of any 'emolument, and we must do those gentlemen the justice to 'observe, that, both in number and capacity, they exactly re-'semble an army of locusts sent to devour the fruits of the earth."

Hartley House mentions—"No wonder lawyers return from 'this country rolling in wealth, their fees are enormous; if you 'ask a single question on any affair, you pay down your goldmohur, 'and if he writes a letter of only three lines twenty-eight 'rupees! I tremble at the idea of coming into their hands; 'for what must be the recoveries, to answer such immense 'charges! you must, however, be informed, that the number of 'acting attornies on the court roll is restricted to twelve; who 'serve an articled clerkship or three years only, instead of five, as 'in England. The fee for making a will is in proportion to its 'length, from five goldmohurs upwards; and as to marriage 'articles I should imagine they would half ruin a man, and 'a process at law be the destruction of both parties. A man of 'abilities and good address in this line, if he has the firmness 'to resist the fashionable contagion, gambling, need only pass 'one seven years of his life at Calcutta, to return home in affluent 'circumstances; but the very nature of their profession leads 'them into gay connections, and, having for a time complied with 'the humour of their company from prudential motives, they 'become tainted and prosecute their bane from the impulses of 'inclination."

About 1820 a Tirhoot planter published a work on India and gives the following view which corresponds with other statements, of the *Mercantile Houses* last century. "The Calcutta agents form a very prominent part of the community, and from their extensive mercantile connexions, occupy a large space in the public eye. These gentlemen, according to a bombastic mode of expression usual in India, are called, by way of eminence, the princely merchants of Calcutta. Indeed the princes of the desk and ledger are very fond of adulation, and take pride in the high-sounding epithets applied to them, by persons some twenty or fifty thousand rupees minus in their books. People in the East are addicted to pompous titles; the emperor's court abounded in "lights of the world, invincible swords, and supporters of the throne." I dare say these ledger princes, whose insignia should consist of a bale of cotton for a crown, and an indigo chest for a sceptre, by and by will be metamorphosed into ornaments of our Indian empire and 'mighty lords of the

quill'—high in dignity. But a truce to levity, and let us examine what the princely merchants are. During the war Calcutta agency houses consisted of old establishments, which engrossed a great part of all commercial transactions, and might be termed a mercantile aristocracy. Possessed of large factories and numerous constituents through India, the trader was entirely dependant upon them, and an agent dictated his terms, from which there was no appeal. At present the case is different; inferior houses of agency have started up, new establishments have been formed, and an agent cannot dictate terms to persons possessed of some property, as they may have recourse to these inferior houses, so that the aristocracy is fast losing its domineering ascendancy: they act as agents to civil servants, officers in the army, &c., and lend money to merchants or traders upon terms very favourable to themselves, so that it often happens, when these are losers by a speculation, the agent is a gainer. During the war, when commercial men sometimes made their fortune by a happy incident, they charged forty, fifty, and ninety per cent. for money advanced; however, at present, that trade is dull; they are compelled to be moderate and content themselves with thirty. This exorbitant percentage, they make out in the shape of interest for money, commissions, charges, godown rents, &c., which often startle and gall an unwary constituent. I have heard of cases where this latter has sat down full of satisfaction, and calculated a pretty little balance in his own favour, after allowing for the common interest of money; but this was reckoning without his host. He goes to his agent, requests his account, and starts at a debt which stares him in the face, more frightful than Hector's ghost was to pious Æneas. The agents have indigo factories, cotton factories, and other possessions in the interior, over which they appoint managers, and allow them a share in the concern, also a salary for their trouble; with these they adopt the same system as with speculators, so that managers are often involved in debt, whilst the agent is a gainer. This was the case with indigo planters for many years; they laboured, they sweated, and found themselves in the end playing a losing game; however for the last two years, fortune has been propitious, and owing to the great rise in the price of that article they are getting rich in spite of incumbrances. Constituents, with an independent property, are neither more nor less than servants to agents, related, recommended, or otherwise connected with these latter; who possess establishments which must be superintended by some body, and into which these gentlemen are dubbed as managers, constituents or servants. When a consti-

tuent is deeply in their books, and has not assets sufficient to pay them, they insure his life to the amount; so that his death, which may not be very distant in a climate like India, discharges all arrears. They associate with persons of the highest rank, with whom they are concerned in business, and receive numerous visitors, in order to draw the ties of interest closer among their friends. To persons under them their tone is high and arbitrary, not the moderation of an English merchant, but the loftiness of an Indian; so that a young man, who would come in their employments, should have a flexible back, and be skilled in the art of booing." How much the merchant was in the power of the Banyan last century we may judge from the following description of that functionary.

"*Banyan* is a person either acting for himself or as the substitute of some great black merchant by whom the English gentlemen in general transact all their business. He is interpreter, head book-keeper, head secretary, head broker, the supplier of cash, and cash-keeper, and in general also secret-keeper. He puts in the under-clerks, the porter or door-keeper, stewards, bearers of the silver, slaves, running footmen, torch and branch light-carriers, palanqueen-bearers, and all the long tribe of under servants, for whose honesty he is deemed answerable, and he conducts all the trade of his master, to *whom*, unless pretty well acquainted with the country languages, it is difficult for any of the natives to obtain access. In short he possesses singly many more powers over his master than can in the country be assumed by any young spendthrifts, steward, money-lender, and mistress all together, and farther serves very conveniently sometimes in public discussion to father such acts or proceedings as his master durst not avow. There is a powerful string of connection among these Banyans who serve all the English in the settlements of Bengal, as well in all public offices as in their private offices. Since the great influence acquired there by the English, many persons of the best Gentoo families take upon them this trust of servitude and even pay a sum of money for serving gentlemen in certain posts; but principally for the influence which they acquire thereby, and the advantage of carrying on trade which they could not otherwise do, and which in this situation they frequently do, duty free, under cover of their master's dustucks. There have been few instances of any European acquiring such a knowledge in speaking, reading and writing the Bengali Language (which is absolutely necessary for a real merchant) as to be able to do without such a Head Banyan."

In 1833-34 the great crash came on the merchants of Calcutta who lived as princes—but with other people's money. The newspaper press of Calcutta was silent but the London *Times* told the truth in the following plain language. "The mite of the widow, the hard earnings of the military servant, the collected accumulations of the civil servant, the funds of the capitalist, and the realized treasure of the retiring pensioner, on its way from India to Europe, have all been involved in one common deterioration or ruin. They have been occasioned solely by the mode in which the great Calcutta agency

houses have been transacting business for the last ten or fifteen years, in other words since the Charter of 1814; the rage for speculation or inordinate gains, on the part of the directors, and too eager or confident cupidity of their customers, over-trading, improvident enterprize, extravagant miscalculation and excessive expense in living, have no doubt been the cause of the recent failures."

We give the following lists of failures of a few houses which show the ruin and dismay that were then spread in Calcutta, but the effect was little among merchants as some of the old partners of the agency-houses seeing the storm coming had retired with part of their fortunes, and penniless adventurers took their place.

	Calcutta.		
1830—Jany.,	Palmer and Co., reported,	...	£5,000,000
1832—Dec.,	Alexander and Co., admitted,		3,440,000
1833—Jany.,	Mackintosh and Co.,	do., ...	2,700,000
„ May,	Colvin and Co.,	do., ...	1,120,000
„ Nov.,	Fergusson and Co.,	do., ...	3,562,000
1834—Jany.,	Cruttenden and Co.,	do., ...	1,350,000
		At Calcutta,	17,172,000
	Bombay.		
1833—April,	Shottan and Co.,	... ...	207,000
	London.		
„ May,	Pickards and Co.,	... ...	950,000
„ Augt.,	Fairlie and Co.,	... ...	1,044,000
	Grand total,	...	£19,373,000

Missionaries were looked on last century, and part of this, by the Government, as a dangerous class of men; hence originated the following despatch of the Governor General in December 1807 to the Court. "The late prohibition of public preaching in 'the native languages at Calcutta, was rendered indispensable by 'some actual indications of solicitude, and incipient irritation in 'the minds of the native public, and in this city, in consequence 'of those provocations, in India, more than in any other country, 'the control of religious publications is indispensable for the 'public safety." Yet last century the stores for the Danish Missionaries were sent freight and duty free, by the Court of Directors, and in Lord Minto's time they were lent 300 pagodas monthly to be repaid. Missionaries in the Madras Presidency rendered great service to the cause of Natural History, such as Kœnig a pupil of Linnæus, Martine, Klein, Rottler, John. Swartz, at the earnest request of Government negotiated with

Hyder who would trust *no one* else. Governor Clive stood sponsor to the child of Kiernander, the first Protestant Missionary in Calcutta. But the Vellore Massacre had about 1808 roused Calcutta people to a sense of the slight tenure of their power in his country ; as a consequence, in a letter to the Court in 1813 we have the following alarm expressed in a pamphlet of the day at the proposal even to have a Bishop.

"Even names often have a great effect among the multitudes. The Bishop, on his arrival in India, will probably be called Lord Padre Saheb, perhaps Lord Padre Burra Saheb, and the Archdeacon Lord Padre Chota Saheb. These appellations and the very appearance of the dignified divines will excite curiosity, and curiosity produce injury. For what purpose are these great Padres come? may be asked among each other. The answer will be obvious, alarm be excited and the recent irritations be renewed, and widely spread. The principal Mahometans, or their adherents, many of them as enthusiastic as any of our zealots for the propagation of their faith, will, as they did at Vellore, eagerly seize the opportunity and unite in flames with the Hindoos against the Christians."

There was no ground however for alarm as the friends of Missions then did not advocate state interference in missions; thus in 1813 Wilberforce in a famous speech in the House of Commons recommended the sending Missionaries to India, but added, "that the missionaries should be clear-'ly understood to be armed with no authority, furnished with 'no commission from the governing power of the country. In 'the work of conversion, I abjure all ideas of compulsion; 'I disclaim all use of the authority, nay, even of the influence 'of government. I would trust altogether to the effects of rea-'son* and truth."

Kiernander, the first Missionary to Bengal, was we believe the first who did any thing in native education. We find that in 1758 Mr. Kiernander had a school of 175 children, 78 of whom were instructed at the expense of the Christian Knowledge Society. Mr. Kiernander's colleague, a Mr. Sylvester, was then occupied in translating a Catechism and prayers into Bengali; at that day it was thought by many as absurd a thing to give high instruction to a native as to teach dancing to a cow. We have an account of a Mr. Reuben Barrow, an able mathematician in India at the close of last century, who was asked by several natives to instruct them in astronomy and algebra. He began, but he was so deficient in suavity of manner as to drive the natives away, and to gain for himself the title of the Mathematical Hottentot.

* Major Scott Waring, who had been Secretary to Warren Hastings, came out at this time with a Pamphlet in which he recommended "the immediate recal of every Indian Missionary."

Sailors in Calcutta have always been noted for their recklessness and speedy death. The mortality of sailors in the port of Calcutta was fearful, chiefly owing to their intemperance, and no means adopted to check it; in fact in the early days of the East India Company, such as in 1750, the charge was made by a proprietor against the Captains of *Indiamen*, "of the constant practice of making their crews drunk, and mad with the spirituous liquors they trafficked in, and the Commanders in the military swallowing the whole pay of your soldiers in the same trade; which was one great cause of the few there was, and of their ill-behaviour and desertion at Madras, when the enemy came before it." About 1780, Sobha Bazar was frequented by sailors, as Lal Bazar is now, "the noted place of residence of the black ladies of pleasure." In that year a great fire is recorded to have happened there, when Jack rescued all their property from the mat huts. Sailors in 1780 were in Calcutta loafers, "occasionally rambling over the 'country, disgracing the British name and weakening the hands 'of Government." We have an account of a press gang going after them to the punch houses, "pressing a considerable number of men who had no visible means of their support," thus ridding the settlement of great numbers of idle fellows "who may be useful 'their king and country, by lending their assistance to chastise 'the enemies of *Old England* in this part of the world." The following is an advertisement to sailors in 1780 to engage in privateering, which was then reckoned a favourable opening to men seeking their fortune.

To all gentlemen, seamen and lads of enterprise and true spirit, who are ambitious of making an honorable independence by the plunder of the enemies of their country, the 'Death or Glory' privateer, a prime sailing vessel, commanded by James Bracey, mounting six 22-pounders, 12 cohurns and twenty swivels and carrying one hundred and twenty men—will leave Calcutta in few days on a five months' cruise against the Dutch, French and Spaniards. The best treatment and encouragement will be given.

Last century when Europeans were few, food and houses cheap and salaries high, Calcutta was pre-eminently the shrine of *hospitality*; a new comer found his hosts' house, servants and money at his disposal; spare covers were laid out at dinner and at supper for any friends that might drop in to take pot luck, merchants then had regular hot tiffins open to all their friends, and to those who wished to see them on business there was the freeness of French life; the increase of prices and multiplication of unknown adventurers necessarily placed restrictions on this open table system, and boarding houses gradually sprang up. Public breakfasts were customarily given by the

Governor General, and members of Council.—A preface to a levée "good and bad were to be seen around the same teapot. This 'occasioned a native of some consequence to remark that 'among 'Europeans all who wore a hat and breeches were gentlemen.'" Lord Cornwallis however discontinued the practice—it has of late years been observed in Madras.

Hotels were not established in Calcutta till about 50 years ago, previous to that there were taverns in the Lal Bazar and Cossitollah: the Wilson's of 1800 was at Fulta where a large establishment was maintained for families and single ladies who had to embark and disembark there on account of the tide. On the increase of strangers and temporary residents in Calcutta the cost and comfortlessness of furnishing a whole house, led to the setting up of boarding houses. The increase of rent of late in Chowringee is leading many now to adopt the Paris fashion of having a suite of rooms in a house. In 1780 however we find an advertisement of an hotel in Calcutta to be kept by Sir E. Impey's late steward and Sir T. Rumbold's late cook—" turtles dressed, gentlemen boarded and families supplied with pastry."

Commercial pursuits were not very consistent with literary tastes in old Calcutta; the jingling of rhyme was discord to the rattling of rupees, and the shaking the pagoda tree was preferable to every other pursuit. War and the Muses were equally at variance. One Johns kept a public library in the —old Fort about 1770,—new books came out only yearly, and there were few periodicals to tempt the literary lounger. Mr. Andrews who opened a circulating library, complains in an advertisement in 1780 of the loss he has sustained "owing to gentlemen 'going away, and in their hurry not recollecting their being 'subscribers to the Library or having any books belonging there'to." Another advertisement of his in 1780 states, "books are 'kept too long, *one* month is allowed for a quarto, he alleges that 'many sets were detained by individuals, cuts, leaves are torn 'out." The old *Hurkaru* circulating library stood many years. Printing was high, 500 per cent. higher than now. *Asiaticus* containing 142 pages 12mo., printed in 1803, was sold to non-subscribers at 24 rupees a copy.

Hickey's *Bengal Gazette* was the first Calcutta newspaper, it was published weekly, and started Saturday, January the 29th 1780. The early number announced it to be "an antibilious specific." No. 1 contains advertisements of "the comedy of the "Beaux Stratagem" to be performed at the Calcutta Theatre," foreign intelligence from the Liege *Gazette* of March the 8th 1779.—News received from Bombay viâ Bussora dated September 15th 1779.

—Calcutta races, the subscription plate value 2000 Sicca Rupees. " Stewards of the racing club invite the ladies and gentlemen of the settlement to a ball at the Court House."—Madeira wine at 13 Sicca Rupees per dozen.—At Williamson's Auction Rooms, Old Play House, houses offered for sale.—West India sweetmeats, chariots, horses, ships. The Poet's Corner—Nicoll's advertisement of tavern south east of the China Bazar—a house for sale at Ducansore—to let a Garden House situate at Bread and Cheese Bungalow opposite the great tree. Government has given to Mr. John Princep an exclusive patent for coining copper pice." The investments used to be auctioned; among the lists of things occur swords and phaetons. Thefts are advertised in a way not to give offence, thus—as lost or supposed to be taken away in a mistake from the house of Mr. Brightmann in the Moorgy Hattah, a gold cane belonging to Mr. De Conti—borrowed last week by a person or persons unknown out of a private gentleman's house, a very elegant pair of candle shades; 40 rupees reward was offered. Scurrilous as the Calcutta press has always been, it was outdone by Hickey's *Gazette.* The editor, though it teemed with all kinds of obscenity, thought like subsequent editors that he could say what he liked; he advocated the liberty, i. e. licentiousness of the press, "the birth-right," as he called it " of every Englishman though not of venal *Scotchmen.*" There was great jealousy of Scotchmen. Hickey writes " Scotchmen rule every thing in India, monopolise every post." In connexion with the newspaper press, subsequently occur the names of Greenlaw, Grant, Sutherland, Bryce, Buckingham, Richardson, Horace Hayman Wilson—they gave many brilliant articles but little Indian news, while the censorship prevented their criticising either Government or Bishop. The 'Bengal Annual' contained many most brilliant articles from the pens of Dr. Grant, Meredith Parker, and Calder Campbell; the 'Oriental Pearl' was also well done.

The Calcutta press being long under censorship could not express its views, but as soon as public opinion enabled it to shake off those restrictions, which were useful perhaps in a country like India, where we cannot expect the natives to respect the English Government when the European press is constantly abusing it, the Calcutta press became, generally, the advocate of class interests, *i. e.* of a handful of Europeans, in opposition to views of an imperial policy, which would include *both* Europeans and natives; hence the Calcutta press became the mere organ of the mercantile houses of Calcutta. But in 1833 attention was called to the disgraceful silence of the Calcutta

press, on the public exposures excited by Palmer and Company's insolvency.

Calcutta is the child of trade, Charnock founded it with mercantile views on the eastern bank of the Hooghly, though the western was the more healthy; but there was a great number of weavers living at Suttanatee, and there was deep water. Yet it is curious there was a strong party in England opposed to trade with India, who raised clamourous complaints loud and general.

Calcutta has never had any European merchants like Jogut Set, the Rothschild of Moorshedabad, nor like the Mul family of Benares; few of them were capitalists—except on money borrowed from natives. They were agents, and opposed by the Company, whose London employers preferred sending dear things out from London to finding them in India; last century castor oil used to be sent out from England, reminding one of the directions forwarded during the mutiny by the medical authorities in England, apprising the Queen's Surgeons of the *recent* discovery of the virtues of the best fruit,—such things may be, as we have it on record that a cargoe of skates were once sent out to Calcutta from Liverpool for winter recreation.

A brisk trade was springing up with China last century, merchants used to go from Calcutta every season to bring goods from it for the Calcutta market. One John Jones advertises in 1780 for orders as he is going to China. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1784 the following notice occurs of the Indian trade. "There is no branch of European commerce, that has made so rapid a progress as that to the East Indies. The whole number of ships sent to Asia by all the maritime powers of Europe, at the beginning of the present century, did not amount to fifty sail, of which England sent 14, France 5, Holland 11, the Venetians and Genoese together 9, Spain 3 and all the rest of Europe only 6; neither the Russians or Imperialists at that period sent any. In the year 1744 the English increased the number of their ships to 27, the Venetians and Genoese sent only 4, and the rest of Europe about 9. At this period 300 sail of European ships belonging to the several powers are employed in the East India traffic, of which England alone sends 68 being the whole of the East India Company's shipping. The French last year employed 9, the Portuguese 18, the Russians and Spaniards make up the remainder. But neither the Venetians nor Genoese now send one single ship to India."

In the present day when the mercantile interest of Calcutta is of such vast consequence, it is interesting to look back at the

objections that were once made against it. From a pamphlet published in 1621 we give the following objections to trade with India.

1. It were a happie thing for Christendome (say many men) that the navigation to the East Indies, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, had never bene found out; for in the fleetes of shippes, which are sent thither yearely out of England, Portingall, and the Low countries, the gold, silver, and coyne of Christendome, and particularly of this kindome, is exhausted, to buy unnecessarie wares.

2. The timber, plancke, and other materialls, for making of shipping, is exceedinglie wasted, and made dearer, by the building of so many great shippes, as are yearely sent to trade in the East Indies; and yet the state hath no use of any of them upon occasion. For either they are not here; or else they come home verie weake and unserviceable.

3. The voyages to the East Indies do greatly consume our victuals, and our marriners leaving many poore widdowes and children unrelieved. Besides, that many shippes are yearely sent forth to the East Indies, and few we see as yet returned. Also, this trade hath greatly decaied the traffique and shipping, which were wont to bee employed in to the streights. And yet the said Trade of the East Indies, is found very unprofitable to the Adventurers. Neither doth the commonwealth finde any benefit by the cheapenesse of spice and Indico, more than in times past.

It is generally observed, that his Maiestie's Mint hath had but little imployment ever sithence the East India Trade began.; wherefore it is manifest, that the onely remedie for this, and so many evils besides, is to put downe this Trade. For what other remedy can there bee for the good of the commonwealth?

In some thoughts on the present state of our trade to India, by a merchant of London in 1758, it is thus mentioned.

Tea, mean dirty drug, established by luxury, is become a necessary of life. Ridiculed by the *Chinese* our hardy seamen brave all climates, difficulties, and hazards, to bring them *gold* and *silver*, to take in return a few *dried herbs* and baked *earthenware*) Infatuation!

Ship Building began to be brisk after 1770, teak wood being chiefly used; we have an account of the launch of a ship, built by Captain Watson at his dockyard Kidderpore. Warren Hastings and his lady were present at the launch and subsequent entertainment. After this, Indian ship building was viewed with enormous jealousy in London by all the dockyard men and shipwrights connected with Leadenhall Street. Even as late as 1813 a writer in England states—"is it not a matter to be deplored, 'that the Company should employ the natives of India in building their ships, to the actual injury and positive loss of this 'nation, from which they received their Charter. Mistaken as 'the Company have been in this particular, it is not very difficult to divine what will take place, if an unrestrained commerce shall be permitted: if British capital shall be carried to India by British speculators, we may expect a vast increase of 'dockyards in that country, and a proportional increase of

'detriment to the artificers of Britain." The selfishness of English landowners was invoked that teak should give place to oak. At that time, the natives had completed at Bombay the *Murder*, a 74.

Tailors formerly made a rich harvest by their trade, at the beginning of this century ; but not so great, as one Martin, who went out a *taylor* in the *Lord Clive* Indiaman in 1763. He found his trade so profitable that he refused to exchange it for an Ensign's commission, and in ten years he gave his friends a dinner served up on plate, and shortly after retired to Europe with a fortune of 2 lacs.

Undertakers drove a more profitable trade, and the good-will of a rainy season was worth half a lakh of Rupees to them.

Milliners settled early in Calcutta "to the great dismay of hus-'bands who are observed to turn pale as ashes on the bare men-'tion of their wives being sent to enter milliners' shops, for con-'trol is not an article of matrimonial rule at Calcutta." While gentlemen conformed in dress to the requirements of the climate, the ladies of Calcutta dressed like the ladies of London, except that their fashions were some 12 months old. But these were days when "Nawabism was the stumbling block of their ambition, and flattery the daily incense of their sex." In 1780, appears in the Calcutta papers the following notice, stating the complaint of the ladies, "that the retailers of China cargoes, more parti-'cularly of silks and other articles proper for their wear, would 'be more consistent with mercantile fairness, to display their 'goods to the ladies and gentlemen of the town in general be-'fore they permit Taylors and other shopkeepers (at hours too 'early for them) to select all the choice assortments in order to 'dispose of them hereafter, at an enhanced and exorbitant 'rate. Ladies and Gentlemen giving as good a price for their 'purchases as taylors, are rather preferably entitled to the prior 'choice ; and also to observe to them that if this unfair practice 'be continued they are determined not to give themselves that 'trouble of attending their sales."

Gentlemen's dress is different from last century. Williamson writes of it before 1800. "In many instances, these evening visits 'are paid in a very airy manner: coats being often dispensed 'with ; the gentlemen wearing only an upper and an under waist-'coat both of white linen and the former having sleeves. Such 'would appear an extraordinary freedom, were it not established 'by custom, though it generally happens that gentlemen newly 'arrived from Europe, especially the officers of his Majesty's regi-'ments, wear their coats and prefer undergoing a kind of warm 'bath of the most distressing description both to themselves and

'to their neighbours; but in the course of time, they fall in with 'the local usages, and, though they may enter the room in that 'cumbrous habit, rarely fail to divest themselves of it, so soon as 'the first ceremonies are over, in favor of an upper waistcoat 'which a servant has in readiness."

Lord Valentia in 1804 states that English cloth as being more fashionable was superseding white. It was gradual, white so suitable to the climate was eventually superseded only by Alpaca. There was one singular article of dress however, Grand Pre states 'to be secure from the attacks of musquitos, it is the custom to wear within doors, if one stays any time, whether for meals or any other purpose, *paste-board round the legs.*' The change from white to black became very profitable to the tailors.

Grand Pre represents the English as trying the cultivation of the sugar-cane about 1794. "Messrs. Lambert and Ross were 'the first who engaged in the speculation. I visited their plantation, 'and had the pleasure of seeing that their fields looked well, and 'were in good order, and the canes promising, though smaller than 'those of the Antilles; this disadvantage however is compensated 'by the quantity of juice they yield, which is owing to the pecu-'liar quality of the soil in which they are planted. The only 'thing that dissatisfied me was, that misplaced economy seemed 'to have presided in the establishment of the manufactories. 'The buildings were good, the coppers extensive and the mill 'well executed, but it was worked by oxen, which have neither 'the strength or perseverance of the mules in the West Indies. 'A water mill certainly would be much more simple and prefer-'able, and the Ganges is rapid enough to afford a fall of water 'that would set any wheel in motion. At the period of which 'I speak, the natives were too little acquainted with business of 'this kind to be capable of conducting it, and workmen were 'accordingly brought from China for the purpose."

We find the reward offered for returning a very elegant pair of candle shades, in 1780 was 40 Sicca Rupees. About 1780 the rent of an upper-roomed house, consisting of a hall and two small rooms, amounted to 150 Rupees in Calcutta; in a fashionable part it was 3 to 400 Rupees. The Bungalows of the day were equally dear. Food stood thus in 1778. "A whole sheep costs but two Rupees; a lamb one Rupee; 'six good fowls or ducks ditto,—two pounds butter ditto,—twelve 'pounds of bread ditto,—and a pint of veal ditto,—good cheese 'two months ago sold at the enormous price of three or four 'Rupees per pound, but now you may buy it for one and a half. 'English claret sells at this time for sixty Rupees a dozen."

Housewives now must envy past time when they read the following account of Captain Williamson. " The average price of a sheep ' fit for fatting, is about a Rupee; but that price has only ' existed for twenty years. Before that date, the common value ' of a coarges (or score) was from six to eight Rupees; and I ' recollect, about twenty-nine years back, when marching from ' Berhampore to Cawnpore with a detachment of European ' recruits, seeing several coarges brought for their use by the ' contractor's sircar, at three, and three and a half Rupees! At ' the latter rate six sheep were purchased for a Rupee; which in ' British currency would be five pence each!" About 1780 salt was one Rupee a maund, brandy 2 Rupees 8 annas a gallon, rum 1 Rupee 8 annas a gallon, porter 100 Rupees per cask, Bandel sugar $7\frac{1}{4}$ Rupees a maund.

We give the *rate of wages*, recommended by Messrs. Becher, Frankland and Holwell, Zemindars of Calcutta, to the President and Council for their approbation and concurrence in 1759. And also what in the month of February 1787, at a general meeting of a committee of the principal inhabitants of Calcutta, was fixed on and shortly after transmitted to the Right Honorable the Governor General for his approval. We also append that for 1801.

	1759.	1787.	1801.		
	Arcot Rs.	Sicca Rs.	Rs.		Rs.
Consumer	5	11	10	to	25
Chubdar	5	5	15	"	30
Head Cook	5	6	10	"	20
Coachman	5	10	10	"	16
Head female servant	5	...	8	"	15
Jammadar	4	12	6	"	10
Kidmutdar	3	$5\frac{1}{2}$	6	"	12
Cook's first mate	3	5	6	"	10
Head bearer	3	5	...	"	8
Second female servant	3	...	4	"	6
Peons	2	$5\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	"	4
Bearers	2	...	15	"	20
Washerman to a family	3	10	6	"	8
Do. to a single gentleman	$1\frac{1}{2}$	4	5	"	6
Syce	2	$4\frac{1}{2}$	6	"	4
Shaving Barber	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	"	4
Hair dresser	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$5\frac{1}{2}$	6	"	16
Khurtchburdar	2	...	...	"	4
House Mally	2	3	...	"	4
Grass Cutter	$1\frac{1}{4}$	3	2	"	4
Harry woman to a family	2	5	...		...
Do. to a single person	1	...	Treble and quadruple.		
Wet Nurse	4	...	Besides cloths and Pawn 16.		

Dry Nurse	4	Besides cloths and Pawn from 12 to 16.

Hadley about 1780 mentions the following as the expenditure.

"A Captain in garrison requires about thirty servants, namely a cashier at 20 rupees per month; a house-steward, 10 rupees; a market man, 4 rupees; two waiters (generally slaves without wages); a cook, 6 rupees; his mate, 2 rupees; two running footmen, 8 rupees; a messenger, 4 rupees; 8 bearers for the palanqueen, 33 rupees; pipe bearer, 4 rupees; woman to clean the house, 4 rupees; porter at the door 4 rupees; linkboy, 4 rupees; necessary man 2 rupees; groom, 6 rupees; grass cutter, 2 rupees. Whether wages are rose, we cannot say. But this establishment about 20 years ago would have cost monthly 113 rupees, (about 141). If he keep a female house-keeper and a carriage his expences will be more. In the field he will want thirty porters (koolees), as every thing is carried by hand, at 4 rupees each monthly. So little were they acquainted with these matters in Leadenhall Street fifty years ago, that an order went out limiting the Commander-in-Chief to fifty koolees; when in fact he can hardly carry his baggage with three times that number."

The distinctions of rank among Europeans were rigorously insisted on in Calcutta last century, as strictly as at the Court of Lisbon. People were few, and the Anglo-Indians were equally noted on the banks of the Hooghly as of the Thames for social despotism, through boasting of political equality. This led to many quarrels. Stavorinus states the following with regard to the Dutch, which is equally applicable to the English.

The ladies are peculiarly prone to insist upon every prerogative attached to the station of their husbands; some of them, if they conceive themselves placed a jot lower than they are entitled to, will sit in sullen and proud silence, for the whole time the entertainment lasts.

It does not unfrequently happen, that two ladies, of equal rank, meeting each other, in their carriages, one will not give way to the other, though they may be forced to remain for hours in the street. Not long before I left Batavia, this happened between two clergymen's wives, who chancing to meet in their carriages in a narrow place, neither would give way, but stopped the passage for full a quarter of an hour, during which time, they abused each other in the most virulent manner, making use of the most reproachful epithets, and whore and slave's brat were bandied about without mercy: the mother of one of these ladies, it seems, had been a slave, and the other, as I was told, was not a little suspected, of richly deserving the first appellation: they, at last, rode by one another, continuing their railing till they were out of sight; but this occurrence was the occasion of an action which was brought before the Council, and carried on with the greatest virulence and perseverance.

Lord William Bentinck was the first man in high position to break through "the unjust and aristocratical distinctions which 'have for so long a period festered the feelings of those in the less 'elevated grades of Indian society, by extending the invitations

'to Government-House to persons, who, previous to his appoint-'ment, had not been considered eligible to so high an honour." He opened his levées at Government-House to a lower grade, much to the displeasure of Civilians and Big-wigs:—

Breakfast is described as "the only degagé meal, every one or-'dering what is most agreeable to their choice, and in elegant un-'dress chatting à la volonté; whilst on the contrary, dinner, tea, 'and supper are kind of state levées." Business was despatched in the morning. Europeans then did not work as hard in offices as they do now, and when Lord W. Bentinck arrived here he was surprised at the laziness even then prevailing. The Europeans were eased by the keranies of a great part of the little work they would otherwise have to perform. The dinner hour last century was about 2 o'clock; it gradually became later. Lord Valentia states, in 1803 "at 12 o'clock Calcutta people take a hot meal which they call tiffin, and then generally go to bed for 2 or 3 hours, the dinner hour is commonly between 7 and 8, which is certainly too late in this hot climate, as it prevents an evening ride at the proper time, and keeps them up till midnight or later, the viands are excellent and served in great profusion to the no small satisfaction of the birds." They partook much of highly seasoned grills and stews; a particularly favourite one was the Burdwan stew, made of flesh, fish, and fowl, a sort of Irish stew, it was considered not very good unless prepared in a silver sauce-pan, Hartley House thus describes the dinner.

"At twelve a repast is introduced, consisting of cold ham, 'chickens, and cold shrub, after partaking of which, all parties 'separate to dress. The friseur now forms the person anew, and 'those who do not choose to wear caps, however elegant or orna-'mented, have flowers of British manufacture (a favourite mode of 'decoration) intermixed with their tresses, and otherwise disposed 'so as to have an agreeable effect. Powder is, however, used in 'great quantities, on the idea of both coolness and neatness; though, 'in my opinion, the natural colour of the hair would be more 'becoming: but the intense heat, I suppose, renders it ineligi-'ble. At three, the day after my arrival, as is usually the case, the 'company assembled, in the hall or saloon, to the number of four 'and twenty; where besides the lustres aud girandoles already 'mentioned, are sofas of Chinese magnificence; but they are only 'substituted for chairs; what is called cooling in the western 'world, being here unpractised, and during the whole period of 'dinner, boys with slappers and fans surround you, procuring 'you at least a tolerably comfortable artificial atmosphere. 'The dishes were so abundant and the removes so rapid, I

'can only tell you, ducks, chickens, fish, (no soup, take notice, 'is ever served up at Calcutta.)"

Supper was light, at ten o'clock, a glass or two of a light wine, with a crust, cheese, then the hookah and bed by 11. Lord Cornwallis, on New Year's day in 1789, invited a party to dinner at 3½ at the Old Court House. Turtle and turkey courted the acceptance of the guests, a ball opened at 9½ in the evening, supper at 12, they broke up at 4 in the morning.

People sat a long time after dinner, enjoying stillness in the heat of the day, "It is no unfrequent thing for each man to des-'patch his three bottles of claret, or two of white wine, before 'they break up; having the bottles so emptied, heaped up be-'fore them as trophies of their prowess." Nor was this confined to the gentlemen. Hartley House mentions.—"Wine is the 'heaviest family article; for, whether it is taken fashionably or 'medicinally, every lady, even to your humble servant, drinks 'at least a bottle *per diem*, and the gentlemen four times that 'quantity."

In Stavorinus' time 1768, "peas, beans, cabbages, were to be 'had in Calcutta only during the cold season; in the hot season 'nothing was to be had but some spinage and cucumbers," but about 1780 potatoes, peas and French beans were in high repute. The Dutch are said to have been the first to introduce the culture of the potatoe; which was received from their settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. "From them the British received, an-'nually, the seeds of every kind of vegetable useful at the table, 'as well as several plants of which there appeared much need, 'especially various kinds of pot-herbs. They likewise supplied 'us with vines from, which innumerable cuttings have been dis-'pensed to every part of Bengal and its upper dependencies." The Dutch seemed to have communicated the taste for gardens to the English, they had one themselves at Chinsurah made on three stone terraces raised one above the other with groves of trees behind. The French also at Gyretta had a magnificent garden. "In 1780 appear notices and advertisements in Hickey's *Gazette* 'of Garden Houses in Baitakanah, Baligunge, Tannah near Hol-'well Place opposite Murkar Thannah; Commodore Richardson's, 'delightfully situated at Ducansore, Russapagla; John Bell's 'eastward of the Sepoy Barracks at Chowringhee, a piece 400 'yards from the main road leading to the salt water lakes; one 'with a hall, three rooms, and two verandahs on the Culpi road 'near Allypore for many years past. Mr. Crofts entertains the 'Governor General (W. Hastings) and his lady with several 'other persons of rank and quality, at his plantation at Sook 'Sagur," now in the river's bed.

With respect to *drinks*, beer and porter were little used being considered bilious,—the favourite drinks were madeira and claret; cider and perry also formed part of the beverages; ladies drank their bottle of claret daily while gentlemen indulged in their three or four, and that at five rupees a bottle! This was far inferior to the beer drinking propensities of various men 20 years ago, when a dozen a day was thought little of in Mofussil districts. A drink was in use called country-beer. "A tempting 'beverage, suited to the very hot weather and called 'country-'beer,' is in rather general use, though water artificially cooled is 'commonly drank during the repasts: in truth nothing can be 'more gratifying at such a time, but especially after eating cur-'ry. Country-beer is made of about one-fifth part porter, or 'beer with a wine glass full of toddy or palm-wine which is the 'general substitute for yeast, a small quantity of brown sugar, 'and a little grated ginger or the dried peel of Seville oranges 'or of limes; which are a very small kind of lemon abounding 'in citric acid, and to be had very cheap."

The houses in Chowringhee which now form a continuous line, were last century wide detached from each other and out of town. Asiaticus states—"Calcutta is near three leagues in 'circumference, and is so irregularly built, that it looks as if the 'houses had been placed wherever chance directed; here the 'lofty mansion of an English chief, there the thatched hovel of 'an Indian cooly. The bazaars or markets, which stand in the 'middle of the town, are streets of miserable huts, and every 'Indiaman who occupies one of these is called a merchant." It was a love of retirement, country quiet, and to be removed from the pestilential air of Calcutta, which led about 1770 the English in Calcutta, like the Dutch at Batavia, to reside in Garden Houses. Such were Sir William Jones' House at Garden Reach, Sir R. Chambers' at Bhowanipore, General Dickenson's at Ducansor. Very old houses were built in Calcutta much on the plan of ovens, the doors and windows very small; they had however, spacious, lofty, and substantial verandahs. In the old drawings few verandahs are placed to the houses, the Governor's house and a few others had arched windows. But it is singular that they should have deserted the basement story, and occupied only the upper one, which is much warmer; the buildings were much stronger, it was with great difficulty, the Old Fort and Tanna Fort were pulled down, the bricks were cemented together as if they were rock.

The substantial build and isolation of the houses secured them against fire. Fires have been frequent in Calcutta among natives, but never to the same extent as at Rajmahal, in 1638, when

the whole city was burnt to the ground. The bazaars last century were not pukka as now. The Mussulmans however dealt in a summary way with incendiaries. Thus in 1780, a native was convicted at Moorshedabad of setting fire to houses, by throwing the tikka of his hookah on the choppers; having been in the practice of it, he was sentenced by the Phousdar to have his left hand and right foot cut off in public. In April 1780 we have an account of 700 straw houses burnt down in Bow Bazar. Another fire in the same month in Kuli Bazar, and in Dhurumtolah when 20 natives were burnt to death, and a great number of cattle. Machooa Bazaar about the same time was on fire, as also the neighbourhood of the Hurringbarry. "The alarm the fire 'occasioned was the means of rousing several foreigners from 'their lurking places in that neighbourhood who did not belong 'to the militia." In March 1780 a fire occurred in Calcutta, in it 1,5000 straw-houses were consumed, 190 people were burned and suffocated; 16 perished in one house. In the same month it is stated. "A few days ago a Bengali was detected in the 'horrid attempt to set fire to some straw houses, and sent pri- 'soner to the Hurringbarry, and on Thursday last he was 'whipped at the tail of a cart, through the streets of Calcutta— 'too mild a punishment for so horrid a villain." The plan of incendiarism adopted was to fill a cocoanut shell with fire covered over with a brick, and tied over with a string, two holes being left in the brick that the wind may blow the fire out. A fellow was caught in the act in Dhurumtolah in 1780, but he slipped away his body being oiled. It was recommended that those owning straw-houses should have a long bamboo with three hooks at the end to catch the villains.

The *furniture* in houses was much less last century than now, as besides the expense of European furniture in those days, it was considered as heating the house and affording shelter to vermin which were then more abundant from the swamps near Calcutta. Chinese was therefore used. Mrs. Kindersley states on this point. "Funiture is so exorbitantly dear, and so very 'difficult to procure, that one seldom sees a room where all the 'chairs are of one sort; people of first consequence are forced 'to pick them up as they can either from the Captains of Eu- 'ropean ships or from China, or having sets made by blunder- 'ing carpenters of the country, or send for them to Bombay which 'are generally received about three years after they are 'bespoke; so that those people who have great good *luck* '*generally* get their houses tolerably well equipped by the 'time they are quitting them to return to England." *Glass windows* were very dear. Warren Hastings was one of the

few that had them. Mrs. Kindersley states,—"many of the new 'built houses have glass windows which are pleasant to the eye, 'but not so well calculated for the climate, as the old ones 'which are made of cane." Venetian blinds were used instead of verandahs. Cocoanut oil was not much used by Europeans; they lighted up the room with wax candles placed under glass shades to prevent their extinction from the free admission of the evening breeze. *Punkahs* were not much in use as late as in the beginning of this century; even in the time of the Marquis of Wellesley who was fond of oriental style, fans or chouries made of palm leaves only were used, which must have been very disagreeable in large parties. A class of natives was employed for this purpose called Kittesaw boys "dressed 'in white muslin jackets, tied round the waist with green sashes, 'and gartered at the knees in like manner with the puckered 'sleeves in England, with white turbans, bound by the same 'coloured ribband." But people moderated the heat by sleeping in the afternoon, and drinking their tea in the airy verandahs. They certainly wanted cooling when they began, like the people of St. Petersburg, to build in the Grecian style of architecture with high pillars admitting heat, glare, and damp. *Punkahs* are said to have originated here by accident, towards the close of last century. A clerk in a Government office discovered accidentally that the leaf of a table, suspended to the ceiling and waved, cooled the room; he worked out the idea and hence the punkah.

Wealth, leisure, and the climate brought in habits of *drinking* and debauchery—but Calcutta people never seem to have had such drinking bouts as were common in Ireland 70 years ago among the squireens. *Concubinage* was prevalent. Captain Williamson writing of 1800 states. "The mention of plurality of many 'concubines, may possibly startle many of my readers, especially those of the fairer; but such is common among natives 'of opulence and is not unprecedented among Europeans. I 'have known various instances of two ladies being conjointly 'domesticated; and one, of an elderly military character, who so-'laced himself with no less than *sixteen* of all sorts and sizes! 'Being interrogated by a friend as to what he did with such 'a number, oh! replied he, I give them a little rice, and let them 'run about. This same gentleman, when paying his addresses 'to an elegant young woman lately arrived from Europe, but 'who was informed by the lady at whose house she was residing of the state of affairs; the description closed with 'Pray, my 'dear, how should you like to share a sixteenth of Major?'" He puts down the cost of a mistress as a regular item of expenditure at 40

rupees monthly "no great price for a bosom friend, when compared with the sums laid out upon some British damsels." Such a remark of his showed the morality of the day. A man in a Calcutta paper of 1780 recommends the Christians to follow his example of seeking the society of a mistress in the heat of the day. The author of Sketches in South India, 1810, states. "Con-'cubinage is so generally practised in India by Europeans, at the 'same time so tacitly sanctioned by married families, who scruple 'not to visit at the house of a bachelor that retains a native mis-'tress (though were she an European they would avoid it as 'polluted) that when, setting aside the married men, I calculate 'three parts of those who remain as retaining concubines, 'I fancy I shall be only confining myself within the strictest 'bounds of truth and moderation." Civilians and Military went out as mere lads, before their understanding was ripened. We need not look for a high toned morality in Calcutta a century ago, when we find such men as Drake the Governor, and Clive bargaining with a traitor to sell his country, they themselves sharing in the spoil, while those dealers in treason and rebellion pocketed each some 20 lacs sterling. Force and fraud were the morality of the day. *Nummus quocunque modo!* what an example set to natives, when Clive, by counterfeiting or forging Admiral Watson's signature to a treaty, defrauded the merchant Omichand of 250,000*l*. Omichand became insane, Clive was made a peer, though he committed the same crime for which Nuncomar was hanged by English law. Nor were they worse than elsewhere, such as at Pondicherry of which Count Lally wrote to the Governor—"I 'would rather go and command the Caffres of Madagascar than 'remain in this Sodom of yours, which it is impossible but the 'fire of the English will destroy sooner or later, should it escape 'that of heaven." No wonder with such examples of morality in high places, that the first Engineer of Fort William, Boyer, cheated Government out of some 20 lacs; he afterwards entered the service of the Dutch East India Company. The following advertisement from an old Calcutta newspaper of 1781 shows what the prevalent vices were :—

Wanted

A Resolution not to bribe, or a determination not to be bribed.
Lost.—The dignity of high life, in an attention to trifles.
Stolen.—Into the country—the inhabitants of the Esplanade.
Strayed.—Sincerity and common honesty.
Found.—That the idea of liberty is fast verging to slavery.
To be sold.—A great bargain—the reversion of modern honour.
To be let.—Unfurnished—several heads near the Esplanade.
Missing.—The advice of two able men retired from public business.
On Sale.—For ready money—whatever ought to be purchased by merit only.

Scavengers' Contracts.—Any person willing to oppress the poor, may hear of full employment.

European *Mercantile Morality* has never been in high repute in India, nor were the English worse than others. A Dutch writer, Mossel, thus states of the Directors of the Dutch East India Company—"For a series of years they have been guilty of 'the greatest enormities, and the foulest dishonesty ; they have 'looked upon the Company's effects confided to them as a booty 'thrown open to their depradations ; they have most shamefully 'and arbitrarily falsified the invoice prices." Nor was the fault solely the want of principle on the part of merchants, it was owing to laziness ; Grand Pre writes of Madras, what applies to *Calcutta also.* "The trade of Madras is still more completely in the hands of the Blacks than that of Pondicherry, the concerns being more extensive and more lucrative, and the sales more brisk. The European merchant entirely neglects the minute details, and looks only at the abstract of the accounts given him by his dobachi: a negligence perfectly suited to the manner in which he lives, at a distance from the spot where his affairs are conducted, which he visits only once a day, and that not regularly, and bestows upon them two or three hours' attention."

Atkinson in his "City of Palaces" thus alludes to this state of things.

"Calcutta ! nurse of opulence and vice,
Thou architect of European fame
And fortune, fancied beyond earthly price,
Envy of sovereigns, and constant aim
Of kin adventurers, art thou not the same
As other sinks where manhood rots in state ?
Sparkling with phosper brightness—
There stood proud cities once, of ancient date,
Close parallels to thee, denounced by angry fate."

Nor was *Civilian Morality* higher. Clive, Sumner and Verelst, appointed Commissioners of Inquiry into the conduct of Civilians, thus report to the Court in 1765. "Referring to their conduct, their 'transactions seem to demonstrate that every spring of the Go-'vernment was smeared with corruption, that principles of rapa-'city and oppression universally prevailed, that every spark and 'sentiment of public spirit was lost and extinguished in the 'abandoned lust of universal wealth. They state that the resi-'dences of Europeans and free merchants, away from the Presi-'dency, had frequently given birth to acts of insult and oppres-'sion."

Duelling was not very common, except occasionally on account of "ladies of a sooty complexion." Two trees, called trees of destruction, near the Calcutta Course, lent their shades for this

purpose; under them Hastings and Francis fought. *Quarrelling* however was very common, just as in small towns in England where people have little to do, and little news, hence the remarks of Asiaticus in 1778 were applicable all along to Calcutta;—"The infernal spirit of dissension perpetually stalks abroad, and 'the joys of social intercourse the ties of consanguinity, and the 'endearments of private friendship, are swallowed up in the 'undistinguishing rage of all-destructive faction." Those remarks apply especially to the divisions in Calcutta society owing to Hastings' and Francis' quarrels.

The following poem published in Calcutta in 1780 on slander, illustrates the feeling towards it.

What mortal but slander, that serpent, hath stung,
Whose teeth are sharp arrows, a razor her tongue?
The rank poison of asps her livid lip loads,
The rattle of snakes, with the spittle of toads;
Her throat is an open sepulchre, her legs of vipers and cockatrice eggs;
Her sting is a scorpion's like a hyena's shrill-cry,
With the ear of an adder, a basilisk's eye;
The mouth of a monkey, the hug of a bear,
The head of a parrot, the chat of a hare;
The wings of a magpye; the snout of a hog,
The feet of a mole, and the tail of a dog;
Her claw is a tiger's, her forehead is brass,
With the hiss of a goose, and the bray of an ass.

Hickey's Gazette, August 1780.

Voltaire sarcastically remarks on the quarrels of Europeans;—"To relate the various dissensions of the Europeans in India, 'would make a larger work than the Encyclopædia. People 'cannot enough extend the limits of science, or confine the 'bounds of human weakness."

Religion was at a low ebb in Calcutta last century, but so it was throughout England, and particularly among the middle and lower classes. We fear Montgomery's lines applied to the Spaniards, were only too applicable to the English in India.

"The cross their standard, but their faith the sword;
Their steps were graves, o'er prostrate realms they trod;
They worshipped mammon, while they vowed to God.

Talk of religion—there was not even common morality in high quarters. Tippoo styled the English of his day "the most faithless and usurping of mankind." David Brown was the first evangelical Chaplain that came to Calcutta in 1786, but his hearers were chiefly the poor; it was reckoned *unfashionable* to attend his Church. In religion the contrast between the last century and this is in some points marked. Compare Lord Hardinge's Sabbath Observance Proclamation with the horse racing prac-

tices of Barrackpore, half a century before ; even as late as 1820 when Buckingham started the first daily paper in Calcutta, it was published on Sundays also. Half a dozen palanquins or carriages about 1790 were sufficient to convey persons on Sunday to St. John's Church : days when persons proceeded from Church direct to join the company at a Durga Puja Nautch ; " there was only ' one service, though the Padri's salary was liberal and his perqui-' sites immense."

An anecdote is recorded of Lord Wellesley travelling up the country. He halted for a Sunday at a civil station when he requested the judge to read the Church service,—but he was informed there would be some difficulty as there was not a Bible in 'the station;'—last remnants of the days when Europeans " left their religion behind them at the Cape of Good Hope to ' be resumed when they returned from India." No wonder that respecting the treaty the English made with Jaffier Khan, Voltaire sarcastically remarks ;—" We do not find that the Eng-' lish officers swore to this treaty on the Bible, perhaps they ' had none." These were days when we find a Colonel submit to be circumcised in order to get possession of a Mussulmani who would not on other terms submit to be his mistress.

Notwithstanding the number of Scotch in Calcutta, merry Christmas was kept up. Mrs. Fay writes of it.—

" Keeping Christmas, as it is called, prevails here with all its ancient festivity. The external appearance of the English gentlemen's houses on Christmas day, is really pleasing from its novelty. Large plantain trees are placed on each side of the principle entrances, and the gates and pillars being ornamented with wreaths of flowers fancifully disposed enliven the scene. All the servants bring presents of fish and fruits, from the Banian down to the lowest menial ; for these it is true we are obliged in many instances to make a return, perhaps beyond the real value, but still it is considered as a compliment paid to our burrah din (great day.) A public dinner is given at the Government House to the gentlemen of the Presidency, and the evening concludes with an elegant Ball and Supper for the ladies. These are repeated on New Year's Day and again on the King's birth-day. No doubt the influence of Portuguese servants, who like pomp and show connected with religious festivals, contributed to this feeling. On Christmas 1780, the morning was ushered in with firing of guns ; the Governor General gave a breakfast at the Court House, and a most sumptuous dinner at noon, several Royal salutes were fired from the grand battery at the Loll Diggy, every one of which was washed down with Lumba Pealahs of Loll Shrab ; the evening concluded with a ball."

Calcutta Europeans led not a very busy life last century. Little time was taken up, as now, in correspondence, business was despatched early in the morning or in the evening for an hour or two while the Keranie did the rest. There was not much need then of relaxation, for the bow was not much bent, but *vive la bagatelle* was the order of the day. Notwithstanding

complaints of the heat, and no punkahs to relieve it, *Dancing* was an amusement that was kept up with great zest Asiaticus thus describes it ;—"imagine to yourself the lovely object of your 'affections ready to expire with heat, every limb trembling, 'and every feature distorted with fatigue, and her partner with 'a muslin handkerchief in each hand employed in the delightful 'office of wiping down her face, while the big drops stand 'impearled upon her forehead." This will enable us to understand the force of Lord Valentia's remark in 1803 :—

"Consumption is very frequent in Calcutta among the ladies, which I attribute in a great measure to their incessant dancing, even during the hottest weather; after such violent exercise they go into the verandah, and expose themselves to the cool breeze and damp atmosphere."

At the close of parties ladies were occasionally treated to an exhibition of the wanton movements of the nautch girls, who exceeded, in stimuli to the passions, any performances in the ballet of the Italian Opera. At the Durga Puja time Europeans used to attend Rajahs' houses to witness nautches; we have an account of one at Raja Rajkissen's, where the head nautch girl, Nikkie, got 1200 rupees and two pair of shawls of the same value for attending three nights.

At the *Subscription Balls** for the cold season etiquette and seniority of service were strictly insisted upon. Moore's Rooms were famous for the suppers after the ball—subscription 100 rupees for the season. The following is a curious advertisement about a Subscription Assembly.

"The tavern keeper's charge of 1997 S. Rupees for the entertainments of two hundred persons at the first assembly appearing to the stewards too extravagant a charge to be passed without the approbation of the subscribers at large, they request a meeting may be held on Monday morning at the Harmonic House at 11 o'clock to take the above into consideration."

Billiards were a favourite game, thus described in 1780. "The sums won and lost must keep the blood in a perpetual 'fever, even to endangering the life of the parties. In private 'families, the billiard is a kind of state-room. At the coffee-'houses, you are accommodated with tables and attendants for 'eight annas, or half a rupee, by candle-light, a certain 'number of hours—every coffee-house having at least two 'tables: so that men of spirit have as many fashionable 'opportunities of themselves here, as you Europeans can boast."

* Ladies' dancing makes a curious impression on natives. One of them many years ago gave a description of a English dinner party; he ends with —"after dinner they danced in their licentious way, pulling about each others wives."

Selby's Club was a famous gambling one; but Lord Cornwallis put down public gambling with a high hand. Mrs. Fay writes of *Card playing.* "After tea, either cards or music fill up the 'space till ten, when supper is generally announced. Five 'card loo is the usual game, and they play a rupee a fish limi-'ted to ten. This will strike you as being enormously high, 'but it is thought nothing of here. Tré, dille and whist are 'much in fashion, but ladies seldom join in the latter; for though 'the stakes are moderate, bets frequently run high among the 'gentlemen which renders those anxious who sit down for amuse-'ment, lest others should loose by their blunders.

Boating, in long handsome boats called snake boats, was much practised, in the evening particularly, with bands of music. Gentlemen kept their pleasure yachts, and went occasionally in them with their friends to Chaudernugur or Shuk Sagur on pleasure trips. English as well as Dutch, fond of parties of pleasure, frequently made both upon "the delightful boats and upon the pleasant waves of the Ganges." Europeans now do not call the treacherous Ganges "pleasant waves." Stavorinus states in 1770. "Another boat of this country which is very 'curiously constructed is called a Mour-punkey; these are very 'long and narrow and sometimes extending to upwards of an 'hundred feet in length, and not more than eight feet in breadth, 'they are always paddled, sometimes by forty men, and are 'steered by a large paddle from the stern, which is either in 'the shape of a peacock, a snake, or some other animal; the pad-'dles are directed by a man who stands up and sometimes makes 'use of a branch of a plant to regulate their motions, using much 'gesticulation and telling history to excite either laughter 'or exertion. In one part of the stern is a canopy supported by 'pillars, on which are seated the owner and his friends, who 'partake of the refreshing breezes of the evening. These boats are 'very expensive, owing to the beautiful decorations of painted and 'gilt ornaments, which are highly varnished and exhibit a consi-'derable degree of taste."* It is mentioned of Warren Hastings' 'friends when he was leaving Calcutta, "their Budgerows were well 'stored with provisions, and every requisite, &c., so with pendants 'flying, and bands of music, to the last man and instrument to 'be found in Calcutta, they attended him to Saugur, the extre-'mity of the river." Lord Valentia in 1803 mentions—"He came 'up the river in Lord Wellesley's state barge, richly ornamented 'with green and gold, its head a spread eagle gilt, its stern a 'tiger's head and body; the centre would convey twenty people

* The Director of Chinsurah's Budgerow could accommodate 36 persons at dinner.

'with ease." The fact is the only drive was the dusty Course—there was no Strand Road, and no country drives; they had then to betake themselves to the river.

Racing was always popular in old Calcutta. An old race course was at the foot of Garden Reach on what is now the Akra farm; there was another however on the maidan. In 1780 a subscription plate of 2,000 rupees was advertised, and it was stated that at the close of the race the stewards will give a ball to the ladies and gentlemen of the settlement. Allied to Racing is *Sporting*, which besides the exercise it gave to inactive Ditchers, was of great use to the natives, numbers of whom used to fall a prey to wild animals, at the time when leopards infested the suburbs of Calcutta. Hog-hunting was the favourite sport, and Buckra, 15 miles south of Calcutta, was last century the chosen spot. Mundy gives us the following vivid sketch of a party there which will give an idea of the social enjoyment connected with hunting last century.

"At Calcutta there is—or rather was, for the paucity of game has obliged them to give it up—a hog-hunting society styled the Tent Club; who, not having the fear of fevers and cholera before their eyes, were in the weekly habit of resorting to the jungles within fifty miles of the city in pursuit of this noble sport. Each member was empowered to invite two guests; the club was well provided with tents, elephants, and other sporting paraphernalia; nor was the gastronomic part of the sport neglected. Hodgson's pale ale, claret, and even champaign have been known to flow freely in those wild deserts, unaccustomed to echo the forester's song, or the complacent bubble of the fragrant hookah. Gaunt boars were vanquished in the morning, their delicate steaks devoured in the evening, and the identical animals thrice slain again with all the zest of sporting recapitulation. How often has the frail roof of the ruined silk-factory at Buckra rung to the merry laugh of the mercurial S ——, trembled with the Stentorian song of the sturdy B —— and the hearty chorus of a dozen jolly fellows, who on quitting Calcutta left a load of care behind, and brought a load of fun. The above-named deserted edifice is situated far from the busy haunts of men, in the midst of an extensive forest, and was a favorite resort of the Tent Club on these occasions. The ground floor was occupied by the horses of the party; a large room in the upper story was dedicated to refection; whilst three or four smaller apartments formed the dormitories of those who had come unprovided with tents. Some of the pleasantest days of my life were passed in these excursions, and I shall ever look back to them with the most grateful recollections.

To the ardent sportsman and the admirer of nature, these gypsy parties were replete with excitement and interest—the busy preparation in the morning—inspection of spear-points and horses' girths—instructions and injunctions to syces and bearers—the stirrup-cup of strong coffee—and the simultaneous start of the lightly-clad sportsmen, on their elephants, to the covert side. Then the marshalling of the beating elephants, the wildness of the scene and richness of the foliage, the mounting of impatient steeds, the yells of the coolies, rattling of fireworks; and finally, the rush of the roused boar, and the headlong career of the ardent rider. Next follow the return in triumph to camp—the refreshing bath and well earned break-

fast. The sultry hours are employed by some in superintending the feeding, grooming, and hand-rubbing of their faithful steeds; lounging over the pages of some light novel, repointing spears, or rattling the backgammon dices, and by others who, perhaps the day before were driving the diplomatic quill, or thundering forth the law of the land in the Courts of Calcutta—by others (frown not, ye beetle-browed contemners of frivolous resources.!)—even in that recreation in which, unlike most other sciences, the least experienced is often the most successful, namely the game of pitch-farthing!"

Natives of Calcutta have seldom joined Europeans in the sports of the field. In the times of the Nawaub of Moorshedabad it was different; Kassem Ally Khan a century ago used to go with a train of 20,000 attendants and a body of Europeans to hunt.

Shopping was another pastime, but for the ladies. Asiaticus writes—"Europe shops, which are literally magazines of Euro-'pean articles, either of luxury or convenience, early in the 'morning are the public rendezvous of the idle and the gay, who 'here propagate the scandal of the day, and purchase at an immo-'derate price the toys of Mr. Pinchbeck, and the frippery of 'Tavistock-Street." Though sometimes great disappointments took place when, owing to strong freshes, the Indiamen could not make in time to Diamond Harbour—no new dresses for the season.

The practise of *Walking* was greatly in vogue last century, and in the absence of roads and vehicles was a matter of necessity. We find that Sir William Jones made a regular habit of walking from his house at the bottom of Garden Reach to the Supreme Court every day, and that in the beginning of last century the Governor and Members of Government walked in solemn procession to the Church every Sunday. Now the use of the legs in walking is considered vulgar. But the great place for exercise, i. e. lolling in a carriage, was a very good race ground at a short distance from Calcutta, a place of vanity fair for *morning* and evening airings, where people "swallowed ten mouthfuls of dust for one mouthful of air;" the Course was not watered in those days. People went there after dinner "lolling at full length,"—it required a strong stomach to digest the heavy meat dinners that were then taken. There were few roads. A correspondent of the Papers in 1780 expresses a willingness to pay a cess as "the roads so far from 'affording a recreation were a nuisance, and the exhibition of in-'valids in carriages afforded a lively portrait of St. Vitus' dance; 'what may be termed taking an airing or pleasuring at Chander-'nugur, or Chinsurah may with equal propriety be termed tak-'ing a dusting or jolting when at Calcutta." Writers just

arrived from Europe might then be seen dashing away *four in hand*,—a speedy way to sink themselves in the gulph of debt, gentlemen carried on a flirtation with the ladies.

Musical parties were occasionally resorted to, sometimes in the afternoon. There was the Harmonic supported by gentlemen who each gave in turn a ball, supper and concert during the cold weather, once a fortnight; Lady Chambers occasionally played on the harpsichord at those meetings. Pianos were very dear, 2,000 rupees being frequently paid for a grand one; they were not seasoned for the climate.

The *Theatre*, built new, where the Scotch Church is, was erected by subscription shares of 100 rupees each, about the year 1760 at the cost of a lac of rupees. Amateurs performed, though sometimes laughed at; box-tickets were a gold-mohur each. Yet it soon got into debt: though amateurs, all males, performed, but they would have new dresses for every character, good suppers after every rehearsal, and tickets for their friends. The doors opened at 8; the door-keepers were Europeans, "as natives would not have sufficient authority." The Marquis Cornwallis evinced marked displeasure against any Government servant who took part in the performance, and it gradually declined; its locality about 1790 was becoming unfashionable, as Calcutta is now. Calcutta was "moving out of town" towards Chowringhee. The theatre has never succeeded in Calcutta, not even in the days of Horace Wilson and Henry Torrens.

As a sequel to the hookah came the *Siesta*, or mid-day rest, so common in Italy and all tropical countries, so refreshing to early risers; it succeeded to dinner and the hookah. It has almost disappeared from Calcutta; but last century "after dinner every 'one retires to sleep, it is a second night, every servant is 'gone to his own habitation, all is silence; and this custom is 'so universal, that it would be as unseasonable to call on any 'person at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, as at the same 'time in the morning. This custom of sleeping away the hottest hours in the day is necessary even to the strongest con- 'stitution. After this repose, people dress for the evening 'and enjoy the air about sun-set in their carriages, and the 'rest of the evening is for society." Many ladies now think it too luxurious to take the siesta, but last century, when it was taken by ladies generally, *morning* drives were in fashion, very healthy and more cheerful than a drive in the evening. Calcutta streets, now so busy between 4 and 5 when men are returning from office, were then as still as the grave—all were asleep.*

* The siesta was however sometimes fatal under circumstances like

The *Hookah* was the grand whiler away of time in the morning. East Indian ladies were said to have been much addicted to its use, while gentlemen, instead of their perusal of a daily paper, "furnishing the head with politics and the heart with scandal," indulged themselves with the hookah's rose water fumes, while under the hands of the perruquier in the days when pig-tails were in fashion. We have seen a portrait of the late Mr. Blaquiere dressed as a young man when he landed at Calcutta in 1774, with the pig-tail forming part of his head gear.

Grand Prestates of the hookah-burdar;—"Every hookah-burdar prepares separately that of his master in an adjoining apartment, and, entering all together with the dessert, they range them round the table. For half an hour there is a continued clamour, and nothing is distinctly heard but the cry of silence, till the noise subsides and the conversation assumes its usual tone. It is scarcely possible to see through the cloud of smoke which fills the apartment. The effect produced by these circumstances is whimsical enough to a stranger, and if he has not his hookah he will find himself in an awkward and unpleasant situation. The rage of smoking extends even to the ladies; and the highest compliment they can pay a man is to give him preference by smoking his hookah. In this case it is a point of politeness to take off the mouthpiece he is using, and substitute a fresh one, which he presents to the lady with his hookah, who soon returns it. This compliment is not always of trivial importance; it sometimes signifies a great deal to a friend and often still more to a husband."

Old Calcutta paid no visits in hot weather between 11 and 2, it was deemed unhealthy. Mrs. Fay writes of visiting in 1778—"Formal visits are paid in the evening; they are generally very short, as perhaps each lady has a dozen to make and a party waiting for her at home besides. Gentlemen also call to offer their respects, and if asked to put down their hat it is considered as an invitation to supper. Many a hat have I seen vainly dangling in its owner's hand for half an hour, who at last has been compelled to withdraw without any one's offering to relieve him from the burthen." But when the dinner hour

those Hadley states.—"Having ate heartily of meats, and drank a quantity of porter, they throw themselves on the bed undressed, the windows and doors open. A profuse perspiration ensues, which is often suddenly checked by a cold North West wind. This brings on what is called a pucka (putrid) fever which will often terminate in death in six hours, particularly with people of a corpulent, plethoric habit of body. And we have known two instances of dining with a gentleman, and being invited to his burial before supper time."

was changed to sun-set, about 1800, forenoon visits took place. However, as late as the beginning of this century evening visits were kept up. "After tea on the chabutra or terrace, or after 'a puff of the hookah, some gentlemen went to office to finish 'their business, others to a family supper and some to a visit." Captain Williamson writes on this subject;—

"When I first came to India there were a few ladies of the old school still much looked up to in Calcutta, and among the rest the grandmother of the Earl of Liverpool, the old Begum Johnstone, then between seventy and eighty years of age. All these old ladies prided themselves upon keeping up old usages. They used to dine in the afternoon at four or five o'clock—take their airing after dinner in their carriages; and from the time they returned, till ten at night, their houses were lit up in their best style, and thrown open for the reception of visitors. All who were on visiting terms came at this time, with any strangers whom they wished to introduce, and enjoyed each other's society; there were music and dancing for the young, and cards for the old, when the party assembled happened to be large enough; and a few who had been previously invited stayed supper. I often visited the old Begum Johnstone at this hour, and met at her house the first people in the country, for all people, including the Governor General himself, delighted to honour this old lady, the widow of a Governor General of India, and the mother-in-law of a prime minister of England.

Gentlemen who purpose visiting the ladies, commonly repair to their houses between eight and nine o'clock in the evening; ordinarily under the expectation of being invited to stay and sup, an invitation that is rarely declined. Among ladies who are intimately acquainted, morning visits are common, but all who wish to preserve etiquette, or merely return the compliment by way of keeping up a distant acquaintance, confine them to the evening; when, attended by one or more gentlemen, they proceed, in their palanquins, on a tour devoted entirely to this cold exchange of what is called civility."

Colonel Sleeman states that in 1810 Calcutta being more compact visiting was easier, as the European part lay between Dhurumtolah and the China Bazar, the neighbourhood of Writers' Buildings: the great tank was the Belgravia of that day. Men wished to be near the Fort in case the Mahrattas or Moguls should again come, and permission was given to every inhabitant of Calcutta to build if he chose a house in the Fort, but none availed themselves of it. Well they did not, for it was dreadfully unhealthy; as a specimen of it, until within 30 years the privies there were within 10 yards of by the soldiers' mess table. Sir R. Chambers lived within sight of the present Cathedral, but it was far out of town, and dangerous at night for the visits of tigers; but the retreat was suitable to the habits of that learned orientalist whose manuscripts the King of Prussia has purchased.

There were few carriages in Calcutta in the beginning of this century; ladies and even doctors paid visits in palanquins. How changed are the emblems of rank—we find that among the

Dutch the Director of Chinsurah was the only man allowed to be carried in a palanquin sitting upon a chair. In 1780, Coach-makers named Oliphant, Mitchell and Simpson were in business in Calcutta. One of their advertisements was;—"just 'imported, a very elegant neat coach with a genteel rut-'lan roof, ornamented with flowers very highly finished, ten 'best polished plate glasses, ornamented with few elegant medal-'lions enriched with mother-o-pearl."

There were few excursions made from Calcutta last century. There were no roads outside of Calcutta, the road to Benares viâ Bancura was made about the beginning of this century, and was not furnished with Bungalows till about 1824. The previous road to Benares lay through Rajmehal to Benares along the Ganges, costing in a palkee or portable coffin, 1 rupee 2 annas a mile, or 700 miles=870 rupees—now to be performed for 80 rupees. The roads were infested with tigers. Captain Williamson states that when at Hazareebaugh about 1,800, "during some 'seasons, the roads were scarcely to be considered passable; 'day after day, for nearly a fortnight in succession, some of the 'dawk people were carried off either at Goomeah, Kaunchitty, 'Katcumsandy or Dungaie—four passes in that country all 'famous for the exploits of those enemies to the human race."

Budgerows were available, but the time spent was enormous. Thus officers were allowed one month to go Berhampore by budgerow, 2½ months to Benares, 3½ to Cawnpoor. Tigers were met on the route in the Cossimbazar island, Rajmehal and in the Sunderbunds where "they used to swim after the boats, 'climb up the rudder, creep over the room of the barges, 'and carry of the sentry, if sleeping on his post. They have 'been known, when one paw has been cut off, to endeavour to 'get up with the other."

European settlers with their hospitable roofs were few and far between.

Dacoity was common in the outskirts of Calcutta. We have heard the late Rudhaprosaud Roy, Ram Mohun Roy's son, state that when a boy no native would go out at night with a good shawl in the neighbourhood of Amherst Street, for fear of being robbed. In 1780 in a Calcutta paper it is stated, "a few nights 'ago four armed men entered the houses of a Moorman near Chowringhee and carried off his daughter."

Of *Race Antagonism*, so fearfully on the increase in India since its transference from the Company to the Crown, there was not much last century in Calcutta: the invariable principle laid down by the Company that Europeans should come early to India in order to adapt themselves to the country, and the

severe punishments they inflicted on Europeans who maltreated natives, checked the disposition to "wallop niggers." However India has been one of the few countries held by England, where English rule has not tended to the extirpation or enslavement of the native, and the East India Company were gradually coming round to the opinion advocated by Lord Glenelg and many other high officials "that the English mission in India was to qualify natives for governing themselves." The terms applied to natives last century were commonly "black fellow," and "black." An advertisement in 1780 thus runs;—"found by a black a gold headed cane," the term nigger used of late in this country, seems modern, probably imported from the slave states of America, as the increase of American Captains in the port of Calcutta is introducing their views relating to "the nigger."

A native in former days in various cases was obliged, if when riding he met an European, to dismount until the latter had passed. The Dutch however carried this principle further; thus when the Director of Chinsurah was carried through the town (in a palanquin) the natives in certain localities were obliged to play upon their instruments of music.

In Ireland the English Government aggravated race antagonism, by introducing a strange religion, as a political object; in India it was different. In 1650 an incident occurred which had nearly endangered the permanency of the Portuguese establishment, but showed the tolerant principle of the English. At Fort Thomé, near Fort St. George, a Portuguese Padre had refused to allow a procession of the Hindoo devotees to pass his church. In this dispute the English most wisely avoided interfering, and after relating the transaction gave an opinion in the following words to the Court of Directors, of the small hope and great danger of attempting to convert the people of India.

"By this you may judge of the lion by his paw, and 'plainely discover what small hopes, and how much danger, we 'have of converting these people. They are not like ye naked 'Americans,* but a most subtle and pollitique nation, who are 'so zealous in their religions, or rather superstitious that even 'among their more differing castes, is growed an irreconcilable 'hatred which often produce very bloodie effects."

The *Vernaculars*, the great agents to lessen race antagonism and to link Europeans in sympathy with the natives, were little attended to, except the common *boli*. Dr. Carey found it diffi-

* See letter, Agent and Co. of Fort St. George, to the Court, dated 18th January 1650, and Agent at Masulipatam to the Court, 28th February, 1650-51.

cult to keep up his class at Fort William College, owing to this indifference, but another cause was that Portuguese was much spoken by table servants. Bolst was among the first Europeans in Calcutta who knew Bengali, and as Alderman of the Mayor's Court it must have been of signal use to him. He mentions an anecdote, illustrating this;—In 1776 a vakil of a zemindar presented himself before the Collector, with some serious charges as if from his master. In order to substantiate those complaints he pulled out from his turban and began to read very fluently a complaint in the Bengali language, translating it into Urdu for the benefit of the Collector, with some serious charges. But Bolst looking over his shoulder saw there was *not a word* written in Bengali, and what he pretended to read and translate was his own invention. Captain Williamson in a later day, 1800, remarks of some men 20 years in the country, who could not even take their accounts in the vernacular; "with such the sirkar was every thing," the consequences were invariably, that he was rich, and master ever in distress! Even Kiernander, the first Missionary that came to Calcutta, did not study Bengali; he was occupied, with English and Portuguese services, and ministering to Europeans, though greatly to his own regret, for he found, as Missionaries subsequently saw, that the only real medium to get at the masses was the vernacular.

The Nawaub of Chitpore seems last century to have held an important position in native society and as a member of the Native Aristocracy appears to have been a connecting link between the European and native. Of him it is mentioned. "Formerly his residence was at a distance from Calcutta and 'his intercourse with the Europeans restricted to embassies, but 'now his Palace of Chitpore (for well does it deserve the name 'of a palace) is only four miles; and on such friendly terms 'does he live with the military gentlemen, that he gives them 'entertainments of dinners, fireworks, &c. &c., at an immense 'expence; but always eats alone, according to the customs of the 'Asiatic Mahometans, seated on the ground which is over-'spread by superb carpets (by the way, the only carpets I have 'heard of in India—the fine matting being, for coolness, sub-'stituted in their place); and what will surprise you is, that the 'Captain, or the commanding officer of the Nabob's guard, 'which consists of a whole battalion of black troops, is an Eng-'lishman, a younger brother of an ennobled family, and who 'paid 80,000 Rs. (acquired in this world of wealth) for the 'appointment. The uniform of this battalion is the same 'worn by the Company's troops—red turned up with white, '—with turbans to distinguish the divisions thereof. The

'exterior of Chitpore in some degree bespeaks the grandeur 'of its owner, but I am informed few things exceed the 'magnificence of its interior architecture and ornaments. The 'apartments are immense—the baths elegant—and the seraglio, 'though a private one, suitable in every particular to the rest 'of the building: nor must the gardens be unmentioned; for 'they not only cover the wide extent of ground, but are furnished 'with all the beauties and perfumes of the vegetable kingdom. 'When he rides out a detachment of his black troops attend 'him."

After the East Indian and native noble the next link between European and Native is the Portuguese—a class of people of whom we know little. We give the following as a faithful picture of them in marriage. "Previous to the important day, each party chooses a bridesmaid and a bridesman, denominated the madreea and padreea, who, in addition to the duties which bridesmaids perform among us, are charged with the superintendence and arrangement of the procession and entertainment. They often contribute something towards the marriage feast, either a few dozens of wine, the wedding dress of the bride, or the flowers which are used on the occasion. All the friends of the parties are expected to send some gifts, in the shape of trinkets, or gilded betel-nuts and kuth; those who give nothing, lend their personal assistance: indeed, the following is an established formula, by which the old women acknowledge the little services rendered them by children:—"May I die! I promise to cook your wedding pillau!" Friends are invited by a notable woman, who goes about from house to house, repeating a set form of invitation. A large house is hired for three days, and fitted up, magnificently or otherwise, as the madreeas and padreeas have friends and influence. The gateway is adorned with an arch made of the trunks of plantain-trees and the leaves of palmyra, &c., and a similar arch is thrown across the street, a short way from the house, along which the procession is to pass to and from the church.

"The important day having arrived, the friends who meet at the house proceed to the church. The bride is generally carried in a chair, called the bocha palkie. She is covered with as much jewellery, chiefly gold, as her friends can muster. Her deportment throughout the day is a model of maiden reserve and modesty, according to the etiquette prescribed and handed down. Arrived at the church, the parson meets them at the entrance, and ties the hands of the man and woman, in token of the bond of matrimony. The return of the procession is met by a party of native singers, who chant the immemorable strain

" shaddee mobaruck," or propitious union. At this moment, the mother of the bride is expected to lament bitterly her separation from her daughter; and at the nick of time, the voice of song is interrupted and drowned by her lamentations and outcries. Peace, however, being restored, the celebration of the marriage commences.

"The bride sits in state, supported by the madreeas, under a canopy of bamboo sticks and gilded paper. The friends as they come in are presented with a nosegay and garland, and presented to the bride and bridegroom, the former of whom is tenderly kissed by all females. When a superior relative comes in, such as a godmother or an aunt, the bride kisses her hands and asks a blessing, which is bestowed by making the sign of the cross. All being seated, tea and sweetmeats are brought in and handed to each guest, while the byes perform their evolutions and chant their melodies in a corner of the hall, until it is time for them to come forward. The byes then sing and dance before the bride, and receive from her a rupee or sikkee in recompense: in this manner they parade round the hall and receive similar gratuities, till the morning dawns and the company disperse.

"Should the madreeas and padreeas so determine, the byes retire to another room, and preparations are made for a ball. The bride and bridegroom stand up at the head of the ball; it often happens that either one or both cannot dance, or the severity of one or other of the parties will not allow of the bride's accepting any other than the bridegroom for a partner; in such cases, the fiddles and clarionets sound a flourish; they commence, the bride curtsies and the bridegroom makes a bow, and both resume their seats, amid the plaudits of the whole company. The ball then proceeds. "When this Old Cap was New," reels and country dances were in vogue to the tunes of "Drops of Brandy" and "Charlie Over the Water;" a hornpipe was sometimes performed at midnight, and was deemed a special wonder. The times may have changed since then. While the young "trip it on the light fantastic toe," those who have no relish for such amusements regale themselves with the wines and liquors, which are served out in an adjoining room, smoke, and chat until supper is announced. The whole company sit around tables arranged in one length, if there be room for the whole; if not, the men very gallantly stand and eat behind their female friends, off plates which they hold in their hands. The bride and bridegroom sit at opposite ends of the table, and at a proper season the bridegroom drinks to the health of the bride across. Then some friend, who is deputed for the service

and has courage and words at command, proposes the first and last toast—the health of the newly married pair. Dancing is again renewed, till the peep of dawn, or till some riot-loving souls get fuddled, kick and cuff each other, and so disperse the company. Before the one or the other takes place, no egress is allowed; the doors are double-locked, and every one is made happy in spite of himself. When departure is authorized by the superintending madreeas and padreeas, a search is commenced for hats and shawls; and many a beau, who had entered with a span new Borradaile or Moore, returns minus a chapeau, or takes up the shabby concern which has generously been left as a substitute for his superfine beaver."

The Portuguese last century were the propagators of the slavery system, as the ruins of many fine places in the Sunderbunds bear testimony to. We find that as late as 1760 the neighbourhood of Akra, Budge Budge, was infested by slave ships belonging to Mugs and Portuguese.* The *East India Chronicle* for 1758 gives the following statement showing the origin of this slave system.

"February 1717, the Mugs carried off from the most Southern parts of Bengal 1800 men, women and children, in ten days they arrived at Arracan and were conducted before the sovereign, who chose the handicraftsmen, about one-fourth of the number, as his slaves. The remainder were returned to the captors with ropes about their necks to market, and sold according to their strength from 20 to 70 rupees each. They were by their purchasers sent to cultivate the land, and had, 15 seers of rice each allowed for their monthly support. Soon after this the Sovereign, Duppung Geree, was deposed by his Cutwal, Kuddul Poree; 25 men and a woman of the captives took advantage of the disturbances, fled and arrived at Chittagong in the following June. Almost three-fourths of the inhabitants of Arracan are said to be natives of Bengal or descendants of such who pray that the English may deliver them, and they have agreed among themselves to assist their deliverers. From time immemorial the Mugs have plundered the Southern parts of Bengal and have even been so hostile as to descend on the coast of Chittagong and proceed into the country, plunder and burn the villages, destroy what they could not carry away, and carry the inhabitants into slavery. But since the cession of the province to the Company, the place for the most part has enjoyed quiet."

Slavery was at one time very prevalent in Calcutta as advertisements in 1780 show, thus:—

"*Wanted*

Two Coffrees who can play very well on the French Horn and are otherwise handy and useful about a house, relative to the business of a consumer, or that of a cook; they must not be fond of liquor. Any person or

* So great was the dread of the Mugs that about 1770 a chain was run across the river at Mukwah Fort (where the Superintendent of the Botanical Garden resides) to protect the port of Calcutta against pirates.

persons having such to dispose of, will be treated with by applying to the Printer.

Wanted

A Coffree slave boy ; any person desirous of disposing of such a boy, and can warrant him a faithful and honest servant, will please to apply to the Printer.

To be Sold

Two French Horn men, who dress hair and shave ; and wait at table.

From the service of his mistress, a slave boy aged twenty years, or thereabout, pretty white or colour of musty, tall and slender, broad between the cheek bones and marked with the small pox. It is requested that no one after the publication of this will employ him, as a writer, or in any other capacity, and any person or persons who will apprehend him and give notice thereof to the Printer of this paper shall be rewarded for their trouble.

Strayed.

From the house of Mr. Robert Duncan in the China Bazaar on Thursday last, a Coffree boy about 12 years old named Inday ; whoever brings back the same shall receive the reward of one gold mohur.

To be Sold.

A fine Coffree boy that understands the business of a butler, kitmutgar and cooking. Price four hundred Sicca Rupees. Any gentleman wanting such a servant, may see him, and be informed of further particulars by applying to the Printer.

East Indians, alias Eurasians, as a class, were then as now in a peculiar position. They ought to have been the opponents of race antagonism, they despised the natives and the natives despised them, yet the latter giving them such contemptuous names as *chichi, matia feringee*, i. e. *mud* Englishman.* Europeans also had strong enmity to them and called them half-castes, country-born, demi-Bengalis. Captain Williamson in 1800 opposes their admission to offices of authority on the ground that "their admis-'sion could not fail to lessen that respect and deference which 'ought most studiously to be exacted on every occasion from the 'natives of rank." The men of those days feared the East Indians, would mutiny and join the natives! The author of "Sketches of India in 1811" gives the following, which embodies the view of Europeans last century.

"Characterized by all the vices and gross prejudices of the natives, by all the faults and failings of the European character, without its candour, sincerity or probity ; a heterogeneous set ; some by Hindoo, others by Mahometan and Malay mothers, as wills the caprice of the fathers ; what is not in time to be apprehended from the union of so large and discontented

*There was a class of East Indians at Chinsurah of whom Grand Pre writes thus. "Here, as in all the Dutch establishments, some Malay families have settled, and given birth to a description of women called Mosses, who are in high estimation for their beauty and talents. The race is now almost extinct, or is scattered through different parts of the country ; for Chinsurah in its decline, had no longer sufficient attraction to retain them, and at present a few only, and those with great difficulty, are here and there to be found."—We have not heard of these of late years.

a body? Why may we not expect the scenes of South America to be displayed in India? A body who have neither riches, honor, nor any advantage to sacrifice must ever pant for a revolution. It is a theatre from which they have every thing to hope, and from which, if unsuccessful, they cannot but return to their original insignificance."

Lord Valentia writes in his time of the fear entertained of the East Indians lest they "should become politically 'powerful and be beyond control. They were in Calcutta clerks 'in every mercantile house, though not permitted to hold office 'under the East India Company." Lord Valentia was in great alarm lest they should follow the example of the Spanish Americans, and of St. Domingo; he recommends a law to be passed requiring every father of a half-caste to send them to England and *prohibit their return in any capacity*. Little was done last century towards educating the East Indians who were generally left under the tutelage of their native mothers—we may judge what morals they imbibed. A Mrs. Hodges set up a school for East Indian and European girls about 1760, in which she taught dancing and French. The girls married off quickly, but then their character was said to have been "childish, vain, imperious, crafty, vulgar and wanton." Mrs. Hodges however retired in 1780 with a fortune. A Mr. Whitehead advertised in 1781 that he had opened a boarding school for boys, opposite the avenue which leads to the Nawab's Garden, Chitpoor, 50 Rs. monthly for boarders. Mrs. Kindersley remarked in 1767 "neither Mahomedans nor Hindoos ever change in their dress, furniture, carriages or any other thing." Her remarks are still applicable to the Mussulmans. But young Bengal with his Chop House and Champagne bills at Wilson's did not live in her day, though the dawn of such a character appeared, it is stated in 1780.

"The attachment of the Natives of Bengal to the English laws, begins now to extend itself to English habiliment. Rajah Ramlochun, a very opulent Gentoo of high caste and family, lately paid a visit to a very eminent attorney, equipped in boots, Buckskin breeches, hunting frock and Jockey cap; the lawyer who was employed in studying Coke upon Littleton for the improvement of the revenues of Bengal, was with the smack of a half hunter waked from his half reveries in great astonishment at the lively transformation of his grave Gentoo client, who, it seems, was dressed in the exact hunting character of Lord March and had borrowed the fancy from one of Dardy's Comic Prints.

The Nabob Sidert Alley, when lately at the Presidency, employed Connor the tailor to make him the following dresses, viz. two suits of Regimentals, Do. of an English Admiral's Uniform, and two suits of Canonicals. At the same time he sent for an English Peruke maker, and gave him orders to make him two wigs of every denomination according to the English fashion, viz. scratches, cut wigs, and curled obbs, Queues, Majors and Ramilies; all of which he took with him when he left Calcutta."

The Portuguese Padris never won knowledge, or did any thing

in the vernacular, and their own moral conduct was very defective; however the Anglican church had an exception; Kiernander had some good men among his Native Christians; we have the following account of one of them in 1780:—

"Among the adult persons who have been baptized, is one Thomas of the Bengal natives, aged 24, who has made so good a proficiency in the Portuguese tongue and in the knowledge of the fundamental truths of religion, that he has, since the month of October 1769, been made use of as a Catechist to those of the Bengal caste to whom he is able from the Portuguese to explain the doctrines of Christianity in their own language.*"

* While the Portuguese Missionaries in India were indifferent to the natives and were mere political tools of the mother-country there is another class of Roman Catholics, who, though in Bengal they did little, yet elsewhere were great friends to the natives—we refer to the Jesuits in South America, and we give the following statement from a man who was no friend to the order or to priestcraft. W. Howitt, in his work on colonisation, writes thus:—

"The Jesuits, once admitted by the Indians, soon convinced them that they could have no end in view but their good; and the resistance which they made to the attempts of the Spaniards to enslave them, gave them such a fame amongst all the surrounding nations, as was most favourable to the progress of their plans. When they had acquired an influence over a tribe they soon prevailed upon them to come into their settlements, which they call *Redactions*, and where they gradually accustomed them to the order and comforts of civilized life. The Spaniards soon hated them for standing between them and their victims. They hated them for presuming to tell them that they had no right to enslave, to debauch, to exterminate them. They hated them because they would not suffer them to be given up to them as property—mere live stock—beasts of labour, in their Encomiendas. They regarded them as robbing them of just so much property, and as setting a bad example to the other Indians who were already enslaved, or were yet to be so. They hated them, because their refusing them entrance into their Redactions, was a standing and perpetual reproof of the licentiousness of their lives. They foresaw that if this system became universal the very pillars of their indolent and debased existence would be thrown down, 'for' says Charlevoix the Spaniards here think it beneath them to exercise any manual employment—those even who are but just landed from Spain, with every stitch they have brought with them, upon their backs—and set up for gentlemen, above serving in any menial capacity.'

One of those Jesuits, Anchieta, established himself among the Indians as a second Tellenbury; of him it is recorded:—

"Day and night did this indefatigable man labour in discharging the duties of his office. There were no books for the pupils; he wrote for every one his lesson on a separate leaf, after the business of the day was done, and it was sometimes day-light before his task was completed. The profane songs that were in use, he parodied into hymns in Portuguese, Castilian, Latin, and Tupinamban. The ballads of the natives underwent the same travesty in their own tongue." Hear the final remarks of an

The Native Christians of Calcutta were few last century, and are now, after 40 years of mission work, little better as a class than the old Portuguese; ignorant and socially degraded, few have embraced Christianity from conviction, but either to get food or employment. They resemble in many points, the Portuguese Native Christians, but are not so bad as are the Portuguese described thus, by Mrs. Kindersley:—

"The Harri or Hallicore caste are the dregs of both Mussul-'men and Hindoos, employed in the meanest and vilest offices; 'people whose-selves or parents have lost caste. But there is a 'resource for even the worst of these, which is to turn Chris-'tians—I mean Roman Catholics—and such are the chief, if not 'the only proselytes, the Missionaries have to boast of in the 'east, being mostly such as have committed some very great 'crimes, or have been made slaves when young, which prevents 'their ever returning amongst those of their own religion. If 'any woman has committed a crime so great as to induce her 'husband or any other person to cut off her hair, which is the 'greatest and most irrecoverable disgrace, she, like a thousand 'others, is glad to be received into some society, and becomes 'a Christian, so that most of the black Christians are more so 'from necessity than from conviction. The Portuguese priests, 'of whom there are many in India, receive all, baptize and give 'them absolution; as soon as they are made Christians they 'call themselves and are called Portuguese; the women 'change their dress, and wear something like a jacket and petti-'coat; and the men mostly affect to dress like Europeans. 'Their language is called Pariar Portuguese, a vile mixture 'of almost every European language with some of the Indian. 'This is however a useful dialect to travellers in many parts of 'Hindostan, particularly on the sea coast, and is called the Lin-'gua Franca of India.

They are mostly in mean situations and are looked upon with great contempt by all the other Indians for the reasons mentioned. With these natives efforts were made to plant in ground not properly prepared or manured, baptism was regarded as a talisman. No wonder it was said of them "the whole 'of the European vices were engrafted upon the rich and 'fruitful tree of Eastern libertinism," and hence "that thief, 'drunkard, dog, and Christian became synonymous."

impartial observer. "The final expulsion of the Jesuits, deprived the Indians of the only body of real friends that they ever knew. Finer materials than those poor people for civilization, no race on the earth ever presented. Had the Jesuits been permitted to continue their peaceful labours, the whole continent would have become one wide scene of peace, fertility, and happiness."

Some of the Portuguese were soldiers or topasses, i. e. *topee* hat wearers, but they were not much better than the late Christian Police Battalion formed in Bengal at the time of the mutinies, who soon backed out of their work. Of these topasses it is mentioned :—" they are a black, degenerate, wretched race of the ancient Portuguese, as proud and bigotted as their ancestors, lazy, idle and vicious withal, and for the most part as weak and feeble in body as base in mind. Not one in ten is possessed of any of the necessary requisites for a soldier."

Respecting the *Native Servants* in Calcutta last century there is little worthy of note. *Travellers* describe them as " lazy, lustful and pusillanimous, one European is enough to put 50 of them to flight, very intelligent, and not deficient in imitative genius." The *Banyans* were the most noted, very wealthy, and very miserly. Europeans were very lazy, much given to revelry and sleep in the day, leaving all their pecuniary affairs in the banyan's hands who knew how to charge their dustoori or costomado. The European was more in the power of his servants, his bearer dressed, undressed and washed him, while his banyan managed all his money matters, some of the rupees sticking in their transit. Mrs. Kindersley remarks of the influence of caste among them :—" The bearer's business, besides carrying the palanqueen, is to bring water to wash after dinner, &c. one brings an ewer with water and pours it over your hands, another gives you a towel, but it must be a Musalchie or a slave who holds the chillumchee, for the bearer would be disgraced by touching anything which contains the water after one has washed with it." Servants in Calcutta were very extortionate last century, as now. Mrs. Fay writes in 1780 :—" My Khansaman (or house steward), brought in a charge for a gallon of milk and thirteen eggs, for making scarcely a pint and a half of custard ; this was so barefaced a cheat, that I refused to allow it, on which he gave me warning. I sent for another, and, after I had hired him, ' now' said I ' take notice, I have enquired into the market price of every article that enters my house and will submit to no imposition ; you must therefore agree to deliver in a just account to me every morning.' What reply do you think he made ? Why he demanded double wages ; you may be sure I dismissed him, and have since forgiven the first, but not till he had salamed me to my foot, that is placed his right hand under my foot ; this is the most abject token of submission (alas ! how much better should I like a little common honesty). I know him to be a rogue, and so are they all, but as he understands me now, he will perhaps be induced to use rather more moderation in his attempts to defraud. At first he used to charge me with twelve ounces of

butter a day for each person; now he grants that the consumption is only four ounces." The *Durwan* had formerly one duty invariably to perform in Calcutta; during meals the doors were kept shut by him and not opened till notice was sent by the head servant that the plate was all safe.

It is difficult to account for it that in Madras, where feelings of caste are very strong, with respect to servants it gives little inconvenience; in Calcutta it has been the opposite. Mrs. Fay writes, "none of the Mussulman servants would touch a plate on which pork had been laid; this proved very inconvenient to the settlement, but people finding that the officers of the Fort had overcome that prejudice the whole of the "European inhabi-'tants agreed to insist upon their servants doing the same as those 'of the officers at the Fort, or quitting their places. They chose 'the latter alternative, and in about four days they came back 'again requesting to be reinstated; and acknowledging that the 'only penalty incurred by touching was the necessity of bathing 'afterwards."

The *Kerani*, or quill driver of last century, was not so exclusively a native as he is now. Education has enabled the natives to supplant the Armenians, East Indian and Portuguese *topiwalla* or topasses from their office, as he can do the same work for one-third the cost,—but Keranidom then was as mechanical as now. A writer in 1778 remarks of the Bengali Kerani:—"Though they profess to understand English and are tolerably correct in copying what is put before them, they do not understand the meaning of anything they write; a great convenience this to such as conduct affairs that require secrecy, since the persons employed, cannot, if they were so disposed, betray their trust."

"Keranis were fond formerly, as now, of big words. Here is a letter written by one Bisamber Mittre, to his master at the beginning of last century, on occasion of an outer window having been blown down by a North Wester. 'Honourable Sir,—Yesterday vesper arrive great hurricane; valve of little aperture not fasten; first make great trepidation and palpitation, then precipitate into precinct. God grant Master more long life and more great post.

"P. S.—No tranquillity in house since valve adjourn.—I send for capenter to mak reunite."

Keranidom and education in Calcutta were then as now confined to Brahmins and Khaystas; of the former Holwell, who presided 5 years in the Mayor's Court of Calcutta writes:—"We 'can truly aver, that during almost five years that we presided 'in the Judicial Cutcherry Court of Calcutta, never any murder 'or atrocious crime came before us, but it was proved in the end 'a Brahmin was at the bottom of it."

The Burra Bazar seems from an early period to have been the

nucleus of native trade. The Marwari and other merchants found there are all over India, and even beyond it. Forster in his travels in 1782-3 met with 100 Hindoo merchants at Herat carrying on a brisk commerce, another 100 men at Tarshish, and others settled at Baku Mushid, Yezd, and along parts of the Caspian and Persian Gulphs. Mr. Forster met at Baku a Sanyasi, recommended by some Hindoos to their agents in Russia, he was willing to go even to England. Hindoos have been settled at Astrachan as at Calcutta, without their families.

The remark of the first Judges hoping for the day when all natives would wear breeches, seems to have tickled the fancy of Calcutta people. An article appeared in 1780 on this subject. "The poor oppressed natives are providing themselves with 'bear skin breeches instead of buck skin; they are however pre- 'judiced against the wigs."

There was a class of native servants in Calcutta formerly which now scarcely exists, *peons* to run before the palanqueen and carry the master's chatta or message; the *Chattaburdar* who bore a large umbrella over those who walked on foot; the *Abdar* or water cooler,—the *Musalchis* or flame bearers, whose business was to run with flaming torches before the carriage when returning from the drive at dusk. To follow the palanqueen, a set of bearers were necessary for every person,—the *hookah-burdar* to dress the pipe and attend while his master smoked it,—the *Chubdar* or mace bearer *i. e. Chapdhar*, keeper of the peace, with his emblem, a long staff plated with silver, to deliver messages. Sometimes four were in attendance, but every man in Calcutta of consequence must have one. The Dutch Director at Chinsurah was allowed six, but the next to him only two. The Dutch were so particular about this mark of dignity that only the Governor of Chinsurah was allowed to have the mace all of silver; the other functionaries were to have them plated. The late Bishop Wilson was one of the last Europeans who employed a Chubdar. There was one inferior to him, the *Sontaburdar*, who bore only a baton. The bearers of that day dressed and undressed their masters; the Europeans having such a horror of the climate as to think every exertion injurious, like various ladies in Chowringhee now, who though in health, are so lazy as to require being carried up-stairs by their servants. The *Uriah Bearers* were an old class in Calcutta; as in former days palkis were chiefly used. We find from a computation made in 1776, they carried three lakhs of rupees yearly to their own country made by their business.

Another servant of the olden time, gradually disappearing, is the Portuguese ayah, of whom Captain Williamson thus states:—

"Many Portuguese ayahs affect to be in possession of genealogies, whereby it should appear they are lineally descended from most illustrious characters; most of whom would, no doubt, be indeed abashed, could they now take a peep at their ill-fated and degenerated posterity. It is scarcely to be conceived how much pride is retained by women of this class; they are fond of adulation and love the dear word 'Signora,' even to adoration. To see one of them full dressed on Christmas day is truly diverting, their costume being, as nearly as circumstances will admit, that of the days of royalty in France with a dash of the antique Vera Cruz: to remind them, I suppose, of that eclipse which a gradual intermixture with the natives, has cast upon their once tawny, but now sable countenances. One would think, that the humiliating reflections attendant upon such a comparison, should prompt them to burn their pedigrees, and to avoid whatever could induce to retrospection! But, no, the ayah prides herself on that remote affinity, to which her records give the claim; she retains all the offensive hauteur of her progenitors, which, being grafted upon the most obnoxious qualities of the Hindoo or Mussulman, characters, makes a *tout ensemble* as ridiculous as it is despicable!"

Calcutta last century was the scene of the triumph of caste and superstition. Naked fakirs paraded the streets—the *Aghori* could be seen eating the flesh of dead men at the ghats—holy water in which a Brahmin's feet had been washed was highly treasured as a drink—suttee fires blazed in the neighbourhood, as late as 1800, within a space of 30 miles round Calcutta, and in six months of that year 275 women were burnt. Brahmini bulls, fearless of the police, roamed at large to the annoyance of palki-bearers and confectioners. Human sacrifices could occasionally be witnessed at Kali Ghat. The monkey however, so troublesome at Benares, was not so here, though it is recorded of the Rajah of Bisenpur, *the* Rajah of last century, that "he requested 'a guard of sepoys to destroy them, though against his religion, 'which holds the transmigration of souls, to do it himself. They 'would come into his house, and carry the meat off the table, and 'steal whatever they could find. They often terrify the girls, 'assembling round them if alone, making the most odious noises."

As an illustration of the power of superstition the following is the relation of an occurrence which took place in 1670:—The English had at this time a factory at Batacola (a sea port next to the southward of Onore) when a ship came to lade, the Captain of which had a fine English bull dog, which he presented to the chief of the factory. After the ship was gone the factory, which consisted of 18 persons, were going a hunting and

carried the bull dog with them, and passing through the town, the dog seized a cow devoted to a Pagod and killed her. Upon this the priests raised a mob, who murdered the whole factory; but some natives who were friends to the English, made a large grave and buried them all in it. The chief of Carwar sent a stone to be put on the grave with this inscription. 'This is the burial place of John Best and seventeen other Englishmen who were sacrificed to the fury of a mad priesthood and an enraged mob.' The English did not renew their factory there.

The practice of Dhirna, or a Brahman in order to extort money or secure a demand sitting opposite a house until it was complied with, the Brahman meanwhile fasting as also the person against whom the demand was made, was very common at Benares, but it occurred occasionally in Calcutta. Mrs. Fay states, "A Hindu beggar of the Brahman caste went 'to the house of a very rich man, but of an inferior tribe, request-'ing alms, he was either rejected, or considered himself inade-'quately relieved and refused to quit the place. As his lying be-'fore the door and obstructing the passage was unpleasant, one of 'the servants first intreated, then insisted on his retiring and in 'speaking pushed him gently away; he chose to call this push a 'blow, and cried aloud for redress, declaring that he would 'never stir from the spot till he had obtained justice against the 'man, who now endeavoured to soothe him but in vain. Like 'a true Hindoo he sat down, and never moved again, but 'thirty-eight hours afterwards expired, demanding justice with 'his last breath; being well aware that in the event of this the 'master would have an enormous fine to pay—which happened 'accordingly."

The Mussulmans of Calcutta though adopting various Hindoo practices, have never amalgamated with the Hindoos. They seem to retain towards them, the views of Timur who said—"The Hin-'doo has nothing of humanity but the figure. Ambition charac-'terised the Moslem here last century as much as avarice did the 'Gentoo, but the days are gone for ever when a Mussulman like 'the Foujdar of Hooghly had 6000 Rs. monthly salary and when 'the korah or whip was hung up in every Mofussil Court for the 'Mussulman officials to flagellate the Hindus. In 1804 the Mulins 'of Calcutta memorialised the Marquis of Wellesley because a 'thesis was proposed at Fort William College 'on the utility of 'translations into the vernacular of works on different religions.' 'But they are in the sere and yellow leaf and even Tippu was 'obliged to employ Hindoos in the revenue as he lost so much 'by the ignorance of Moslem revenue officers."

We might make many other observations on Calcutta in the

Olden Time—its Greek, Armenian and Jewish inhabitants—its French and Dutch neighbours—its river ever changing its course and fraught with reminiscences of the past. But the length to which we have already extended this article forbids our saying more.

ART. VII.—*Memoirs of Major General Sir Henry Havelock, K. C. B.* By JOHN CLARK MARSHMAN. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1860.

As, gliding down the stream of the tranquil present, we look back upon the tumultuous past; as we recall the excitements, the terrors, the atrocities of 1857, it is impossible to feel insensible to that wonderful dispensation of Providence which, when the danger was highest, when the career of triumphant rebellion was as yet unchecked, at least in the Central provinces, when our own resources were at the lowest, brought to the scene of action from another and a distant part of Asia, a Man suited to that dread Hour, whose strong character pitted against hordes of conscienceless traitors, sufficed to restore victory to our standards, and to re-establish the prestige. not lost in fair fight but stolen after foul murder, of the British arms. How this was accomplished, how by the determined energy of this man the tide of rebellion was first turned, must be fresh in the memory of all. If we allude now to the subject, it is because we would wish to dwell for a moment on the character of the chief actor in that part of the great Drama, and to ascertain by what mental training, through what amount of practical experience. his natural powers had been so moulded as to attain so brilliant a development.

A shy, contemplative, but strong-willed boy, Henry Havelock had been educated for the bar. Circumstances however which he could not control, but which in their immediate result were opposed to his wishes, changed his destination, and at the age of twenty years he entered the army. He entered it at a period when England had had but five years' experience of that peace which was destined to remain unbroken till 1853. The signs of its probable continuance however were even then plenteous, and Havelock, dreading the career the most fatal of all others to genuine aspirations—that of being a soldier merely in name—turned his thoughts to a country which held out certain promise of becoming at no distant period the theatre of great events. Of all the possessions and dependencies of England, India at that time alone offered the inducement of a chance of active service. To noble ambitions, to high hopes, to lofty aspirations she was the land of promise. What wonder then, that Havelock who had mastered the theories of his profession with all the ardour of an enthusiast, who had even then brooded over the achievements of the great Captains of ancient and modern epochs, what wonder that he, left free to choose for

himself, should have selected a career in a country in which, if there were many candidates for honor, there appeared to be at least many chances for the aspirant. The studies to which he had devoted the initiatory years of his military life, the complete theoretical knowledge which he had obtained regarding the actual science of war, his perfect acquaintance with the details of all the famous battles of history, had inspired him with a hope, near akin to confidence, that he too would be able to seize and employ rightly that golden moment, which occurs once always in the life time of all who seek it, but which once missed in most cases vanishes for ever. To India then he made up his mind to proceed, and having so resolved, with a just appreciation of the first difficulties which would meet him in that country, he devoted himself, whilst yet in England, to the acquirement of the native languages. To a mind organised as was his, the sudden transition from Jomini to Gilchrist presented no insurmountable obstacles. The ardour which had prompted him to acquire a complete knowledge of the principles of the one, enabled him to master the peculiarities set before him by the other. His progress therefore was rapid, and the gain real and solid. So much in fact had he advanced in his oriental studies during the few months that preceded his embarkation that he was able during the voyage out to become a teacher in his turn, and to impart to others some of the advantages which he had acquired for himself.

Havelock embarked in the *General Kyd* in January 1823, a Lieutenant in the 13th Light Infantry. The country to which he was proceeding was at that time under the temporary sway of Mr. John Adam, a gentleman who unconsciously and in spite of himself did more to upset the monopoly of the East India Company than any previous or subsequent ruler. The same month that witnessed Havelock's embarkation, witnessed also the departure from India of the Great Marquess who, in the course of a domination extending over nine years, had raised the glory of our arms to the highest pitch, and had placed upon the firmest basis the material prosperity of the empire. Like others who succeeded him he sailed from India in the full belief that he had left to his successor a legacy of peace; unlike those others, he did leave him an elastic revenue, and a treasury full even to overflowing—a source of strength and power to the strong—an irresistible temptation to the weak.

Havelock reached Calcutta in May of the same year. Within two months of his arrival Mr. Adam, whose tenure of office had resulted from the purely accidental circumstance of his being at the time of Lord Hastings' departure senior member of Council,

was succeeded by Earl Amherst—not however before the occurrence on our eastern frontier of certain manifestations, which laid the foundations of future warfare.

It is not necessary to refer here to the particular causes which brought about actual hostilities with the Burman empire. From the moment that barbarism, till then victorious and uncontrolled, came into contact with European civilisation, the result was inevitable. Commencing in the first instance with an actual attack on our possessions, the court of Ava regarded the gentle remonstrances of the Indian Government as sure signs of conscious weakness. To such an extent did their conceit increase that it became absolutely necessary for the security of our own territories to give to their monarch a convincing proof that, however great might be his superiority to the rude tribes that surrounded him, he was yet unequal to the task of dictating terms to an English Government. In consequence of this necessity, and in pursuance of that wise principle of warfare of which Hannibal may be considered the most brilliant exemplar, Lord Amherst resolved in the early part of 1824 to transport a sufficient force under an experienced General to a part of the enemy's coast, which was at once the most vulnerable and which at the same time might possess the advantage of communicating most easily with the capital. It was confidently believed that a march on Ava, entailing as it necessarily must, more than one encounter between the hostile forces, would suffice to bring the enemy to reason, and to lower the arrogant spirit which had tempted him to invade our possessions. Two divisions from Madras and Calcutta were accordingly organised, and these, leaving their presidencies in the months of April and May 1824, united at the Andamans on the 5th of the last named month, and proceeded at once under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell to Rangoon.

At the time that the Bengal division of this force was organised, Havelock had not completed twelve months' service in India. Occupying the position during this period of a Subaltern of the corps which garrisoned Fort William, no work beyond the mere routine of regimental duty had been assigned him. He had however distinguished himself in a manner, which does not always commend the performer to the favorable notice of the authorities. With all the fervor of his nature he had devoted himself to the study and practice of religion, and not content with that, he had endeavoured to extend amongst his own soldiers the knowledge of the truths which he had found so precious. He became known in the Regiment as a pious, earnest, and at the same time a most zea-

lous and devoted officer. Fortunately for his worldly prospects this knowledge was not confined to his regiment. Thus it happened that at the time when the Burmese expedition was being organised, and when enquiries were being made regarding smart intelligent officers to fill the more subordinate positions on the general staff, the name of Havelock was brought to the notice of those in whose hands lay the dispensation of patronage, and he was appointed Deputy Assistant Adjutant General of the expedition.

The war which was at that period undertaken, proved in a military and scientific point of view, the least interesting of all in which the Indian Government has been engaged. Combating in swamps, opposed to an enemy who never fought but behind stockades, and then generally fought badly, a prey to the ravages of a pestilential atmosphere, our troops were merely called upon to display that courage and that endurance which are so peculiarly their own. There was no call for the manifestation of the manœuvring capabilities of our commanders. To move straight on, to attack the enemy wherever he could be found, and to follow up with promptitude every advantage gained in the field—these were the conditions on which to bring the war to a successful issue. To a soldier nevertheless, thoroughly acquainted with the details of European conflicts, versed in that strategic science which prompted the operations of Marlborough and Eugene in their campaigns against the tried Marshals of Louis XIV., of Gustavus against Tilly and Wallenstein, of Frederic against Daun, and of General Bonaparte in 1796, this expedition to Burmah opened a new field. It was here that Havelock first learned, that the success of Europeans combating against Asiatics must depend less upon science than upon dash; that with one good blow, dealt energetically and followed up rapidly, the fate of an empire might be decided. The Burmese campaign it was, that taught him that no troops were more liable to depression, none less inclined to struggle against hostile fortune, none who possessed to an inferior degree the power of rallying *en masse* than Asiatics. To him then, destined as he was to an Indian career, the experience thus gained was invaluable. Grafting it upon his theoretical knowledge, he was able thereafter to plan, devise, and execute schemes calculated for every emergency. The fact that he himself had borne no light part in a campaign that terminated only at the gates of the enemy's capital, that he had been able thus practically to test his theoretical knowledge, and to compare it with the actual measures of his own commander, gave him a confidence in his own judgment, and a proud self-reliance that never after

deserted him. In Burmah were sown the seeds of that strategy that afterwards triumphed at Cawnpore.

The Burmese campaign lasted twenty-one months. Havelock, who arrived just too late for the storming of Rangoon, was yet able to take a prominent part in the operations which succeeded the occupation of that important town. As the year advanced however it was found that sickness was our most dangerous foe. By the end of July more than half the force had become non-effective. Havelock himself was amongst the latter, and to save his life, he was compelled to proceed to Calcutta, and thence by the sea route to Bombay. After an absence of eleven months, during which our army had advanced no higher than Prome, Havelock returned to his duty. He was in time to take a share in the advance which resulted in the defeat of the enemy in three pitched battles, and in the acceptance by the King of the conditions of peace which our Commander-in-Chief had imposed. In these actions, his was naturally a subordinate part, but to a subordinate on the staff, great opportunities of observation are often granted, and Havelock shewed not very long afterwards, that he had allowed none of these to pass unnoticed.

For nearly thirteen years after the treaty of Yandaboo, India remained at peace, and not a single opportunity was afforded Havelock of practically testing his acquirements in the field. With an ill-fortune, which in the present days of high pressure and quick promotion would be accounted marvellous, he was doomed throughout this period to remain a Lieutenant. He was not however altogether unemployed. As Interpreter to Colonel, afterwards Sir Willoughby, Cotton, one of the Brigadier Generals of the Burman expedition, and then commanding at Cawnpore; as Adjutant of the depôt of Royal Troops at Chinsurah; as Interpeter to the 16th Foot, and finally as Adjutant of his own Regiment, he found ample opportunities for increasing his own experience, and perfecting himself in that knowledge, the most valuable of all to the soldier and the statesman,—the knowledge of human nature. In his two appointments as Adjutant, first to the depôt and afterwards to his regiment, the moving springs of human action were constantly open to his inspection. It was probably during this period of probation that he acquired that experience in the art of managing men's minds, of appealing to their hearts, of directing their instincts to a particular point, which he afterwards put in practice with so much effect. Religious as he was, and ever anxious to increase the number of those who cared for their eternal welfare, he could not but have perceived, that even on the scoffer and the profane it was possible to exercise a strong moral

influence. There is probably no class of men more quick-witted, more imbued with a sense of their own rights or more jealous of maintaining them that the private soldiers: no men, at the same time oftener subject themselves to the sway of passions incidental to fallen man. To manage such men, to direct their energies to a useful and a noble end, mere theories are valueless. It is necessary that each move in the lower organisation should be checked, and if possible exalted, by corresponding and answering movement on the part of a more commanding mind. For this purpose, knowledge acquired by actual experience, imbibed, as it were, by mixing heartily with the men, by seeing their natures open before one, is the first requisite. None are more sensitive on this point than the men themselves. Their spirits spurn the control which is measured out by rule, and which, applied therefore without any consideration of the varying attributes of humanity, must often act unjustly. It is when their natures are in the presence of another nature, not only superior to theirs, but intimately acquainted with its component parts, yet partaking of the higher and the better portion of those parts, and at the same time sympathizing with the whole, that their minds swayed by the magnetic influence, yield themselves entirely to its control. That Havelock penetrated to the very depths of this great mystery may perhaps be doubted. There have been warriors, famous in history, who have acquired a greater insight into the secret springs of human actions, and who have gained consequently a greater influence and control over their men. But his after career proved nevertheless that his knowledge of mankind, and his power of directing the instincts of the soldier, were very great indeed. The manner in which he shewed this knowledge will be spoken of in its proper place: it is alluded to here, because it was at the period of which we are now treating that that experience must have been acquired.

But there were seasons during those thirteen years of peace when Havelock was not brought into such close contact with his men. There were years when he was forced to be content with the mere performance of the duties of a subaltern with his regiment. Then it was that his active mind went in search of other occupations, and searching earnestly, soon lighted upon a congenial theme. We have before alluded to the opportunities which presented themselves to him during his campaign in Burmah of criticising the manœuvres of his commanders. These had appeared to him to be, in many instances, opposed to those principles of war, on which the greatest Generals of ancient and modern times, had invariably sought to act. Their erratic courses,

as he supposed them to be, he had noted down at the time, and it appeared to him in his moments of leisure, that it might be useful to his profession, and profitable to himself, to give to the world a critical history of the entire campaign. He had scarcely however entered upon his work when the idea occurred to him that it might possibly be considered presumption and more than presumption on his part, thus to criticise his superiors. Yet only a Subaltern, his right to pass in review, and to animadvert upon the movements of full blown Generals, would almost certainly be called in question. Writing at all, he would be compelled to write the whole truth, and would that be palatable? These were startling questions; especially startling were they to a soldier dependent on his profession for support, and looking to it as the sole ladder by which he could advance to distinction. We know from the memoirs published of him by his brother-in-law, that he debated the matter long and carefully with himself. "I am half afraid" he says in one of his letters to Serampore "of the storm of hostility which the free discus-'sion of recent events might draw upon a subordinate officer. 'Men of years and rank are so unwilling ever to be proved in 'the wrong; and I cannot, in common honesty, attempt to show 'that in 1824-25, and '26 they were always in the right." Again "were the manuscript carried in *statu quo* to the press, 'it is not impossible that I might find my name omitted in the 'army list of some subsequent month for having presumed to 'think that a Brigadier-General can do wrong." These extracts prove that even when sending his manuscript to the press Havelock was not free from doubt as to the manner in which the publication might affect his own prospects. With the knowledge which we possess of his conscientiousness, of his rigid morality, of his strong views regarding right and wrong, of the manner in which he would have clung to the one and spurned the other, we have a right to believe that in deciding to publish, Havelock pursued the course which after deep and earnest consideration he felt himself called upon to undertake. Possessing a knowledge not shared in by the world at large, enabled by his reading, by his practical ability, to point out errors, which to be avoided in future it was necessary to illustrate with peculiar reference to this particular expedition, was he, on account of purely personal considerations, for fear of injuring his own prospects, to be absolutely dumb? To be silent, he must have felt, was to be criminal. Balancing then the criminality of silence against the "imprudence" of publication, Havelock felt it impossible to falter. Not careless then of consequences, but confident in the purity

of his motives, believing that his criticism was just, that his conclusions would bear the strictest examination, he published. Written in a manly and classical style, outspoken in its remarks on the execution of the campaign, awarding with an impartial hand blame and praise, the work appeared at the Serampore press in 1828, two years after the conclusion of the war of which it treated. It was most unfortunate that it had not been published in England. An Indian work never has a fair chance. It may be a prejudice, but it is a fact, that even the Indian public look upon the name of the English publisher as a guarantee to a certain extent of the value of the work. They look forward also before they buy, unless they are by chance acquainted with the author, to the criticisms of the English press. Deprived of these advantages, printed too on inferior paper, and with inferior type, an Indian book scarcely makes a fair start. It has happened that when subsequent events have recalled public interest to the subject on which it treated, a work originally published in India has reappeared in an English dress. But this is a rare occurrence; it almost always happens that the work published in India is discredited on account of its Indian imprint, and enjoys consequently but a limited circulation.

It is on no other grounds that we can account for the failure, as a literary speculation, of Havelock's 'Campaigns in Ava.' The style in which it was written, the professional acumen displayed in the criticisms, and the general interest of the narrative, were sufficient under ordinary circumstances to attract to it a large amount of public support. Published in England, it must have commanded attention, but an offspring of Serampore it never surmounted the ineradicable blot of its nativity. In India therefore its circulation was limited, whilst in England it became known to but a select few. It did happen however to find its way to the Horse Guards, and in that hallowed region its boldness, as might have been expected, found no favor. 'Is he tired of his commission?' was the question asked of the elder brother of the author, when he presented himself within those sacred precincts. No active persecution however followed this remark, although we are informed by his brother-in-law, that the book made him many enemies.

We might pause here for an instant to enquire with his biographer, how it happened that with the evidence of professional knowledge displayed in this work before them, the Government of India left the subaltern author to pine in neglect. Was it because they thought that soldiers ought to remain mere instruments, without feelings and without passions, debarred from the exercise of every intellectual faculty, and that they re-

garded as little less than a crime, this effort on the part of Havelock to vindicate his claim to a position in the world of responsible humanity? Did they consider that the duties of an officer should be confined to a punctual attendance at drills and parades, and to the necessity never to appear drunk on duty, and did they wish to repress every effort on his part to exercise his brain for the performance of the higher duties of his profession—an exercise which in times of peace can best be promoted by a critical study of past campaigns? These are no light questions, for they affect the present even more than the past. Let us examine for a moment the circumstances of Havelock's case. Here was a man, who had instructed himself thoroughly in the science of war, who enjoyed the highest character as an officer, and in whom there lay, dormant at that time and waiting for an occasion, very high military powers. Impelled by an imperative sense of duty, by a conscientious resolve to do what was right in spite of consequences, he publishes a work to the excellence of which, he subsequently recorded, three Commanders-in-Chief bore their testimony. Yet although that book was rich in military lore, although it contained instruction of the most valuable nature, because, in the course of its truthful narrativé, it trenched upon the vanity of a few high officials, the writer was allowed to linger in obscurity. The abilities which were conspicuous in every page of the book, the talents which the Government might themselves have directed to some great purpose, were restricted to the performance of trifling duties, and for nine years afterwards, the Havelock of 1828, who possessed within himself all the powers and more than the vigour of the Havelock of 1857, was deemed doubly rewarded in being allowed to remain unmolested on account of his opinions, a hardworking subaltern. One of the most touching pictures, in the history of France immediately prior to the Revolution, presents to our eyes Dumouriez pacing the streets of Paris, conscious of his abilities for command, but conscious also that his plebeian birth deprived him of every chance of the attainment of his desires. But how infinitely more affecting were the circumstances of Havelock's position! He too was conscious of the possession of great abilities, and yet he had the mortification to find that he was restricted to the duties of a subaltern, because, in the only manner in which as a conscientious officer he could perform the task, he had written a work in which those abilities were made known to the Government he served.

After long delays however, and three failures to obtain his company by purchase, promotion came at last. In 1838 Have-

lock was able to write Captain before his name, and by a strange coincidence the same year witnessed also the abandonment of that peaceful policy which, without interruption, had been fostered by the Indian Government ever since the peace of Yandaboo. It was in December of that year that the expedition to Affghanistan, which had formed the great theme of discussion in every station in India for twelve months preceding, was actually entered upon. On the 10th of that month the Bengal Division of the British forces, under the command of Sir Willoughby Cotton, commenced its march for an object, which, for disregard of all moral obligation, as well as for political unsoundness, is unequalled by any recorded in the history of the British nation. Decided upon originally for the purpose of compelling the Persian Army to raise the siege of Herat, it might have been supposed that with the accomplishment of that design, all necessity for the further progress of the expedition would have ceased. The Persian Army, thanks to the gallantry of an English officer who accidentally found himself in the place, had been forced to retire from before Herat on the 9th September 1838, three months before a single British soldier had left our territories. The original object of the expedition had thus been accomplished, without the expenditure of a single drop of English blood, or an ounce of English treasure. Nevertheless, so bent were those who directed the counsels of the Indian Government on making a grand demonstration in Central Asia, so terrified were they at the bugbear of Russian aggrandisement, then distantly looming in the future, that losing sight of those greater dangers nearer their own possessions—dangers which in a cooler moment would have been obvious to none more than to themselves,—they resolved, at the cost of an immense expenditure of money, in defiance of right, and at great military risk, still to send on an army for the purpose of expelling the energetic sovereign who was all the time well disposed to fall in with our views regarding Persia, and to replace him by an imbecile *fainéant* whose weakness had rendered him contemptible in Affghan eyes. So extraordinary was the excitement that reigned amongst the governing classes at the time, that they did not perceive either the foolishness or the immorality of the course which they had resolved to pursue. The advance into Affghanistan was heralded by those high sounding phrases and lofty professions which those who have at their disposal numerous battalions know so well how to employ. These phrases and these professions produced an effect at which men of the present day, with their experience of thirty subsequent years, may well be surprised. In 1838 however, belief in the character of pub-

lic men was not wholly extinguished, and certainly the greater number of those who started from Ferozepore on that 10th December, started in the belief that they were about to restore a legitimate sovereign to his throne, and to give an effectual check to the ambition and to the encroachments of Russia. It would appear that Havelock entertained some such opinion at the outset. Certain it is that he hailed the prospect of service which the offer of an Aide-de-Camp-ship on Sir Willoughby Cotton's staff opened out to him. It was a position most favorable for one whose active mind would not permit him to be a mere instrument of authority, but who judged every movement by the standard set up by those great Captains, the history of whose achievements was stored in his mind. Throughout that long march from Ferozepore through the Bolan Pass to Candahar, he must often have mused on the fact that on the fidelity to his engagements of the ruler of the Punjab, depended the safety of our force. We had no base of operations; our army was separated from its resources; on our right and our right rear lay the army of Runjeet Singh, splendidly organized, flushed with victory over the Affghans, and ready to obey his nod. The further we proceeded, the more isolated, the more dangerous became our position, and to the chances arising from that position were added the barren nature of the country, and the necessity which existed of carrying our supplies with us. As we read the account of that campaign, every page increases our astonishment that a British Army should ever have been sent on such an expedition, and for such a purpose.

It is not our purpose to follow the expedition step by step on its onward course. Its details are well-known to all readers of Indian history. The part played by Havelock, as Aide-de-Camp on the staff of a General of Division, was necessarily limited. He was able nevertheless to improve his experience in matters which it is beyond the power of mere book-learning to impart. He it was who, after the junction at Candahar by the Bombay division, and the assumption by Sir John Keane of the chief command, strongly urged that the siege train, which had been conveyed thus far at the cost of much trouble, should be taken on to be used against Ghuznee. His advice was, on the representations of the "politicals," disregarded, and in consequence, the army found itself some weeks later in front of a fortress, the defences of which could only be breached by heavy artillery. It is true that the combined daring and ingenuity of Captains Thomson and Durand of the Bengal Engineers rescued Sir John Keane from his false position, but the circumstance made an ineradicable impression on the mind of Havelock, and materially

influenced his own operations at a later period. Never to attack fortified places without artillery, and to be himself 'political' as well as General, ranked thereafter amongst his best conned maxims. It was in this campaign also that the impressions which he had imbibed in Burmah, as to the advisability of losing no opportunity of attacking an Asiatic enemy in the field, with but small regard to his superior numbers, and his convictions likewise as to the enormous advantages to be derived from following up rapidly even the most trifling victory, received fresh confirmation. Havelock accompanied the force in its triumphant progress to Cabool, but finding, shortly after his arrival there, that the puppet king whom we had placed on the throne by our bayonets, could only be supported by the same means, and that our occupation of Affghanistan might be prolonged indefinitely, he resisted all the offers of Sir Willoughby Cotton, and resolved to return speedily to India. He was prompted to this determination chiefly by a wish to publish an account of the campaign, before the interest excited by it had entirely evaporated. For a task of this nature he was peculiarly well qualified. He had not only taken notes of his own, but he had possessed the entire confidence of Sir Willoughby Cotton, and had obtained from the Commander-in-Chief free access to all the records in his office. He naturally imagined that a work at once accurate, interesting, and professional could not fail to find many readers, and although he wrote at the time that he considered himself "too old for fame," he might nevertheless have pictured to himself that such a work, if well performed, would convince those, in whose hands lay the power of advancing deserving officers, that he at least had mastered the higher branches of his profession. He was doomed however, on this occasion, as on the former, to bitter disappointment. The work, although lucid in arrangement, forcible in style, and vivid in description, although too it had the advantage of an English publisher, fell still-born from the press. This result may perhaps be partly attributable to the intense excitement which prevailed in England at that time, (1839-40) on account of the movements of the Chartists. The "battle of Newport," so fatal to the pretensions of Messrs. Frost, Williams, and Jones, presented a problem of far deeper moment to the politicians of England than the history of the taking of Ghuznee. Then again the march to Cabool, though teeming with hardships to the soldiers, was, for a campaign, singularly barren of fighting results. The successful assault on Ghuznee, was, in a military point of view, its solitary triumph. It is probable therefore, that the general public, unacquainted

with the locality, ignorant of the dangers *in posse* and the privations *in esse*, saw only that we had reached Cabool without a battle, and imagined that it was almost unnecessary to acquaint themselves with the details of such an expedition to a greater extent than could be ascertained from the despatches. Had there been a few more casualties, and a fair proportion of stirring adventures the history would probably have been more favorably received.

It may not be out of place here to state the matured opinion of Havelock, written in after years, on the subject of the publication by an officer of his own experiences on service and elsewhere. Even in the year 1860 the opinion on this subject of one of the most real and practical soldiers that ever lived, may not be altogether unworthy of consideration. The passage as recorded by his biographer, is too long to be extracted in its entirety. We cull however that portion of it which may be considered general in its application. "Our institutions and 'public opinion secure to us the liberty of printing; and common sense unawed by a few who have not kept pace with 'their age, recognises in the nineteenth century the perfect compatibility of the most implicit obedience in the ranks and in 'the field, with thorough independence of spirit in the republic 'of letters. Contemporary memoirs are the means of which the 'future historian gladly avails himself, or of which he bitterly 'laments the want, when he comes to trace with an impartial 'hand the picture of events which have influenced the happiness of large portions of the human race."

Although Havelock was naturally mortified by the ill-success of a work on which he had bestowed no ordinary labour, his was not a spirit to cast down by any disappointment. Its first result was to determine him to bend his mind more closely to his profession. It happened that, after he had rid himself of the labor of revising and despatching his work, he was directed to proceed to Cabool with recruits. Arriving in the course of his journey at Ferozepore, he fell in with General Elphinstone, then lately appointed to the command of our troops in Affghanistan. By him he has offered the post of Persian Interpreter on his staff. This he accepted, and it was in that capacity that in February 1841, after an absence of fifteen months, he found himself once more in Cabool.

It was on the occasion of this, his second residence in Affghanistan, that the nature of Havelock's qualities was destined to the severest trial. The weakness of our political agent, and the incapacity of our military commander, contributed even more than the treachery of the aristocracy of Cabool, to bring

about the greatest disaster that has ever befallen British arms. It was not so much, as Havelock remarked with astonishment on his arrival, that the position which should have been occupied as a fort had been given up to the purposes of a seraglio; it was a vicious but not a fatal arrangement that located our soldiers in a cantonment commanded by neighbouring heights, and that placed all the supplies of the army in a detached fort. These evils, great as they were, would have been remedied by the valour of our troops, if they had had but a commander. But with an old gentleman at the head of the army enfeebled by disease, with an envoy who had trained his intellect to believe that to be true which he wished to be true, and who persisted in spite of the most glaring evidence of bad faith, in giving credence to the assurances of the natives,—with division everywhere, and self-reliance nowhere, it was impossible to effect anything great. There was in fact no command. The measures that had been resolved upon one moment, were cancelled an hour later, and this indecision, commencing in the tent of the General, could not but have a most lamentable effect upon the Army. As if, too, to add to the difficulties of our situation, the most open marks of hostility on the part of the Affghans, served but to induce our leaders to pretend a greater confidence in their good faith. It seems at this distant period almost incredible, that after the slaughter of Sir Alexander Burnes, after the murder of the Envoy in cold blood, after manifestations of hostility too striking to be misconceived, the leaders of that force—a force numbering 5000 men, should still have preferred to trust to Affghan honor rather than to the bayonets of their soldiers. Once having resolved to retire, they should have regarded every Affghan as an enemy, and have trusted to their own energies alone. Instead of this, to use the emphatic language of Havelock "they credulously confided 'in Affghan faith, moved in the power and at the dictation of 'Akbar Khan, took up the positions which he pointed out, 'forbore to fire on the partisans whom he had arrayed to des-'troy them; and as much to the last the dupes of intrigue and 'treachery as the victims of the sword, cold, hunger and 'fatigue, were engulfed in the eastern Gilzye mountains." Surely, if history be indeed philosophy teaching by example, the details of this terrible disaster ought to have served as a warning to the men that were to come after. The tale told by it of the folly, the incredible folly, of trusting to the oaths of Asiatics, of placing ourselves with respect to them in a suppliant and inferior position, ought to have rendered impossible any similar infatuation in future. Yet only sixteen years later, the

events of the mutiny too clearly shewed, that in many instances the warning of Asiatic duplicity had been vouchsafed in vain, though, unfortunately for us, the recollections of European credulity had been eagerly treasured up and remembered.

In the movements of the Cabool force Havelock was not a sharer. Although on the staff of the General he had obtained permission to join his regiment, the 13th Light Infantry. This regiment, under the command of gallant Sale, had been ordered in the month of October 1841 to the assistance of the 35th N. I., upon which an attack had been made in the passes near Cabool. The nature of the conflict in which the two corps were engaged on the following day, made it clear to those who took part in it that the whole country was in arms against the British. General Sale indeed found that it would be impossible for him to move forward to Gundamuck—the destination assigned him by the General in command—unless reinforcements were promptly furnished. He selected Havelock to carry the despatches in which he stated his necessities on this head, and it was probably owing in a great measure to his influence, that within a week not only were reinforcements provided, but plentiful supplies were sent with them. Havelock again obtained permission to rejoin General Sale's Brigade, which the authorities at Cabool, lulled by their reliance on Affghan promises, considered at that time the post of danger.

For the eighteen days that followed, the force was in continual conflict. Harassed on all sides, attacked sometimes in front, oftener on the flanks and rear, the brigade, encumbered as it was with baggage, could only with difficulty push forward. It had been Havelock's wish after the second march, when it had been resolved, in accordance with instructions from Cabool, to send back one of the native regiments, to return with it in order to resume his appointment on the staff of General Elphinstone. This he considered to be his post of duty, and he was, at the moment, the less tempted to swerve from it, because the Gilzyes had but just before agreed to an accommodation, for the due performance of which they had furnished hostages. General Sale however could not patiently endure the idea of allowing Havelock to leave him. He had himself been wounded on the previous day, and he felt therefore more than ever all the responsibilities of his position. With Havelock he had been associated for many years, and he had had opportunities of witnessing how fitted he was to cope with a crisis. He therefore pointed out to him that in his opinion it was his duty to continue with the force, and finally took all the responsibility of his compliance on his own shoulders. Havelock obeyed, and from that moment

became one of the most confidential advisers of the General. He it was who, in conjunction with Captains Macgregor, Backhouse, Broadfoot and Davies—four names famous in the history of that eventful period, persuaded the General to attack the fort of Mamookhail, the possession of which secured the safety of the advance from Gundamuck to Jellalabad. He it was who, when a Council of War was held at Gundamuck to debate as to the nature of the movements that ought to follow the receipt of the first disastrous accounts from Cabool, threw all the weight of his influence in support of the march on Jellalabad, on the solid ground, that there at all events they would occupy a position that could be held until reinforcements should reach them from India. He it was who, after the arrival of the force at that place, resisted with all his energy the proposal to give up the town and to retire within the citadel. He it was who, by the influence inspired by his character, by his sound judgment, far seeing sagacity, and knowledge of soldiers, contributed as much as any single individual could contribute, to the successful defence of the illustrious garrison. If his labors were not so "pronounced" as those of George Broadfoot, it was because he occupied a far less prominent position than that most distinguished officer. It is yet a striking fact that it was to Havelock that Broadfoot ever looked for moral support during the sittings of those Councils of War, in which he advocated, often alone, a determined policy, and it was owing to that support, always accorded, that the resolution to resist to the last was finally decided upon. It was due to these two men, that when the hopes of the garrison were most gloomy, when the Government of India expressed only a desire to withdraw as much as possible from the affairs of Affghanistan, and when the news of the destruction of the Cabool force had caused unusual depression in the minds of all—it was due, we say, to these two men, that another treaty was not entered into with the Affghans, the expressed object of which was the withdrawal of the British troops from Jellalabad. The Council of War had in fact decided in favour of the measure, and had noticed their acceptance of the propositions to the ruler of Cabool. Fortunately for the garrison, the Affghans would not credit their good fortune, and sent to propose fresh stipulations. But before these could arrive, the exertions of Broadfoot and Havelock had worked an immense change in the minds of the garrison, and it was then finally resolved to dismiss diplomacyto the winds, and if necessary to perish where they stood.

It would be foreign to the purpose of this article to enter into a detail of the daily events of that illustrious defence. En-

tering Jellalabad on the 12th November, the force under the command of General Sale, in spite of its original want of defences, in spite of deficiencies of supplies, in spite of enemies without and traitors within its walls, maintained their position until the arrival of the relieving Army of General Pollock on the 13th April following. Throughout this period Havelock served on the staff of the General in command, and he enjoyed therefore the peculiar advantage of being acquainted with the reasons which guided the decisions of his chief. Of the influence which he was able to bring to bear on those decisions we have already spoken. His views were directed not only to the maintenance of our position at Jellalabad to the last extremity, but to impressing on the minds of others the vital importance of seizing every opportunity to meet the enemy in the field. His experience of men, combined with his knowledge of the art of war, to make his opinion especially valuable on this point. It was not only that he was animated by the conviction that under no circumstances could Asiatic troops resist a charge of Europeans in the open field, but he was profoundly impressed with a sense of the effect which constant inaction must produce on the minds of the garrison. These feelings reached their full intensity when, on the final repulse of the Affghan force under Akbar Khan from the walls of Jellalabad on the 10th March, that prince took up a position within two miles of the town, and commanding all the approaches to it. Then it was that Havelock scented the opportunity of making an attempt warranted by every rule of war, and conformable to sound policy. The defeat of the Affghans, the benefit to the '*morale*' of the soldier, and the raising of the blockade,—these were the points, for which, the immediate prospect of relief being even then uncertain, it was surely desirable to strike a blow. When, after some discussion, General Sale determined to make the attempt, with a confidence which testified to his opinion, he gave the command of one of the divisions to his most importunate adviser. On this, the first occasion of his holding a responsible command in the field, Havelock gave proof of the possession of high military ability. The right wing under his orders had been directed to lead the attack, and penetrating if possible between the enemy's advanced position and the river on which it rested, to drive away his skirmishers, and then, combining with the two other divisions, to pierce his centre. Havelock performed his part to admiration; seizing the line of the river, he drove the enemy's skirmishers before him, and pushed on in the preconcerted direction. All at once, however, the centre column under Colonel Dennie was diverted to another part of the field, and

Havelock found himself exposed without warning to the brunt of the enemy's attack. Having received instructions from the General at the same time to halt, he drew up his men partly behind a wall and partly in square, and awaited the attack of the enemy's cavalry. These came on with great determination, and Havelock's horse rearing at the moment, he lost his seat and was only saved from death by a sapper and two men of the 13th who rushed forward to rescue him. The enemy in the interval failing to make an impression on the square, and being exposed to a galling fire from the men posted behind the wall, drew off in some confusion, and Havelock, observing almost immediately that the other columns were proceeding to his support, gave the signal to advance. Scarcely however had his men got well away from the protection of the wall, than the Affghan horse wheeling round came down upon them like an avalanche. Attacked this time in the open, Havelock formed his men into a square, and directing them to reserve their fire, he awaited the charge. Made more feebly than on the first occasion, it was even more unsuccessful, and Havelock instantly re-forming his men, completed the confusion of the enemy by pursuing him into his camp and capturing two guns. At this point the other columns came up, the camp was stormed on all sides, and the victory was complete.

How, nine days after this well won fight—a fight which left the garrison of Jellalabad without an enemy within their reach—the avenging army of General Pollock arrived; how for four months longer the united forces remained in the valley of Jellalabad, waiting for the co-operation of General Nott on the other side of Cabool—how then, owing to the wise resolution of Lord Ellenborough, the army advanced, and triumphing on its route at Jugdulluk and Tezeen, entered Cabool flushed with the glow of victory; how our countrywomen were rescued from captivity, how that portion of Cabool which witnessed the treacherous murder of our Envoy was destroyed, and how the enemy were utterly dispersed at Istaliff—an action planned by Havelock in the capacity of Deputy Adjutant General to General McCaskill; how finally the united armies of Nott and Pollock, satiated with victory and sustained by the ennobling idea that they had restored the *prestige* of England in those distant regions, returned in the cold weather of 1842 to Hindoostan, and were met at Ferozepore by the grandest of India's Governors General—one who possessed in its greatest perfection the power of influencing men's minds—and how finally the troops—their leaders rewarded—were dispersed to their peaceful cantonments, are matters which History has recorded. Hitherto however, History, in dealing

with one of the subjects above alluded to—the rewards dealt out to those who most greatly distinguished themselves—has omitted all allusion to Havelock. Had she spoken, it would have been but to record that he was left unnoticed in the ruck. In the heat of popular enthusiasm, the merit of the great deeds accomplished was awarded to those under whose authority they had been carried out. Thus it was that Havelock, conscious of deserving, and yet too modest to claim that which was his due, was allowed, as a reward for his meritorious services, to proceed once more to the dull routine of Regimental duty. He was informed confidentially by a friend—his tried comrade Major Broadfoot—that there existed *prejudices* against him. So true is it that even in these more liberal days, a man of really independent spirit finds in the very qualities which constitute his greatness, the most stubborn obstacle to his fortune!

Such merits as his however could not long remain unnoticed. In the course of time those who had been prejudiced against him disappeared from the scene, and in 1843 he found himself simultaneously Major of his regiment and Persian interpreter to the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough. He did not long enjoy this new appointment in peace. Recent and constantly recurring *émeutes* in the Punjab had warned Lord Ellenborough that the time was approaching, when he would be compelled to gather together all the resources of the Empire over which he so wisely ruled, for an encounter with the trained and disciplined soldiers of Runjeet Singh. Whilst too he beheld the cloud, as yet scarcely bigger than a man's hand, that was rising steadily in the horizon before him, he was aware also of another tempest, not so dangerous, though more quick in its action, brewing within fifty miles of the capital of the North West Provinces. Both these demonstrations were met by that noble man with the prescience and the spirit of a great statesman. Deeming the Gwalior danger the more pressing, knowing that it would be in the highest degree dangerous to march towards the Sutlej, whilst the hosts of Scindia lay armed and watchful on his flank and rear, he forced that Durbar to an explanation. Finding this unsatisfactory, and penetrating the hostile intentions of the Court, he marched in his army under Sir Hugh Gough, defeated the enemy in two pitched battles, and then, abstaining with a rare magnanimity from annexation, restored the country to its legitimate sovereign, having first reorganized its Government upon principles which, fifteen years later, produced results which contributed greatly, in the dark hour of our calamity, to the safety of the Anglo-Indian Empire.

In the battle fought at Maharajpore, Havelock, as one of Lord

Gough's staff officers, bore a part as prominent as one in such a position could hope for. In the heat of the action he rallied and inspired with enthusiasm a native regiment—the 56th—against which he was afterwards destined to combat at Cawnpore. He found then that it was as feasible to inspire Asiatics to great deeds of courage, as to induce them, as in Affghanistan, to acts of rare and generous devotion. The appeal that he made to them in the heat of the action, riding in their front, and reminding them that they fought under the eye of their Commander-in-Chief, carried all hearts before it. He remarked afterwards that "whereas it had been difficult to 'get them forward before, the difficulty now was to restrain 'their impetuosity." It is an occasion like this that marks the really great soldier—the man that to perfect acquaintance with his profession adds that still more necessary knowledge—the knowledge how to exert a moving and animating influence over the minds of others.

It is recorded that after the action, standing over the grave of General Churchill, Havelock expressed his regret to Lord Ellenborough that the war had not been a war of subjugation. The same opinion was expressed pretty generally at the time, and the Governor General was blamed for maintaining a rallying point for disaffected spirits. Subsequent events however shewed that had Havelock's ideas on this point been carried out, his victorious career in 1857 would have been impossible, and in all probability the Central and Lower Provinces of India would have been, during that year, overrun by the mutineers. It was the inaction of the troops stationed in Gwalior, that enabled Havelock at a critical moment to maintain his position at Cawnpore—and that inaction, forced upon these troops by their Maharaja—was the offspring of Lord Ellenborough's policy. Two years after the Gwalior episode, the other and greater storm foreseen by Lord Ellenborough, burst with unprecedented fury upon the land. Unfortunately when the crisis came, the steady hand of that great nobleman no longer guided the helm of the state-vessel. He was recalled by men to whom his prescience was a reproach, in spite of the protests of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel—both of whom appreciated to the highest degree the great qualities which had been evinced throughout Lord Ellenborough's tenure of power. Combined ignorance and nepotism however shrink from the service of unsullied genius; they prefer employing as their agents men whom they can use to their own purposes. Thus it was that when the Sikh war broke out, Lord Ellenborough, who had foreseen it, and who had

busied himself in preparations to meet it, was no longer Governor General. One of the first acts of his successor, Sir H. Hardinge, was to countermand all his preparations, thereby committing the error, then almost fatal, but which notwithstanding has in later years been repeated, of endeavouring to disarm Asiatics by shewing them that we were disarming ourselves. This conduct on our part naturally hurried on the catastrophe it was intended to avert. Without note or warning, taking advantage of our want of preparation, an enormous Sikh Army crossed the Sutlej in the early part of December 1845, and threatened to destroy our troops in detail in their cantonments.

Fortunately for us, the Sikh Army, vast as it was in point of numbers and arrogant in its spirit, able too from the perfection of its equipments and the strength and valor of its soldiery to have carried all before it, was yet a body without a head. There was not a man amongst its commanders able to conceive or to appreciate the immense advantages within its grasp. It is possible that had the inroad of 1845 been made upon a purely Asiatic power, the Chiefs of the Sikh Army would have acted with that confident boldness which had distinguished them in their contests with the Affghans. But this aggression was made upon British territory, and the British arms had still a great reputation. It was this reputation that gave us breathing time; which induced timidity into the Sikh councils, and made them first hesitate and then decline to strike that blow, which would have been of all others most fatal to our prestige. This indecision was further confirmed by the resolute bearing and the heroic determination of the General who commanded at Ferozepore. Although he had only five thousand troops under his orders, of whom less than one-fourth were British, yet no sooner had the Sikh Army, 60,000 strong, crossed the Sutlej and threatened Ferozepore, than Sir John Littler, taking counsel only from his own brave heart, marched out and offered them battle. It was a prudent, wise, and heroic resolve. Ferozepore was not defensible, it was crowded with women and children; to remain in it was to confess weakness, and at the same time to invite attack; to go forth and face the foe was on the other hand to intimate to them that a British General feared no odds, and considered himself with his handful a match for the thousands opposed to him. It was a movement, in fact, inspired by high military genius, and by a consummate knowledge of the Asiatic character. It was as successful as it deserved to be. The Sikh General, scared by the boldness of the British, declined the proffered combat and marched forward in the direction of Delhi. Meanwhile the

Commander-in-Chief had not been idle. No sooner did he hear that the enemy had crossed the Sutlej than from Umballa, from the hill stations, from Meerut and from the lower provinces troops were summoned into the field. The first division of these troops met the enemy, quite accidentally, on the 18th December at Moodkee. A battle without plan or arrangement of any sort ensued, which, without any very decisive issue, resulted in the retirement of the Sikhs to a strong position previously selected at Ferozeshuhur. In this action, Havelock, who acted as a sort of Aide-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief, had two horses shot under him. Two days after, both armies having been reinforced, ensued the great battle of Ferozeshuhur, remarkable for the courage of the British troops, for the determination of the enemy, and for the incapacity of his Generals. To use the expression of Havelock, who was by the side of his Chief throughout the two days' contest "India was again saved by a miracle." Six weeks later, a victory having been in the meantime gained by Sir H. Smith at Alliwal, the crowning battle of Sobraon gave the *coup de-grace* to the Sikh Army. Then followed the march upon Lahore, and the treaty which, with the loss of a portion of territory, restored vitality and independence to the Sikh Government.

In an article devoted to Havelock it would have been impossible to pass by without notice three battles in which he was hotly engaged. So closely nevertheless did these battles follow one another, and so devoid were they of anything approaching to tactics or manœuvres, that it need but be recorded that Havelock was present in them, and that he did his duty, as he ever did, most nobly. His situation on Lord Gough's staff had, however, brought him prominently to the notice of the Governor General, and he was not suffered to waste his great capacities in uncongenial appointments much longer. In 1846, on the recommendation of Lord Hardinge, he was appointed Deputy Adjutant General of the Queen's troops at Bombay. By this appointment the certainty of future promotion was secured, at the same time that there was obtained an insight into those paper duties, which are nowhere more onerous, and which nowhere need more to be mastered, than in India.

For nearly three years Havelock continued to perform the duties of the Adjutant General's office at Bombay. They were years of peace and tranquillity, pre-shadowing the tempest that was to follow. In the third year of his appointment that storm burst in the Punjab. Commencing with the murder of Messrs. Agnew and Anderson, it was followed almost instantaneously by the revolt of the Dewan Mool-

raj, by the brilliant achievements of Herbert Edwardes, then more leisurely by the siege of Mooltan, the defection of Shere Singh, the actions at Ramnuggur and Sadoolapore, the day of Chillianwalla, and the "crowning mercy" of Goojrat. Havelock, finding that on the formation of Lord Gough's Army, the 53rd Foot to which he had been removed, had been ordered to the scene of action, obtained permission from the Commander-in-Chief at Bombay to join it. He had not reached Agra however *en route* to the Punjab, when he received a peremptory order from Lord Gough to return to Bombay. This disappointment, bitter though it was, he bore with the fortitude and resignation of a true hero. Instead of finding fault with the Commander-in-Chief, or railing at fortune, he probed his own conduct, and concluded by condemning, himself for having left Bombay without having previously obtained the sanction of Lord Gough. It was this self-command, this freedom from passion, this ability to judge his own conduct as though it were the conduct of another man, that gave to the actions of Havelock a real consistency, and confirmed in no slight degree his influence over those with whom he was brought into contact.

It was in the autumn of the same year that failing health compelled Havelock to return after an absence of twenty-six years to England. He remained there two years, spending his furlough principally in renewing his acquaintance with old school fellows and friends, and subsequently in travelling for his health in Germany. It is a curious fact, that at one period of his leave he was actually contemplating selling out and settling in that country. He dreaded the effect which the Indian climate might have upon his constitution, and he found that a very small income would enable him to educate his family and live even comfortably at one of the large German towns on the Rhine. There was however some difficulty about the income, and after reflection he resolved, fortunately for his fame, to return to Bombay. He did so, and leaving behind him his wife and children, took up his old appointment in December 1851.

In the course of the three years that followed nothing interfered to mar the tranquillity of Havelock's existence. In the second Burmese war, which broke out in 1852, he was not destined to share, though eager himself to join in it. He felt indeed an uncontrollable desire to revisit as a responsible Commander, the scenes of his earliest campaigning, and he made application to Lord Dalhousie to be employed. Before however his letter could reach that nobleman, the preparations for the campaign had been completed, and the appointments filled up.

Promotion however was near at hand to console him for this

disappointment. In 1854 he was made Quarter-Master-General of the Queen's troops, and shortly afterwards received the rank of Brevet Colonel. But he was not to rest there: in 1855 General Markham was summoned to the Crimea, and the post of Adjutant General of the Queen's troops was bestowed upon Havelock, and this appointment, though bestowed by the Horse Guards, was ratified by the tacit approval of every soldier in India.

The manner in which the duties of the Adjutant General's office were exercised by the new official, was eminently characteristic of the man. With all his sympathy with weak and erring humanity, he was yet a stern and strict disciplinarian. It was part of his creed that the discipline of a regiment depended mainly upon the example set by the officers, and that where these were careless in the performance of their duties, the men would be negligent also. Convinced likewise of the importance of impressing a rigid sense of individual responsibility upon all officers, it was his especial care to inform the Commandants of royal regiments, that he held them personally and individually responsible for every breach of discipline that might be committed under their orders. On this point he insisted with a pertinacity that caused him to be regarded in some quarters as a martinet. He was nothing of the sort. Individual responsibility is the soul of military discipline, and it was by insisting on the carrying out of this principle, that the regiments which were in India when the mutiny broke out, had advanced to that high state of efficiency, which enabled them at that period to confront and beat down the countless hosts opposed to them.

Havelock had held this appointment nearly two years when, by direction of the Home Government, war was declared against Persia. An expedition under the command of Sir James Outram was forthwith organized at Bombay, with the design of steaming up the Persian Gulf, occupying the island of Karrack and the town of Busheer, and of carrying out such other ulterior measures as might be deemed necessary. Sir James Outram, when consulted by Lord Elphinstone as to the nomination of his divisional commanders, at once expressed a desire to secure the services of Havelock in that capacity. A telegram was immediately despatched to General Anson with the requisition, and six days later Havelock started for Bombay. But two days before he reached that island, Sir James Outram had embarked, and Havelock did not reach the scene of action until after the first blow had been struck, and the Persian Army hopelessly discouraged by the loss of their camp at Burayjoon, and of the flower of their forces at Kooshab.

Sir James Outram had conceived the idea of bringing the war to a speedy termination by one of those Napoleonic blows, so successful in the Imperial wars—*viz.*, an advance on the enemy's capital. But the experience he had gained of the country, during the march which led to the events just recorded, had demonstrated to him the almost utter impracticability of such a course by land. It appeared however quite feasible to act upon the Euphrates, and seizing a stronghold which commanded its communication with the Gulf, to send up his troops along its course to Ispahan. For this purpose the strongly fortified town of Mohumra was fixed upon, and a division of the army was despatched under Havelock to take it. This service was performed with equal ability and success. Embarking his force, which consisted of nearly five thousand men, of whom one-third were Europeans, upon steamers and flats, he took up a position abreast the works, which each day was making more formidable, and then poured in continual broadsides from his ships of war. In three hours and a half the defences were abandoned by the enemy, and Havelock, instantly landing his troops, took possession of the town. The enemy suffered considerably from the cannonading, but he had so much the start of our troops in his retreat, that it was impossible to follow him up with any effect. Our loss was insignificant. A successful attempt was made three days later to beat up the enemy's quarters at Ahwaz on the Karoon—a place which he evacuated with precipitation on the approach of our troops. All further operations however were put a stop to by the intelligence which reached the camp almost simultaneously with the account of that success, that a treaty of peace between the two nations had been signed at Paris on the 4th March.

On the 15th of the same month, with the prospect before him of resuming the peaceful duties of the Adjutant General's office, Havelock sailed for Bombay. On reaching that place on the 29th however, he learned what he calls "the astounding intelligence" of the first overt act of the promoters of that great convulsion, which, gathering fresh strength as it poured onwards in its rapid course, went so near to overwhelm India. At such a crisis Havelock's place as Adjutant General of the Army was with the Commander-in-Chief. General Anson however was at the time marching on Delhi, and a land journey to that place across Central India, supposed also to be disaffected, was impossible without such an escort as could not be spared. There remained then but one course, and that was to proceed to Calcutta by water, and to place his services at the disposal of the Indian Government. This course Havelock adopted. He remained but two

days in Bombay and on the 1st June embarked on board a steamer, the *Erin*, bound for Calcutta. But he was not destined to reach that city without adventure. On the night of the 5th, when steaming at the rate of eleven knots, the *Erin* ran upon the rocks which girt the island of Ceylon. It seemed at first as though all lives must be lost: the forepart of the vessel filled with water, and for four hours she continued to bump heavily on the rocks: at last however she was driven right on to the reef, and fortunately remained fast. With the dawn of day assistance was available from the shore. The European officials of Ceylon, ever prompt in deeds of charity, had come down to the shore, and, under their directions, a communication was established with the vessel, which resulted in the safe landing of passengers and crew. Havelock, who throughout the trying scene on board had exerted himself to preserve order amongst the sailors, and to keep them from the spirit-cask, immediately invited them to return thanks for their deliverance. To act thus indeed would be the first impulse of a pious mind, but few would have possessed the moral courage to put their theory in practice.

From Caltura, the point on which the *Erin* was wrecked, Havelock proceeded to Galle, and finding there the steamer *Fire Queen* ready to start for Calcutta, he hailed the opportunity thus presented of prosecuting his journey. On reaching Madras however, he learned that an unlooked for occurrence had made Bombay his Head Quarters. General Anson had died on the 26th May, and had been succeeded by the Commander-in-Chief of Bombay, Sir Henry Somerset. Thither it behoved Havelock to repair, and thither he would have proceeded, but for the fact that Sir Patrick Grant, the Commander-in-Chief at Madras, had been summoned to Calcutta, and he, anxious to avail himself of Havelock's experience and abilities, pressed him to waive compliance with the letter of the regulations and to accompany him to Calcutta. To this, after reflection, Havelock acceded, and the two Generals proceeding together landed in Calcutta on the 17th June. Before alluding to the important events which followed the arrival of Havelock in Calcutta, it may not be unprofitable to take a retrospective glance at the occurrences which preceded, and which, in the opinion of the General himself, certainly nurtured the development of the mutiny. We are fortunately able to present, not our own view, but the view which Havelock himself entertained on this important subject. Certainly if any man in India were entitled to give a decisive and categorical opinion on the point, that man was General Havelock. He was in India

when in 1824, the very first appearance of mutiny was evinced by the Native Army, on the occasion of the refusal by the 47th N. I. to proceed to Burmah. The prompt and energetic measures taken by Sir Edward Paget had on that occasion entirely crushed out all vitality from the spark. It is true that after the event, when the feelings which were then no doubt inherent and ready to burst forth had subsided, feeble natures had denounced the measure as one of unnecessary cruelty. It did not appear so to one who was a real soldier, and at the same time one of the most conscientious of men. In military law, in the articles of war with which every soldier, native or European, is acquainted, it is laid down that the punishment for mutiny is Death. To enforce that punishment with stern and rigid impartiality is not only a necessity, but a mercy. It would be impossible to calculate the number of soldiers who have been made helplessly vicious or incurably bad, who have been led on from weakness to crime, by acts of constant and ill-timed lenity on the part of their commanding officer. Among no classes does contagion spread more rapidly. No men have keener instincts regarding the practical ability of those who are placed over them. One offence, passed over with a light punishment in a regiment, is an absolute invitation to a thousand men to commit crime. No men are better aware as to the lengths to which they may go in this respect. With a weak man at their head they quickly degenerate into becoming an armed mob, but a strong man is invariably their master. An officer who has acquainted himself thoroughly with the workings of human nature can do anything with them. And, if this is the case with minor offences, what must it not be with positive crime? If to condone small acts of indiscipline injures the *morale* of a regiment, what will be the effect, if the highest crimes of which a soldier can be guilty, are suffered to pass by with but a light and inadequate punishment? This was a subject upon which Havelock held a very strong opinion. He felt, that in the face of mutinous disposition on the part of soldiers, weakness was synonymous with cruelty. Such a disposition must be crushed in the bud or not at all. He regarded therefore the decimation of the 47th N. I. by 1824, as a merciful and effectual, though a severe, remedy for a crime, which if allowed to run out its course, could only have been suppressed by the outpouring of torrents of human blood. In this view he was confirmed by the events which took place on the occasion of the next ebullition of a mutinous spirit—in 1844. At that period the events of 1824 had been forgotten, a new generation bore arms under the Company, puffed up with the triumphs of Affghanistan, of Gwalior and of Sind. In the

haughtiness of their hearts, deeming themselves the real conquerors of those, before whom, if left to themselves, they could never have stood one hour, some of these men refused to proceed to Bukkur. In an evil hour a policy of pseudo-mercy was resolved upon: the punishment for mutiny, the punishment absolutely necessary to repress mutiny, was sparingly inflicted, and it happened, that whilst the rulers imbibed the notion that an outbreak was amenable to a few fair words, the sepoys regarded the mildness of the punishment inflicted as a confession of their power. Subsequently again under the government of Lord Dalhousie a similar spirit was manifested, and although the vigour and energy displayed by the Commander-in-Chief of the day nipped rebellion in the bud, the general measures of the Government exhibited even a greater tendency to regard mutiny as a crime, not dangerous in itself, and reprehensible only when it ran counter to any settled plan.

Havelock was not the man to allow occurrences of the nature we have noticed to pass before his eyes without the keenest scrutiny. Those who knew him can well imagine, how each in their turn confirmed him in his original opinion as to the wisdom of the plan adopted in the year 1824. During his voyage from Bombay to Calcutta he had had time to take a dispassionate review of the events which had immediately preceded the latest manifestation of Sepoy loyalty. These events had come upon him all in a lump. He heard simultaneously of the simple disbandment of the 19th for mutiny, and of the capture of Delhi by the insurgent sepoys. That he regarded the one event is a necessary corollary of the other is evident from the minute which he recorded upon the occasion. At that dark moment he saw, though others could not, that no Native Infantry regiment could be trusted, that all were implicated in the treason, in heart, if not in act. He then recorded his opinion, as a policy for the future in contra-distinction to that which had been adopted in the past: "there must be no more disbandments for mutiny. 'Mutineers must be attacked and annihilated; and if they are 'few in any regiment, and not immediately denounced to be shot 'or hanged, the whole regiment must be deemed guilty and 'given up to prompt military execution." He added: "much 'depends upon prompt action. The time for threats and promises 'is gone by; the slightest overt act must be followed by the same 'retribution which in 1824 Sir Edward Paget dealt out to the '47th N. I. thereby putting back mutiny in Bengal eighteen 'years."

Such were the opinions formed by this Christian soldier as to best mode of dealing with the revolted sepoys. That severity

in the commencement was mercy in the end was his conviction: a contrary system pursued for years had in 1857 reached its climax, and it became necessary to sacrifice the lives of our troops, to spend millions of money, and to entail misery upon thousands to bring affairs back to the *status quo ante* rebellion.

The state of the Bengal Presidency when Havelock arrived in Calcutta may be described briefly as follows. Kept down by the vigor, no less than by the policy, of Sir John Lawrence, and the able men whom he had selected from the two services for employment under him, the Punjab was not only quiet itself, but it had sent the greater part of its European garrison to join the Army before Delhi; it was raising troops from its own bosom to fight against the sepoys; a moveable column had been formed to put down the first appearance of revolt amongst these latter; whilst thanks to the energy of Herbert Edwardes, and to the military spirit which animated Sidney Cotton, Peshawur, till then the most dangerous residence in India, had become the safest; the native allies of the ruler of the Province were arming on our behalf, whilst that ruler himself, prescient as to the future, was in turn advising, exhorting, and imploring those whom he deemed to stand in need of his counsel. In that Province there was but little to fear, because it had a statesman, and not a mere *doctrinaire* at its head. The country between Ferozepore and Loodianah at one extremity, and Meerut and Delhi on the other, was held by our troops. Below however it was different. Central India was in revolt; the Gwalior Contingent in open mutiny, though kept back from open action by the loyalty of the Maharajah. The province of Rohilcund was entirely occupied by insurgents. Oudh, with the exception of its capital Lucknow, was in the same category. The country from Meerut to Allahabad was lost to us for the time, and Allahabad itself, the arsenal of the North West, had been preserved to us, more in consequence of the incapacity of the enemy, than of any forethought on our part. Below Allahabad we had still undisputed possession of the country, although even there, the maintenance of armed sepoy regiments, mutinous at heart, and watching their opportunity, paralysed the action of those gallant English soldiers, whose presence might have averted the catastrophe from other districts.

Of fortified places in the North West, we possessed Agra, the Residency of Lucknow, two barracks at Cawnpore and Allahabad. The great bulk of our troops were employed in the siege of Delhi. There were however a Regiment at Agra, another at Lucknow, two hundred men at Cawnpore, whilst the nucleus of a moveable column destined to act in the North West had just

reached Allahabad under Lieut. Colonel Neill of the Madras Fusiliers. It is to this officer that the credit is due of having first rallied the energies of the handful of men who were maintaining the British authority in the districts that yet remained in our possession. Leaving Calcutta in the month of May with his own Regiment, he had, by the influence inspired by his energy, averted catastrophe from Benares, and restored our *prestige* at Allahabad. At the moment of Havelock's arrival in Calcutta, he was making superhuman exertions to procure carriage and supplies, to facilitate an advance on Cawnpore. In little more than a week he had managed to evoke order out of disorder, disciplined arrangements out of chaos, and stirred up no less by the promptings of an heroic soul than by the accounts which he received of the condition to which the defenders of Cawnpore were being reduced, he fondly hoped that to himself would be allotted the privilege of completing the work he had so well begun, and of planting the British standard on the battlements of Bithoor. He was destined in this respect to be disappointed. Sir P. Grant who had now assumed temporary command of the Bengal Army, had been much struck by a proposition made by Havelock during the passage from Madras to Calcutta to form a moveable column at Allahabad, with which to act in the Central Provinces or in Oudh. Finding then on his arrival, that a nucleus of such a force had been established at Allahabad, Sir Patrick, true to his purpose, pushed up reinforcements to join it, and either ignorant of Neill's merits, or, what is more probable, having unlimited confidence in Havelock, he appointed him to the command of the combined column. It was just the command that Havelock had longed for. For the first time he was entirely his own master, unfettered by orders, and unperplexed by suggestions. He had but one definite object before him—to relieve the sorely-pressed garrison of Cawnpore. To that object every other consideration must necessarily be subordinated. Promptitude, energy, determination—these were to be the watchwords of his undertaking, and certainly no man ever entered upon a difficult enterprise, more firmly resolved to accomplish at any cost the end he had marked out.

Havelock reached Allahabad on the 30th June. The arrangements which Colonel Neill had carried out in the mean time had very much cleared the difficulties in the way of a general advance upon Cawnpore. A column of 400 Europeans, 300 Sikhs and 120 Native Cavalry had been despatched under the command of Major Renaud along the Grand Trunk Road towards that station; one hundred men with two guns had

been placed on board a steamer with instructions to ascend the Ganges and co-operate with the land force, and the country had been heavily indented upon for carriage. These as they came up were instantly pressed into service.

Havelock had, as has already been shewn, felt assured in his own mind, ever since the first great blows struck by the Mutineers, that henceforth no reliance could be placed upon native troops; and as in the difficult operations which he felt to be before him, he knew that it would be absolutely necessary to have at his disposal a body of cavalry upon which he could depend, he had, before his arrival at Allahabad, telegraphed to Government, to be permitted to avail himself of the services of unemployed officers and volunteers for this duty. The application was acceded to, and his first care after arrival was to provide horses and equipments for the corps. So short a time intervened between the announcement of its formation and his actual march, that it did not at the latter period exceed twenty in number. It received nevertheless considerable subsequent additions, and under the command of its gallant leader Major Barrow, performed the most splendid service. His other preparations for an advance were, if possible, hastened by the authentic intelligence which reached him the third day after his arrival of the fate of the Cawnpore garrison. His mind was instantly made up. To retake Cawnpore and inflict signal vengeance on the murderers, was his settled determination. Believing at the same time that the enemy, in the pride of their strength, would endeavour to crush Renaud's column, he sent orders to the latter, who was already near Futtehpore, to halt, and to await his arrival with the main body.

On the afternoon of the 7th July Havelock left Allahabad. His force consisted of about a thousand Europeans, from the 64th and 84th Foot, the 78th Highlanders, Madras Fusiliers, Royal Artillery and Volunteer Cavalry, and nearly two hundred natives. For the first three days he took the ordinary marches to inure the troops gradually to fatigue. On the fourth day, the evening of the 10th, he started from Synee and marched fifteen miles to Khagu, within five miles of Major Renaud's encampment. Through strongly urged to halt here, the news of the advance of the enemy, and the composition of Renaud's force of whom nearly half were Sikhs, whose fidelity had not yet been tried in the field, induced him to resume the advance the same evening. Starting therefore at midnight, he reached Renaud about 1 o'clock in the morning of the 12th, and the combined force marched on fifteen miles to Belinda, a small village only five miles distant from Futtehpore.

Meanwhile the enemy, elated with his victory over women and unarmed men, was marching in force in full hope of overwhelming the small detachment under the command of Renaud. On the morning of the 12th, he approached Futtehpore, and, ignorant of the advance made by our troops during the night, came on in a leisurely disorderly manner, the infantry, artillery and cavalry being all mixed up together. Intelligence of their movements was quickly conveyed to Havelock, who at once ordered his Quarter-Master-General, Colonel Tytler, to proceed to the front to reconnoitre. Colonel Tytler, advancing about two miles with his escort, found the enemy marching through Futtehpore and preparing to encamp on this side of it. No sooner was he perceived, than the enemy's cavalry thinking they saw Renaud before them, dashed at him with their whole force, the infantry and artillery following without any attempt at order or method. Colonel Tytler galloped back with the intelligence to the General, but the guns of the enemy which had meanwhile been brought to the front, gave the first intimation of his movements. The first sound of the cannon served as a signal for our troops to fall in. Though engaged in cooking their breakfasts at the time, and though tired after a march of eighteen miles, they did this with an alacrity which could not be surpassed. The guns, eight in number, were moved to the front, one hundred Enfield riflemen being with them: the infantry were formed in quarter distance columns at deploying distance behind, whilst the Volunteer Horse and Irregular Cavalry guarded the flanks.

These dispositions were scarcely made before the enemy, still advancing in a determined though disorderly manner, came within range. Their guns had already fired two or three ineffective rounds, before the fire on our side opened. No sooner however was the order given to our men, than the rapid advance of the enemy changed its character. The long range of the rifles told with murderous effect on the head of their columns, and Captain Maude, enabled to advance his guns under cover of this fire to point blank range, speedily gave them the *coup-de grace.* They broke at once and retreated to a position in front of the town, abandoning the guns to our victorious troops.

Havelock was not slow to take advantage of this success. Deploying his infantry, he drove the enemy from his new position, and pursued him *helter-skelter* through the town. Guns, ammunition, plunder fell into his possession. Every thing was abandoned, and although a last stand was attempted on the other side of the town, the guns and riflemen succeeded in forcing him to take refuge in a flight, which our exhausted troops were

unable to follow up. Whilst this was going on in the centre, however, the enemy had almost succeeded in turning our flanks. Their Cavalry out-numbering ours considerably came down in great force on our right. Our Irregulars justified Havelock's bad opinion by a display which he characterised as "worse than doubtful." But on this occasion the Europeans were not wanting to themselves. Captain Beatson, the Assistant Adjutant General, who was with the right column of infantry, halted his men, and directing their attention to the enemy's horse, poured in so murderous a volley, that they too hastened to follow their comrades in a precipitate flight.

It was one o'clock before the troops, wearied with thirteen hours combined marching and fighting, reached their encamping ground. They were encouraged however not alone by their victory, but by the spirit-stirring congratulations which their General addressed to them on the occasion. They recognised in those congratulations a different spirit to that for which such documents are usually celebrated. There was a direct appeal to each man's individual exertions, an acknowledgment of the obligation under which the General felt to all, which went directly to their hearts. Those hearts were touched because it was felt that the General spoke to them from his own.* From that moment his influence with them was established. They felt they had one at their head who knew how to lead them, and who thoroughly comprehended them. A mutual confidence became established, so absolutely without limit as to contribute more than anything else to make them, as an army, invincible in the field.

On the following day the troops halted. On the 14th, the Irregular Cavalry, on an alarm of the enemy's approach, made as though they would plunder our baggage; they were therefore disarmed and dismounted, and their horses made over to the Volunteer Cavalry. On the 15th, after marching six miles, the General found a strong detachment of the enemy entrenched in the village of Aoung. He at once directed Colonel Tytler to move to the front with about six hundred men, and the guns to drive the enemy from his position, whilst he himself should protect the baggage against the attacks of the large bodies of Cavalry who were threatening him. On this occasion the enemy fought much better than at Futtehpore. He commenced by opening fire upon Colonel Tytler with his guns, and finding that that officer did not at once reply, he moved out of his position to attack him. The Colonel, who had been engaged in completing his dispositions, shewed no disinclination for the combat. Sending the Madras Fusiliers to engage the infantry, he directed a heavy

fire upon the enemy's entrenchment, and in less than two hours had put him completely to flight. The attempts of the Cavalry to turn our flanks were equally abortive. On the same day, whilst the troops were refreshing themselves after their encounter, intelligence reached the General that the enemy had crossed the little river Pandoo, and were preparing to blow up the bridge. He at once felt that success in this point would be fatal to the speedy prosecution of his designs, as with the entire country in the hands of the enemy it would not be possible for him, without immense difficulty and delay, to achieve the passage of that river in the face of a hostile force. Though the hour was mid-day, and the month July, the men were sommoned to fall in. They shewed their appreciation of their leader by obeying without a murmur. After marching little more than an hour they suddenly by the bend of the road came in sight of the river, considerably swollen by the rains, and still spanned by a narrow stone bridge. Almost simultaneously the enemy's fire opened, sweeping the road by which our troops must advance. Our dispositions were soon made. The guns were moved to the front, and so arranged as to bring a flanking as well as a direct fire on the enemy's position. Aligned with them again were the Enfield riflemen. Their fire proved most effective. The first discharge from our guns broke the sponge-staffs of their gunners, and having none in reserve they could no longer load their pieces. Their fire therefore ceased as if by magic, and the Madras Fusiliers dashing forward with great gallantry, the rebels, after attempting ineffectually to blow up the bridge, gave way at all points and fled with precipitation towards Cawnpore. The General was unfortunately from want of cavalry unable to pursue them.

Intelligence reached the General during the night that the Nana had taken a strong position in front of Cawnpore with his whole force, and he felt that he had got his hardest battle before him. He well knew however that, humanly speaking, the victory must be with himself. He had met these rebels flushed with their bloody deeds, and deeming themselves the masters of India: he had beaten them whilst indulging in their boastful dreams of conquest, and he did not fear to beat them in their new attitude of rallied fugitives, oppressed with a sense of their own crimes. He sat down therefore that evening, and wrote instructions to General Neill to send up reinforcements, as he intended to advance to Lucknow from Cawnpore. This was no boastful announcement; it was the calm and deliberately expressed intention of a man who had counted the cost and weighed the consequences of the proceedings on which he had determined;

who felt that he had a right to look upon the possession of Cawnpore on the following evening as a certainty, and who regarded that possession but as the prelude to the performance of greater things. With the foresight of a great master of his art he planned all his moves so that they should tend, directly or indirectly, to the accomplishment of a great though still distant end.

On the following morning he marched to fight that which may be considered in every respect as his greatest battle. He could not, from sickness, mortality and other causes, bring into the field more than thirteen hundred men, of whom three hundred were Sikhs. The English portion of the force was animated however by the noblest spirit. Combined with the confidence of victory, there was besides a hope that they might arrive in sufficient time to save their country-women from death. They had twenty-two miles to march, a great battle to fight, the heat of a terrible sun to endure, yet their cheerfulness was never more apparent. They felt that they could accomplish anything that morning. After marching fifteen miles they reached Maharajpòre, seven miles distant from Cawnpore. Here they took a breakfast of biscuit and porter, and here the General fell in with two sepoys, faithful to their salt, who gave him important and accurate information regarding the strength and position of the enemy. His artillery had been so laid as to sweep the only road by which he thought it possible we could advance; his right rested on the railway embankment; his centre, which was more retired than the flanks, was immensely strong, whilst his left was covered by the Ganges. His troops were strongly entrenched, and were protected moreover by the nature of the ground which was intersected by numerous ravines. Havelock at once felt that to attack in front a position so strong, defended by five thousand men, with only thirteen hundred, would do no credit to the school in which he had been trained to arms: he thought it possible so to manœuvre as to render the defences which the enemy had prepared almost useless, and at the same time to gain the day without any great sacrifice of life. If he could only interpose between the left flank of the enemy and the river, and seize the high ground on the right bank of the Ganges, he would take the enemy completely in flank, render useless his preparations for a front attack, and compel him to fight, on all points except as regarded mere numbers, on disadvantageous terms. On this flank movement then he resolved.

It was now 2 o'clock: the sun glared fiercely over head, and they were still seven miles distant from Cawnpore, when

the order to advance was given. For three miles they moved steadily on, although many men succumbed to the influence of the terrible sun, and fell to rise no more. They marched in order of battle, the Volunteer Cavalry in advance, the Artillery behind them and the Infantry in the rear. At the commencement of the fourth mile, they came in view of the enemy's position, and the fire of their guns at once convinced Havelock of the accuracy of the information on which he had based his plan. Still the Volunteer Cavalry moved on, drawing upon itself the whole fire, and attracting the sole attention of the enemy. At the same moment the Artillery and Infantry, under cover of a thick grove of trees, diverged to the right. For about half a mile their movement was unperceived. It could not be so much longer. As the heads of the columns emerged into the open, the enemy, discovering the nature of the movement, endeavoured with all haste to change the direction of his fire. Not a gun replied. The point to be reached was the high ground on the right bank of the Ganges, and to attain that, every other consideration was sacrificed. For a quarter of an hour, with sloped arms, exposed to a fire which they did not return, the men marched on till they gained the turning point of the movement: then, wheeling them up into line, with the artillery in the intervals, Havelock led them on to the enemy.

To describe, as they deserve to be described, all the details of the battle that followed, would trespass too much on the space allowed to a single article. We must content ourselves by observing that, having such soldiers under his command, the battle was really gained when the flank-movement was accomplished. It is true that even then, they were little more than one man to five, but considering the opponents, such odds were not unfair. That which Generalship had so successfully commenced, the most determined courage as successfully carried out. Vying with one another in their eagerness to meet the enemy, the troops pressed on with a fury which was not to be withstood. Position after position was taken, one gun after another was captured. The General, in the language of one of the combatants, "seemed to be gifted with ubiquity;" he was seen everywhere animating and inspiring the soldiers, whose last charge, performed under his eyes and in obedience to orders issued by himself, was given with an ardour and impetuosity which were irresistible. Notwithstanding the great efforts of the enemy, and they never fought better, that night beheld the Nana a fugitive from Cawnpore, and the army which was to have won for him empire, a defeated and disorganized rabble.

The political results of the battle of Cawnpore were im-

mense. It gave the first intimation to the rebels of the Central Provinces that the rebellion against the British was not to have a successful termination. The chief conspirator who had proclaimed himself the legitimate inheritor of the dignities of the Peshwa, and who had endeavoured to cement his installation by the indiscriminate slaughter of women and children, had been defeated on his chosen battlefield, and been driven by his terror to take refuge in Oudh. On the spot where the British standard had been treacherously struck down, British troops had in the short space of three weeks and in spite of unheard of difficulties, triumphantly re-established it. Every sign of the reign of the usurper save that at the devastation which he caused, disappeared, as if by magic, and Cawnpore, taken by Havelock and never afterwards lost, was destined to prove the base of many of the most important undertakings for the recovery of British authority. At the moment, its position was strategically most important. Secure of his communications by two routes—the river and the road—with Allahabad, and not threatened from the North, Havelock could operate in Oudh undisturbed as to Cawnpore, so long as the Gwalior Contingent, then fortunately held in check by the Maharaja, should abstain from any movement towards Kalpee. Against isolated attacks he could provide; this alone was like to prove a serious danger.

On the morning of the 17th July he entered Cawnpore. On the 18th he was occupied in making arrangements for the accommodation of the troops, and in deciding the locality of an entrenchment on the Ganges and commanding the communication with Oudh, of such a nature that a small number of troops might be able to hold against any attack. In this way he proposed to make of Cawnpore a secure base for his operations in Oudh. The plateau which he selected was admirably adapted for the purpose. No time was lost in tracing out the plan, and such was the haste employed that, on the arrival of General Neill on the 20th with a reinforcement of upwards of 200 men, the work was sufficiently advanced to be defensible, and Havelock did not hesitate to send the first detachment across the river. Previously to this, on the 19th, he had beaten up Bithoor, and found it empty: the successor of the Peshwas had fled across the river. Rendered more secure by the absence of any immediate apprehension of attack, having too in Neill a man capable of coping with any difficulty whom he could leave in command of the new entrenchment, and urged on by a consideration of the danger of the Lucknow garrison, Havelock resolved to push on his new enterprise with all possible expedition.

Never perhaps before had it been attempted to undertake an enterprise so vast, with means so disproportionate. Not Hannibal when he crossed the Alps, not Alexander when he forced the Granicus, not Frederick when he battled against the combined powers of the Continent, were so utterly overmatched in point of numbers as was Havelock in his expedition into Oudh. Hannibal found allies as well as enemies in his path; Alexander commanded nearly all the resources of Greece, and was opposed by an effeminate people: Frederick fought on the defensive, and won battles with his soldier's legs; but Havelock with only 1500 men went to attack the most warlike people in Hindostan—a province teeming with soldiers many of them trained by our officers, acquainted with our habits and drilled after our fashion. He threw himself upon this province relying upon the courage, the discipline, and the powers of endurance of his soldiers; for they had neither tent nor covering, they were exposed to the extremes of heat and wet, their supplies were precarious and their power of advancing depended entirely upon their ability to cope with difficulties such as seldom fall to the lot of British troops to encounter. It was an enterprise from which, we think, most men would have recoiled. Success could only be accomplished under a combination of circumstances such as no skill could arrange. To advance at the head of fifteen hundred men into a hostile province boasting of its tens of thousands under arms, would seem to partake somewhat of rashness. And yet, though Havelock attempted this very thing, there was no rashness in his enterprise. His chances of success, it is true, were small, but so complete was his knowledge of his soldiers, so perfect was their confidence in him, so thoroughly acquainted was he with the principles of his art, and so well had he calculated every contingency, that, while there remained but one faint hope of ultimate victory opposed to ninety-nine chances of failure, he felt that it was his duty to persevere.

On the 25th July the entire force with which Havelock intended to operate in Oudh had crossed over to the left bank of the Ganges. It consisted of ten guns, imperfectly equipped and manned, the Volunteer Horse reorganised and increased to sixty troopers, and the remnants of the 64th and 84th Regiments, the 78th Highlanders, Madras Fusiliers and Brasyer's Sikhs. Few besides the sick and wounded were left in the entrenchment, but General Neill was there, a host in himself, and being able to avail himself of the reinforcements which were expected to arrive from time to time from Allahabad, this gallant officer gladly accepted the responsibility placed upon him. No one indeed urged more strongly than he upon Havelock the necessi-

ty of taking with him every available man. The little steamer which had been brought up by Lieutenant Spurgin aided materially in the passage of the river, and in the procuring of boats. But for her, the Ganges would have presented very great difficulties at the very outset. The force marched that day the 25th to the village of Mungulwar, five miles on the Lucknow road. Here the General halted in order to complete his dispositions for carriage and supplies. These having been arranged, imperfectly although as fully as was practicable under the circumstances, he moved forward in earnest on the morning of the 29th. After a march of three miles he came in sight of the enemy strongly posted at Oonao. The position he had taken up is thus described by the General in his despatch: "His right was protected by a swamp 'which could neither be forced nor turned; his advance was 'drawn up in a garden enclosure, which in this warlike district 'had purposely or accidentally assumed the form of a bastion. 'The rest of his (advance) force was posted in and behind a vil- 'lage, the houses of which were loopholed. The passage between 'the village and the town of Oonao is narrow. The town it- 'self extended three quarters of a mile to our right. The flooded 'state of the country precluded the possibility of turning in 'this direction. The swamp shut us in on the left." Precluded thus from manœuvring the General could only attack in front. This he did in the manner he had found so successful on the Cawnpore road. Opening with a fire from the Artillery and Enfield riflemen in skirmishing order, he waited until the enemy had been driven from his advanced position and compelled to take refuge in the loopholed houses. The Infantry was then brought to the front and, after a desperate hand to hand conflict, the guns were captured and the enemy driven headlong from the village. The town of Oonao however was still before him, and the enemy was marching in dense columns to occupy it. Havelock therefore drew off his force in line on the ground he had gained between the village and the town, his guns pointing on the high road by which alone he could be attacked, and waited for the enemy's movement to develop itself. At length formed in dense masses they debouched from the town and halted. Havelock felt that he had them. A withering fire from guns and riflemen fell amongst their serried ranks. Unable to deploy they had no choice but to charge home or to retire. The former course would have been opposed to every principle of Asiatic warfare. Whilst however they yet seemed in doubt our skirmishers, wading up to their waists in the marshes, made their presence perceptible on their flanks, and Havelock pushing forward two guns at the same

time gave them sufficient intimation that he was determined to move the only obstacle from his path. They then gave way almost immediately, and fled precipitately, leaving their guns, fifteen in number, in our possession.

The same day, after a rest of three hours during which the men dined, Havelock resumed his advance, and after a march of six miles came upon the enemy strongly entrenched at Busseeruthgunge. This was a walled town situated in the open, and intersected by the high road to Lucknow. In front of it lay a large jheel, which owing to the inundation had all the appearance of a rapid river. In its rear was a still larger jheel, traversed by a narrow causeway. It possessed in addition a wet ditch, and the main gate was defended by an earthwork and four guns, and flanked on either side by loopholed turrets. It was just the position which Havelock could have maintained against the whole army of Oudh. Defended by Asiatics it merely afforded to the English General an opportunity for putting in practice the principles of his art. Having reconnoitred, Havelock deemed it quite practicable to cut off the enemy from the causeway in the rear, whilst he should attack them in front. The 64th were detached on this duty and whilst wading often up to their armpits in the swamp they made a flank movement to the left of the town, Havelock advanced in his old order, against the main gate. Fortunately, the fire of the enemy was high, whilst every shot from ours told. Under its influence the efforts of the enemy gradually slackened, and the Highlanders and Fusiliers rushing forward, forced their way after a sharp struggle at the gateway into the town. If the 64th had been able to reach the position assigned them, the enemy would have been entirely cut off from the causeway. As it was, he was enabled to cross his shattered forces although not without losing a very large number of men.

But these successes, signal as they were, served only to convince the General that, with such a force as that at his disposal, it would be impossible for him to accomplish the great object of his expedition. In three days, what with fighting, sickness, and deaths from disease, his force had been reduced to 1,200 men; he had no means for carrying his sick; he was marching away from his resources whilst the enemy was falling back on his; on his first march of nine miles he had had to fight two pitched battles, and attack two fortified towns, and he was aware that stronger places were before him. On the other hand, he had received intimation from Calcutta that the 5th Fusiliers and 90th Light Infantry were on their way to reinforce him. Every consideration impelled him to suspend any further attempt at an advance

which had become for the moment impracticable. His resolution on this point was confirmed by intelligence which reached him during the night, that the Nana had collected a considerable body of troops and was preparing to act on his rear and cut off his communication with Cawnpore. With a heavy heart then, though convinced of the necessity for the movement, he retired on the following morning to his strong position Mungulwar. From thence he despatched his sick and wounded to Cawnpore, and informed General Neill that to enable him to reach Lucknow it was necessary that he should receive reinforcements of a thousand bayonets and another battery. He also urged the speedy completion of the bridge to connect both banks of the river, a work which he had planned before he set out on his first attempt. Into the causes which acted to delay the arrival of the reinforcements so ardently expected by the General, it is not necessary that we should enter. The disappointment, bitter as it was, only confirmed Havelock in his determination to dare every thing for the relief of the Lucknow garrison. And as the diversion of those two corps, the 5th and 90th, to other employment, seemed to intimate to him that he was to be left to his own resources, he resolved to make with those resources one more effort to rescue his beleaguered countrywomen. On the evening of 4th August then, having about fourteen hundred effective soldiers under his command, he marched for the second time towards Lucknow. They passed through Oonao without attack, but as they approached Busseeruthgunge it became evident that the enemy lay there in force. Unwilling to risk a night action, Havelock moved back to Oonao, bivouacked there, and advanced again the following morning. He found the enemy strongly posted in the position previously described. He resolved to adopt, on a more effective scale, the tactics that had proved so successful before. Leaving the 64th, 84th, the heavier guns and the Cavalry in front, he took the Highlanders, Fusiliers, Sikhs, and Captain Maude's battery to cut off the enemy from the causeway. Before however he could accomplish this, the enemy, seeing his design and dreading to be entrapped, bewildered too by the cannonade in their front, fled precipitately across the causeway. In doing this they came under the fire of the guns of Captain Maude's battery, and were mown down in numbers. They were at the same time vigorously pursued, driven from village to village, until broken and disheartened they found safety in the fatigue of our soldiers.

This victory, however, served to convince the General that he was no more capable of pushing on to Lucknow than he had

been on the first occasion of his advance. Besides the losses from actual fighting, the cholera had broken out in his camp, and was hurrying off its victims in constant succession. The Nana too was approaching his flank and threatened to interrupt his communications. But perhaps the most decisive intelligence of all was conveyed in the account that the Gwalior Contingent had mutinied against their Maharaja, and was moving on Kalpee. This was a position threatening to Cawnpore and menacing our communications with Allahabad. His return became through that fact no longer a matter of consideration; it was a necessity. The General felt that the maintenance of the British prestige depended upon the preservation of his Army, and that its destruction would bring certain ruin on Lucknow. Impelled by these considerations he once more retraced his steps to Mungulwar.

Havelock lay at Mungulwar four or five days recruiting his men, and pushing on the construction of the bridge that was to unite both banks of the river. On the 10th this great work, carried on under many disadvantages, was completed, and the same day, intelligence was sent by General Neill that Bithoor had been occupied in great force by the enemy. Unwilling as he was to leave his position at Mungulwar, Havelock at once recognised the necessity of inflicting a signal blow upon the enemy who had dared to approach so nearly to Cawnpore, and he prepared accordingly to recross the river. Before however he could carry out his resolution, he learned that the Oudh rebels had taken up a strong position between Oonao and Busseeruthgunge. To dislodge them from a position from which they could have attacked him whilst crossing, became an object of imperious necessity.

For the third time therefore Havelock moved towards Busseeruthgunge. He found the enemy very strongly posted between that town and Oonao, and sheltered by earthworks and entrenchments. Covered as before by his artillery and skirmishers Havelock advanced in echellon of battalions from his right. But little impression however was made on the earthen mounds which protected their position. An infantry charge was therefore resolved upon. The 78th Highlanders were brought on to the main road whilst the Fusiliers were moved to the right. These dashing with characteristic ardour on the enemy's left, broke it instantly, and captured all the guns at that point. Our troops instantly turned them on the main body of the enemy, who, surprised and panic-stricken, made but little resistance, but fled headlong through Busseeruthgunge, pursued with untiring energy till beyond the causeway, thus for the third time the scene of their discomfiture.

The effect of this victory was to leave Havelock free to recross to Cawnpore, without any fear of being disturbed during the operation. Accordingly on the 13th he moved his force across the bridge to the point whence he had started nineteen days before on his arduous campaign; during that period he had fought eight fights in all of which he had been eminently successful. In spite of his victories however he had never been able to advance more than ten miles out of the fifty that lay between him and Lucknow. The overpowering numbers and immense resources of the enemy counterbalanced all the efforts of his genius, and he was compelled to feel, after each victory, that at the head of so small a force Lucknow was as distant from him as ever. General Neill, with whom he consulted on the practicability of making any further attempt to reach the beleaguered garrison, expressed his opinion at this time, that unless reinforced it could only terminate in disaster, without the possibility of relieving the garrison, and that it would be injurious to our interests in that part of India. The 14th and 15th were devoted to rest, and to preparations to check the ravages of the cholera which had broken out with extraordinary fury. On the 16th Havelock deemed it absolutely necessary to march against Bithoor. The rebels here, about four thousand in number, consisted of sepoys from the 34th, 42nd, 17th, 28th, and a few of the 31st N. I. with the 2nd Regular and 3rd Irregular Cavalry, and some of the Nana's own retainers with two guns. They were drawn up in front of the castle of Bithoor, their communication with which was maintained by means of a bridge in their rear. Their position was strong, being defended by entrenched quadrangles filled with sepoys, and sheltered by plantations of sugarcane rising high above the head. Two villages, one on either flank and connected by an earthen entrenchment, formed the supports of this position; they were strongly occupied. On this occasion, for the first time, Havelock had the advantage of the enemy in Artillery, and he resolved to endeavour to make them feel his superiority. For twenty minutes he poured in a tremendous fire from the guns and Enfield rifles, our men meanwhile lying down. Finding however that he was making but little impression on the quadrangles, he ordered an advance of infantry covered by the Fusiliers. After a short conflict, in which the 42nd N. I. are said to have crossed bayonets with our men, the enemy evacuated the quadrangles, and retired to his main position between the two villages. Upon this the artillery fire was concentrated, but as here also little impression was made on the earthwork, and the enemy still kept up a galling fire from behind its shelter, recourse was again had to the

bayonet. The rebels awaited the onset of our men with seeming confidence, but no sooner had these reached the parapet, than their hearts failed them, and they gave way in confusion, abandoning Bithoor in their flight. Our men were too exhausted to pursue them; they bivouacked on the ground they had won and on the following morning retraced their steps to Cawnpore. Intelligence greeted the General on his arrival at that station that another officer had been appointed to the command of the column with which he had been so gloriously associated. He received indeed no written communication on the subject. A copy of the *Government Gazette* containing Sir James Outram's appointment announced the bare fact; the reasons he was left to imagine. After all his exertions, his rapid advance from Cawnpore, the heroic efforts to reach Lucknow, his brilliant victories, the confidence with which he had inspired all with whom he had come in contact, the deadly blows which he had dealt the rebel cause, to be simply superseded, seemed hard indeed. But to be superseded without a word, without an acknowledgment of any sort, the announcement first made known by the *Government Gazette*, was ungenerous and cruel. It was impossible to avoid the inference that he was superseded because he had not attained the result which was hoped for by those in power. Whatever the reason might have been, it has never yet been revealed or acknowleged. Mr. Marshman, his biographer and brother-in-law, whilst condemning it as an act inconsiderate, uncalled for and unjust, propounds the idea that it was an accident, the offspring of confusion and error. To the minds of others who had marked how, in that summer and autumn of 1857, success had been made the sole standard of confidence, how even General Lloyd had been maintained and supported at Dinapore because, up to a certain point, he had managed the Sepoys without disarming them, another and a different conclusion appeared only natural.

However that may have been, it cannot be doubted that to the General the first announcement, no less than the manner in which it was made known, was a bitter disappointment. He was not wanting, nevertheless, on this trying occasion, to the principles which had ever guided his course. Havelock the superseded was as active, as daring, as energetic, as full of vigor as when he ruled, the unfettered Commander of an independent force. Never were his great qualities more urgently required on behalf of the public service than after his return from the battle of Bithoor. Out of 1700 Europeans whom he had had altogether from the time of quitting Allahabad under his orders, but 685 remained effective. Not only was he compelled to abandon

all idea of moving into Oudh, but the action of the Gwalior Contingent at Kalpee rendered it doubtful whether he could even maintain Cawnpore. This force consisting of 5,000 men with 30 guns, was already threatening Futtehpore. To the North, the Nawab of Furruckabad had 30,000 men under him in arms, ready to take advantage of the difficulties which menaced Cawnpore. It was besides, in the power of the rebels in Oudh, freed from the presence of Havelock's force in their own province, to detach any number of men to operate with the Gwalior Contingent, and to cut him off from Allahabad. Of all these difficulties Havelock had the fullest cognizance, yet not one of them disturbed his clear judgment. To remain at Cawnpore, was a very great risk undoubtedly, but to fall back on Allahabad unless in case of the most absolute need, would have been a calamity. Not only should we have lost the prestige and the material advantages gained by Havelock's victories, but it would have united the three then divided bodies against us, and have placed them, with more means at their disposal, in a far stronger position than that from which he had dislodged the Nana. He announced then to the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, that if he could hold out hopes of reinforcements, he would in spite of the very threatening aspect of affairs, continue to hold Cawnpore; if not, he must retire upon Allahabad. The reply of Sir Colin entirely reassured him as to the intentions of the Government, and he resolved at all risks to hold his position at Cawnpore. He did so.

Just one month after the battle of Bithoor, the 15th September, Sir James Outram arrived with his reinforcements. With a magnanimity, for which History records no precedent but which places the chief actor on a moral pre-eminence surpassing that even of the stern warriors of republican Rome, Sir James Outram declined to take the command from one who had made efforts so noble and so strenuous, to accomplish the end still remaining before them. Whilst Havelock then kept the command of the force, now increased to 2500 men, Sir James joined it as a Volunteer, and in that capacity, serving with the Volunteer Cavalry, performed deeds of daring which, had he been a Subaltern, would have gained for him the Order of Valour, but which, achieved by Sir James, were considered to partake too much of the character of the man, and to be but a too necessary corollary of past heroism, to need any peculiar distinction.

On the 20th September, Havelock for the last time crossed the Ganges, meeting little more than nominal opposition in the passage. He ascertained however that the enemy held Mungulwar in strength. Thither he marched the following morning

drove him out of it, and pursuing him rapidly, not allowing him time to rally, did not halt until he had gained Busseeruthgunge, and had seen the enemy in hopeless confusion beyond it. On the following morning, resuming the advance, he passed the Sye without opposition, the enemy having neglected to destroy the bridge. But sixteen miles now lay between him and the Residency. The rapidity of the advance had disconcerted all the plans of the enemy, and compelled him to concentrate his forces hastily on Lucknow. But Havelock had still to push on: between him and garrison lay difficulties which might well have seemed insurmountable, but which he at least had determined to overcome. On the 23rd, a march of ten miles brought the force to within sight of the Alumbagh, covered by an army of 10,000 men. No time was lost in attacking these. Turning their right flank and assisting the movement by a fire from a heavy battery of 24-pounders, he quickly put them into confusion, then launching his cavalry upon them he completed their disorder, and drove them across the Charbagh bridge.

The city alone now lay between him and the Residency, and to determine the plan for surmounting this difficulty, as well as to give rest to the troops, the force halted at the Alumbagh on the 24th. After long consideration it was resolved to cross the Charbagh bridge, and force their way throw the intricate streets to the Residency, On the morning of the 25th the troops, full of energy, marched to this desperate work. How this was accomplished, how, by dint of the most daring courage, the most splendid perseverance on the part of the men, and the most indomitable resolution on the part of the General, this, the most thickly peopled city in Asia, crowded with armed men, guarded by its narrow streets, was penetrated and forced by that small band of heroes, we cannot stay to tell. That it was successfully achieved stamps those who planned and who executed the attack as men of no common order. The difficulties to be encountered were even greater than those which staggered for so long a time the French Army before Sarragossa, and which the genius of the Duke of Montebello with much labor surmounted. When one thinks how easily a few determined men might have held that strong position, how a union of courage and discipline would have sufficed under a skilful leader to crush, to utterly overwhelm, the little band that dared that terrible conflict, one feels how impossible it is to admire sufficiently the courage that planned and the resolution that carried to a successful issue, an enterprise in which, regarded simply as a military operation, the unfavorable chances so largely predominated. It was because Havelock was a complete master of the art of war, because he

knew so well, that there are times when great principles even may be safely set aside, because he was capable of judging, and of shaping his opinions accordingly, of the effect of *morale* upon soldiers, that he determined upon, and succeeded in, an enterprise, which, viewed by a distant spectator and regarded only with reference to the disproportion of means to the end, would have been pronounced an impossibility. It is on such an occasion that the true soldier, the man who understands his profession and comprehends the most trifling action even on the part of his fellow men, stands out most brilliantly. Havelock succeeded because he felt that with the force at his disposal, he could accomplish against the force to which he was opposed, any achievement which required but the duration of four and twenty hours to perform. Beyond that period, numbers might overwhelm, but within it, keeping his men in constant action, and not necessitated to halt them for the purpose of food, everything was possible

At dusk on the 25th Havelock entered the Residency, so long the object of his hopes, at the head of the leading portion of his force. On the following morning Sir James Outram assumed the command, and he subsided into the position of Commandant of Division. It soon became evident to himself as well as to Sir James Outram, that although the relieving force had been able to force itself into Lucknow, it was not strong enough to escort back to Cawnpore the women and children who so long and so nobly had borne the privations attendant upon the siege. It became then necessary to await a further movement from Cawnpore. This was delayed for some weeks to the great detriment of the General's health. So long as he was in the field he had been sustained by the excitement, by the great hopes he cherished, by the constant labour mental, and bodily even, that devolved upon him. But shut up in the Residency, compelled to pass the weary hours of every succeeding day within a narrow limit, certain that relief though coming was yet distant, unsustained by the hope of relieving his countrymen from danger, that reaction in his health set in, which in his tour in Germany he had looked forward to as ulimately certain. As if, too, to take away the last chance of preserving a life that England had only then recognised as so precious, he was unable within the Residency to procure food of the nutritious nature requisite for the support of his system. "We eat" he wrote to his wife "a reduced ration 'of artillery bullock beef, chupattees and rice, but tea, coffee, 'sugar, soap, and candles are unknown luxuries." Under such a regimen, and no longer under the healthful influences to which we have referred, he began gradually to lose his former vigor.

The change however was perceptible to few besides himself, and when, after a blockade of two months, on the second and final relief of the garrison by Sir Colin Campbell on the 17th November, Havelock went out to meet him at the Motee Muhal, he was apparently in his accustomed health. Three days later it was known that he was ill with diarrhœa, although the disease had apparently yielded to the remedies applied. On the 21st he became worse, and was moved in a dooly to the Dilkoosha. On the 22nd there was little change; but he expressed a conviction that he would not recover; on that day the dooly being within the range of the enemy's bullets he was removed in it to a more sheltered position. On the 23rd he was worse. The events of that day and the following are thus related by Mr. Marshman. "Havelock was evidently 'worse, and he himself declared his case hopeless. His mind 'was calm and serene, supported by the strength of that Chris-'tian hope that had sustained him through life. Relying firmly 'on the merits of the Redeemer, in whom he had trusted with 'unwavering confidence through life, he was enabled to look 'forward to the hour of dissolution with cheerfulness. 'Throughout the day he repeatedly exclaimed: 'I die happy 'and contented.' At one time he called his son to him and said—'see how a Christian can die.' In the afternoon, Sir James 'Outram came to visit his dying comrade, when he said—"I have 'for forty years so ruled my life, that when death came I might 'face it without fear;" he enjoyed little sleep during the night 'of the 23rd. The next morning he appeared to revive, 'but at eight there was a sudden and fatal change, and at ½ past '9, on the 24th November, he calmly resigned his spirit into the 'hands of his Redeemer in the blessed hope of immortali-'ty."

Thus had lived, thus died, Henry Havelock. At the moment when his fame was at the highest, when a grateful country was showering upon him rewards and honors, when in every circle, in every town, in every hamlet of England his name was hailed with the deepest enthusiasm, his pure spirit winged its flight from its tenement of clay. He lived but just long enough to hear that England had appreciated his great services: the full measure of her gratitude he could imagine, but was not destined to enjoy. We ought not perhaps to lament his fate in that particular. He died in the city which he had risked so much and dared so nobly to gain, in the full knowledge that the great object, for which those unsurpassed perils had been encountered, had been fully achieved. He died in the full consciousness that he had done his duty to his God, to his country, and to

himself. As that long rear-guard of tender woman and helpless children defiled out of the Residency, it was impossible that to some amongst them the thought should not have occurred how different, but for Havelock, would have been their destiny. As we examine his career as a General, let us see how he had accomplished such great things. It was that successful advance from Allahabad, those intrepid marches into Oudh, and finally that noble stand at Cawnpore when he had but six hundred men fit for duty, and was threatened on all sides, that had contributed far more than any other movement to that happy result. His bold attitude had paralysed the action of the rebels and had given our Government the time required to collect the resources of the nation. The very daring of his movements caused their success. It was not so much that he marched triumphantly to Cawnpore,—although not every General would have successfully accomplished that movement,—it was his conduct after he arrived there, that showed the real grandeur of his character. His three attempts to penetrate into Oudh are, as military achievements, unequalled in history: he was so overmatched in numbers, that to find the semblance of a parallel the memory travels back to the days of Thermopylæ or to the expedition of Clearchus. But that disparity was certainly not his greatest difficulty. He could not fail to see that a blow successfully executed against his force would be fraught with terrible destruction to British interests. It would involve far more than the loss of his own little army. Cawnpore would in that event have formed the point of junction for the Gwalior Contingent, the Nawab of Furruckabad, and the Oudh insurgents. Their road to Allahabad would have been open, and whether successful or not against that fortress, they would have had it in their power to accomplish enormous mischief, and would have certainly occupied our forces far beyond the time up to which the Lucknow garrison would have been able to hold out. This was a consideration which would assuredly have scared a timid Commander. Its effect upon Havelock was to make him more daring, more determined. His Indian experience had convinced him that the true, the only effectual manner of coping with an Asiatic enemy, was to throw away the scabbard, to seek him out, to impress him with the moral conviction that to beat him was the inevitable result of encountering him in the field. His crossing the Ganges therefore, in the face of a Province armed and ready to oppose him, though seemingly a rash act, was in reality the safest and most prudent course that a General could adopt. Although he could not reach Lucknow, he was yet able to strike such terrible

blows on the rebel force as to ensure himself absolutely against molestation on that side. His profound knowledge of war, and his thorough acquaintance with men, enabled him to do that with safety, which an ordinary mortal would either have not attempted at all, or would have nullified by doubt and hesitation. Every movement of Havelock's was like the well-pronounced incision of a sharp blade; there was no hesitation about him; no hacking bit by bit; but his blow was well armed, well considered, and executed always with a vigour and skill not be surpassed.

But certainly, as much to be admired, and in a military point of view at least as meritorious as his advances into Oudh, was his resolution, when reduced to 600 effective men, not to abandon Cawnpore. He came to this determination when Cawnpore, as a military position, was not tenable. Kalpee itself, and with it the command of the whole line of the *Jumna* thence to Allahabad, was held by the Gwalior Contingent, a compact and well disciplined force of 5,000 men. It was in the power of this Contingent at any time to cut him off from Allahabad, and thus in fact to isolate him entirely. He viewed the chance of any movement of this nature with far more apprehension than he regarded an advance into Oudh, and he seems to have felt strongly more than once that every military reason bound him to retire. His experience convinced him nevertheless that, notwithstanding his false military position, boldness was his soundest policy, and once assured that reinforcements were on their way, he clung to that policy with all the tenacity of his strong character. In this resolution, and his consequent dispositions, he displayed one of the earnest attribrtes of a General. He shewed how capable he was of using the moral power which his victories had given him in such a manner as to paralyse, with his reduced physical power, the action of three armies, each of which would have attacked him had he given the smallest sign that he feared the encounter.

His conduct in this campaign demonstrated very clearly that he possessed all the higher qualities of a great Commander. A thorough knowledge of the principles of war, improved no less by study in the closet than by practice in Burmah, in Affghanistan, in Persia and in India itself, combined with a profound acquaintance with human nature, to place him in the very first rank of Generals. The one taught him what ought to be done under all circumstances, the other how to make men do it. Thus, though a stern disciplinarian, he could at the same time inspire his soldiers with that devotion for his person that knows no limit. He impressed them with a confidence in his skill and

a belief in his ultimate fortune, that made them bear almost without a murmur that terrible trial to a soldier's temper—a retreat from a victorious field. As a tactician he followed in the footsteps of the great masters of the art. He never attacked in front, when it was possible to gain his end by operating on the flanks. At the same time he would not allow himself to be fettered by the chains of even the soundest general principle. Although he knew well that it was against every rule of warfare to fight a general action with a river in his rear, he deliberately took up that position when he fought the battle of Cawnpore. The great secret in fact of all his movements was his thorough appreciation of the character of his own soldiers, and of the character of his enemy. This knowledge he used alike to modify a general plan of a campaign, or a disposition on the battle field, and it was this that enabled him to attempt more and to accomplish more, than had ever before fallen to the lot of any General, with numbers so disproportionate, to achieve.

If then he was a General of whom his country may boast, still more may the school in which he was trained be proud to place him on her loftiest pedestal. That Indian school which produced a Lawrence, a Clive, and a Coote, which taught even Wellington how to win battles, to which the names of Lake, of Hastings, of Ochterlony, of Napier, of Pollock, of Nott have added fresh lustre, which has gloried in the triumphs of Outram and mourned the untimely death of Nicholson, and which can still point to Chamberlain, to Herbert Edwardes, and to Lumsden as its worthy living representatives, that school, we say, is honored by counting Havelock as a pupil. He lived in it and he was of it. All his feats of war were performed under its banners, and he had grafted its principles on those general maxims which he had imbibed from a study of European warfare. With India then, and with her school of warriors, his name must ever be inseparably connected. With Clive and Wellesley, Napier and Nicholson he stands crowned with the brightest chaplet with which fame can encircle the warrior's brow, whilst from the homes of England cries and tears of gratitude are poured out at the pedestal of the hero, who so worthily maintained his country's honor in the hour of her darkest trial.

More fortunate than most warriors Havelock has found a competent biographer. Mr. Marshman's narrative, which we have followed in this article, is an excellent specimen of what biography should be, and we are not surprised to learn that it has met with so favorable a reception in England. To those, who

desire to look into the inner life of the General, to notice how truly, from his first arrival in the country to the dark hour of his departure, he adhered, in spite of all difficulties, to the *rôle* of the Christian soldier, we commend a perusal of this work. To the military student it gives, at greater length than we have been able to afford, a succinct and stirring account of his various campaigns; while for the benefit of all it points the moral, that unswerving rectitude of character, though clouded for years by the cold shade of neglect, will, if true to itself and proof against all temptation, inevitably find its reward.

CRITICAL NOTICES

OF

WORKS ON INDIA AND THE EAST PUBLISHED DURING THE QUARTER.

Poems and Parodies on Current Topics of the Day, 1858-59, *by Illtudus Thomas Prichard. Republished from the Delhi Gazette. Calcutta. Thacker, Spink and Co.* 1860.

THE impossibility of uniting poetry with political opinions has been proved in all the attempts that have been made, from Tennyson's *Maud* down to Mr. Prichard's "*Poems and Parodies.*" The volume in question consists of nineteen pieces, contained in the brief space of thirty-nine small pages, on current topics during 1858-59. The author reprints these poems from the *Delhi Gazette* of which he is Editor, and dedicates them to the memory of the defunct Bengal Army in which he was once an officer. Like all great writers he launches forth his book into the world without any prefatory remarks, so confident in its inherent excellence that though the poems have already passed through the columns of his journal, and refer to passing topics which even now are almost forgotten, he considers them none the worse of being twice-told. Whatever may be Mr. Prichard's other literary talents, he certainly possesses the faculty of writing parodies very faithful to the original as far as rhythm goes. He is not so successful in maintaining that spirit of mock solemnity which amuses by its hidden flicker of wit rather than by any broad and literal meaning. The more serious the original the more cutting or witty should be the travesty. This is the secret of the irresistible nature of some of those puns that are founded on passages of Scripture. Our minds are pre-occupied with something serious, and when the analogy between this and something commonplace is put in a ludicrous light, the marked contrast has an immediate effect on our imagination. The subject from which the

parody is taken is not necessarily brought into ridicule; the true object of its sattire is the one immediately referred to. A parody should not be a mere imitation of words, but the whole original should be mirrored in it inverted. There should be a direct connection between the two sets of ideas. Every one will recollect the story of Thomson's tragedy when acted in a London Theatre. Like his other poems, though in a greater degree, it was occasionally pedantic and sentimental, and when the hero uttered the words

O Sophonisba, Sophonisba O!

A wag in the gallery, imitating the tone of voice, cried

O Jimmie Tamson, Jimmie Tamson O!

The ludicrous effect of this consists in the connection of ideas as well as in the mere resemblance of sounds. This point our author very frequently forgets. In imitation of Gray he writes an elegy on the Defunct Honourable Court of Directors:—

"The General Orders sing of parting fray,
The wearied columns to their quarters glide,
John Lawrence homeward wends his willing way,
And India leaves to Canning and to Clyde."

This is good so far, but the next verse is weak:—

"Now fade the glimmering embers of revolt
And India feels a feverish repose,
Save where the rebels from our soldiers' bolt,
And Tanteea lurks disguised in Bunneeah's clothes."

Then follow verses still more doggerel:—

Save that from every corner of the land
The carping press does to the world complain
Of him who gagged it with unsparing hand,
And sorely longs to gag it all again.

In that great house where Leadenhall Magnate
Was wont to meet his Peers in council deep,
Each in his little room, disconsolate,
The Ex-Directors o'er their fortunes weep.

The last verse is triumphant:—

Upon the India House the State relies,
And mid the ruins seeks its aid t'attain,

E'en the old Court to life begins to rise,
And in the Indian Council lives again.

The eulogy of the Levies, whether looked upon as an imitation or not, is happily executed.

Then let the Europeans go,
For we've a force not much below
A hundred thousand men or so.
In Levies.
And when rebellion's burning brand
Again glares o'er this bloodstained land,
Who'll join—all ready—heart and hand?
The Levies.

As an example of Mr. Prichard's rhythmic power we select the following verse from the Ode composed on the occasion of the entry of the Waffadars into Phillore :—

AIR—'*Tis the March of the Cameron Men.*

THERE's many a man of the Poorbea Clan
That are marching to-day to Phillore,
Who has sworn to be true, and to mutiny too,
For a pandy he cannot do more.
CHORUS.—*By the Brigadier, Brigade Major and Officers of the Waffadars.*
I hear the Bum Bum sounding, sounding
From the throats of the black sons of—Mars,
While time-keeping footsteps are raising the dust—
'Tis the march of the staunch Waffadars.

The *Taj and its Minaret*, written on the occasion of Lord Clyde's visit to the Taj, in March 1859, is rather amusing when we recover from the effects of the clumsy first verse :—

THE sky was clear, the stars shone bright,
The moon had begun to set,
This conversation I heard one night
'Twixt the Taj and a Minaret.
The Minaret's voice was small and choice,
And rather weak than strong,
But as for the Taj's it shook the very arches
And sounded like a Chinese gong.

At the last verse the author cannot forget what is his great mission in this world. He represents the Taj saying, we presume in that voice which sounded like a Chinese gong, but which in this instance bears a strong resemblance to a trumpet :—

But there's one consolation and hope for the nation,
From a source which I venture to get,
And I mean to say that the only mainstay,
Of the country's the *Delhi Gazette.*

When Lord and Lady Canning visited the Taj in December 1859, and a grand supper was given by the residents of Agra to 200 guests, the Taj and Minaret felt constrained to resume their musings upon the state of affairs :—

TAJ.

Such gross profanation !

MINARET.

Oh such desecration !
Do you know my mind sorely inclines
To let fly my cupola smash in the soup *a la*
Mode, and the viands and wines.
All the week I've been worried—so startled and flurried
With firing, that I'm all of a quaking :
So badly they serve us—I am growing quite nervous,
In fact I de—cl—are I am sh—shaking."
CHORUS. Shaking—aking.

Mr. Prichard tries epigrams too, but if the following on Yeh, whose remains were sent to China preserved in brine, be his best, we have had enough of them.

When Celestial Yeh to death fell a prey,
For life like our fortune is fickle,
Illustrious Canning, celebrity planning,
Put his glorious guest into pickle.

The author's *chef d'œvre* he has reserved to the last. This is no parody ; it is not intended like the others to be set to music ; it is an epic poem on the Lahore catastrophe, when the Government of India was shaken to its centre. We select three out of its six verses ;—

The elephants snorted and trumpeted loud,
They wriggled and stamped, and they charged through the crowd ;
Whirr whirr went the rockets,—they turned them about,
Regardless of handspike, bamboo, or mahout,
And pell mell they fled in a regular rout—
There was crashing, and dashing, a melée of trunks,
Some shrieking, some swearing, and all in the funks—
Cries a rider in accents, all broken from jolting,
"Make way ! 'tis Lord Canning !—my elephant's bolting."
Oh, the Lahore fireworks,
Oh, the Lahore fireworks !

Quoth Beadon, "You beast ! can't you cease your gyrations ?
An elephant dancing's against 'Regulations' "—
But Bowring's to fire had such an aversion,
Neither Arabic, Turkish, Punjabee nor Persian,

Adjectives, expletives, and last, though not least,
Adjurations in Sanscrit affected the beast ;
While charging along at full speed "Drat the flummery,"
In accents of woe quoth Sir Robert Montgomery.
Oh, the Lahore fireworks,
Oh, the Lahore fireworks !

One lady got jammed in the street, and Lord Clyde,
Full of chivalry, went up to help her, and tried—
'Twas all unavailing, so he called out to Becher,
" Mon, gie us a hand, by my saul I can't reach her—"
Some stuck in the trees, and some fell in the beds
Of the nullahs, but luckily pitched on their heads ;
Some took to the jungles and some to the city,
Some weren't found the next day, and some were—more's the pity.
Oh, the Lahore fireworks,
Oh, the Lahore fireworks !

After all it is only a very low order of talent that is requisite for writing such poems. They are amusing when the incidents to which they refer are fresh in the mind, but when any explanation is necessary to their appreciation they lose their effect like explained jokes. A taste for light insipid writing, interspersed with oaths and slang, is growing in India, as the correspondence of some of the country journals and some of the books published in India testify. The volume under review is pretty free from these defects, but it will be understood by only a small circle of Anglo-Indian readers.

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1. *Thuggee and Dacoity: Bombay Records. No. 1. New Series.*
2. *Administration Reports.* 1858-59.

More than thirty years have passed since the days when all who travelled in India beyond the limits of the large cities and their suburbs, were liable to be robbed, and killed by Thugs, so quietly that their fate could never be learned. Infinitely worse than the banditti of Spain, these wretches added every possible cruelty to the perpetration of their dark crimes. The prevalence of the horrid system engendered a feeling of suspicion which was as natural in its origin as it was evil in its results. The native traveller, for Europeans were very rarely attacked, could never tell whether his guide, his servant or his fellow traveller might not take the first favourable opportunity of running the assassin's dagger into his heart, or of ending his existence by the more subtle

agency of poison. To cope with the evils of Thuggee the ordinary Magistrates and Police were unable; and it was found necessary to establish a separate detective force, composed partly of men who had incurred the penalty of death and whose lives were spared on condition that they should render faithful service to the Government. Since the establishment of these "approvers," as they were called, under the command of Colonel Sleeman and his successors, the Thugs have gradually disappeared, until they can now be scarcely said to exist as a professional, organised body. Not so successful, however, have been the efforts made to suppress Dacoity. This system was far more widely spread, and was kept up with equal secrecy. At the present day though plunder is supposed to be the chief pursuit of Dacoits, the criminal returns of the various provinces shew that it is not unfrequently accompanied by murder. The difference between Thugs and Dacoits is that the former have no other occupation than secret robbery and murder, and the latter carry on their depredations under the cover of other pursuits. The objects they both have in view are so similar that the system may be looked upon as one. The agents appointed for its suppression are invested with special powers for the carrying out of their work. They are amenable to no other authority than the Supreme Government. Persons committed by them must be tried by whatever Judge they are brought before; and by a special law, they are enabled to inflict the penalties of Thuggee and Dacoity on any man who is convicted of having "belonged to a gang of professional Thugs or Dacoits," without reference to his being guilty of any specific crime. The detectives patrol the country in parties, and collect information of the movements of dacoits by the confessions of those who are convicted and turn approvers. The first gang through whom valuable information was obtained were kept for seven years before they could be induced to confess. In 1856, fifty-nine Thugs and twenty-six Dacoits were arrested in the Punjab, and in Etawah sixty-two dacoits. The Meenahs were a tribe greatly given to this species of robbery and in the same year sixty-six of them were captured, and seventy more were pointed out by the approvers. They first took to dacoity in the famine of 1833. Poverty, distress, and hunger are strong incentives to crime and would appear in this instance to have originated a tribe of marauders; but in most other instances the dacoits have inherited their profession from their

ancestors; some declare that they never were anything else than wanderers. Another class of men called Bhars, are professional coiners, who make their living by uttering false coin, or by inducing rich, avaricious natives to pay a certain sum of money for some imaginary treasure which they pretend to have found buried in the earth. The wandering tribes of the Southern Maratha country, reported on by Captain Hervey in 1848, are nearly seventy in number. They are addicted to crimes of all sorts, and they outwardly profess to be traders, artificers, &c. Such secret depredations are far more difficult to put down than the open forays which brought the British armies down upon the Pindarrees in the Marquis of Hastings' time.

We have reason to congratulate ourselves at the decline of Thuggee and Dacoity in all parts of India and particularly in Bengal, and at the efficiency of those officers who have succeeded so well in their detective services. Whatever may be the dilatoriness of our Government the men to whom important duties are entrusted and are left to their own resources in discharging them have usually been found equal to them. In 1852 five hundred and twenty cases of dacoity occurred in Bengal, while in 1858 the number was only one hundred and thirty-five. The largest number occurred in Moorshedabad, where 2301 persons were registered as dacoits and 67 arrested during the year 1858. Next comes Hooghly, where the actual number of cases was 27 against 136 in 1852. The proportionate decrease is twice as great as in Moorshedabad. In Bombay 254 dacoits were transported for life during 1858, against 126 in 1857. The number sentenced to term imprisonment was 108 against 20 in 1857. In the North West Provinces 1857 were arrested of whom 283 were convicted. The dacoits particularly infested the Benares division, where a number of soldiers from regiments that had mutinied betook themselves to this mode of life.

The Poetry of our Indian Poets, edited by Thomas Philip Manuel. Nos. 1 *and* 2. *Calcutta.* 1860.

The design of Mr. Manuel is to collect into one gallery all the Anglo-Indian poets he can find, without respect to chronology—and we fear merit; thus in the numbers before us we meet Heber, Calder Campbell,

and Miss Roberts placed side by side with Mrs. Carshore and her no more gifted sister in inspiration—Mrs. Lock. We think Mr. Manuel has made a serious mistake in including these two lady rhymesters in his list, inasmuch as the friendliest reviewer would fail to prove them ever endowed with one single poetic ray of inspiration. As yet Calder Campbell is the most thorough poet treated of in the Serial; but many delightful fugitive pieces of his, still reverberating in our memory, seem to be omitted in the selection before us, and others of inferior stamp substituted. As a matter of course the amiable Heber's "Evening Walk in Bengal" is chosen as a representative poem, but Mr. Manuel has not found fault with the outrageous allusions it contains to "the Moslem's savoury supper" or "The jackals cry resounding like sylvan revelry." We should feel thankful to the reviewer of Calder Campbell's poetical writings if he would kindly interpret the meaning of those particular verses which he has italicised, and which he says could only have been written by a poet who had studied nature deeply, and felt its religious workings and power over the human mind. For instance the following from "Flashes through the Clouds."

> "When the short transport of exempted pain
> Fills me with strange wild joy as wine might do,
> I cannot answer for the buoyant strain
> Of merriment that pierces through and through,
> The echoing woods, whose loneliness in vain
> Startles me with its hue."

Of what hue or color is a buoyant strain?

Again:—

> "Can these by any reasoning be brought
> To quell the ebullient stir that through me flows
> Like leaping draughts of pleasure, which have caught
> Hues of the sun and rose?"

These extracts are fully as unintelligible as the dramatic Lee's couplet which he composed in the asylum where he was imured.

"I've seen an unscrewed spider spin a thought and walk away upon the wings of angels!" "What say you to that?" he asked of Oldys; the latter replied "Ah marry Mr. Lee that's superfine indeed! The thought of a winged spider may catch sublime readers of poetry sooner than his web, but it will need a commentary in prose to render it intelligible to the vulgar."

Had Calder Campbell studied Jean Paul's desertations upon tropes and metaphors, the result would have been eminently advantageous to his muse. Quintilian and Adelung would have failed to understand the extracts we have given, as surely as they would with Mr. Oldys have suggested a key to the ravings of the unfortunate Lee.

Mr. Manuel's object is a commendable one and more difficult than, we think, he imagines. We would strongly deprecate the admission of such writers as the ladies we have mentioned, more especially as the preface informs the reader, that there is a goodly array of poets waiting their turn to be recognised.

England's Policy in China. By Andrew Wilson. Hong-Kong: A. Shortrede and Co. 1860.

Few political questions have created such difference of opinion and have in general been treated in such an uncertain and hesitating way as England's Policy in China. The ignorance and obstinate pride of the Chinese have been a more effectual barrier against the entrance of foreigners than even their strict laws have been. The distance of China from Europe, the unhealthy character of its climate and the want of accurate information regarding it, have deterred Europeans and Americans from settling in it to any great extent. After the first war between England and China a greater interest in the latter country was created, some information regarding it was disseminated, and a few commercial advantages were obtained. The second war served to increase our knowledge of the resources of the country without securing for us commercial privileges or inducing any more intimate intercourse with it. Its objects were therefore completely frustrated and a third war became necessary. At home there is evidently a feeling of dissatisfaction at these repeated expeditions to a remote country, with indefinite objects in view which are never attained. England is drained of her troops and men-of-war, and a constant demand for money is made in the House of Commons which falls upon the heavily burdened people in the shape of new taxes. Perhaps the insinuations of our love of pelf are not without foundation. At all events we do not like to pay away money without a sufficient guarantee that it will be rightfully

applied and in the end prove a remunerative investment. In this nineteenth century when Britons are so harmonious in their feeling towards each other, when they are governed by a Queen who is a model of piety, dignity and benevolence, when the seeds of knowledge are sown through the length and breadth of the land, and a common ancestry, a common religion, a common mission in the world, and perhaps too a common danger, bind man to man in bonds that cannot be broken, an outcry against a war that is believed by the nation at large to be just and necessary need not be feared. If the war supplies are grudgingly voted it is evident that the war is disapproved of, or at least that its motives are misunderstood. The present expedition to China has been allowed to slip away from the shores of England bit by bit, cautiously and quietly, so that even the Members of the House of Commons cannot tell what force has been sent to the East.' When the whole has been safely sent off and hostilities are likely to commence the nation is told, as indeed it might by a little study have learned for itself, that the original vote of £850,000 is insufficient and must be increased by £3,800,000. This will probably be only the first instalment of an expenditure of many millions. The English have had enough of India and China. Their attention is absorbed in watching the course of events in Europe. Every soldier and sailor is wanted at home, and every pound of the revenue should be wisely laid out for domestic purposes. Trade with China has been increasing at an enormous rate within the last few years, so that there is no preparation or any inclination to expand it so widely and so suddenly as the treaty intends. The delay in sending out forces is one great cause of the unpopularity of the war. The treaty of Tien-tsin was signed on the 26th of June 1858. The squadron conveying Mr. Bruce was repulsed at the mouth of the Peiho in April 1859, and since that period nearly eighteen months have elapsed before any active operations in China have been entered upon by the British and French forces. Meanwhile other and more important subjects have engrossed the attention of the English—the Budget, Parliamentary Reform, the French Treaty and the probability of a general war in Europe. When news of the disaster at the Peiho reached England the nation was clamorous for vengeance, and heartily concurred in the proposal to send out immediately an expedition to redeem the honour of our flag, and to show the Chinese that treaties

cannot be broken with impunity. That sudden and passionate impulse has now had time to cool, and before a blow has been struck the nation repents of its hasty resolution, and grudges any further expenditure on a Chinese War. It is England's peculiar fate to make wars which secure to her neither material nor moral glory. She does not even establish an "idea" by her vast operations. Others, taking advantage of her slow and careful preparations, and making the most of her occasional failings, carry off all the glory. It is some consolation to think that if England does not get her due in the wars she wages it is not on account of a want of bravery in her soldiers and sailors or of money in her exchequer, but on account of her scrupulous honesty, which restrains her from reaping those advantages which other nations do not hesitate to appropriate. She acts with deliberation and conscientiousness and sometimes comes off the loser, where others, acting with reckless precipitation, and unburdened by any conscientious scruples, hazard all on a single blow and frequently come off the gainers.

England's relations with China have never been on a satisfactory footing. One good war, years ago, or one persevering system of missionary or commercial enterprize might have secured a result which is even now distant. That war or that system if ever it had a commencement has never been brought to a successful termination and we are beginning again *de novo.*

We cannot here enter upon the history of European intercourse with China, or explain the principles on which it has been carried on. It has now reached a point when a clear understanding is necessary. China, an independent country dating its existence further back into antiquity than any other in the world, and maintaining its peculiar, political and social institutions unchanged for centuries, chooses to shut itself out from the rest of the world. Any innovation is dreaded ; the people are satisfied that they are the wisest and the most important upon earth ; they consequently look down with contempt on all foreigners. Such is generally received impression of the opinions of the Chinese. This view of them has been obtained, not from any knowledge that we possess of the people, but from intercourse with the Chinese Government and Chinese officials. That Government is built upon the notion that the Emperor is the offspring of heaven, the incarnation of wisdom, justice, knowledge and every good thing imagin-

able. Consequently the Government employés keep up a constant system of flattery, without which they would run the risk of losing their places—if not their heads. The people inspired with this reverence for the Emperor are kept quiet and submissive. In fact the whole system bears a strong resemblance to the Papacy. The Emperor is the Pope, the officials are the priests, and the people are the people. The Emperor like the Pope is the fundamental idea. To him the officials cringe until he really believes himself a demi-god. To the people he is a mere abstraction. The wily officials keep the people in political darkness that they may maintain their own ascendancy, and keep them in constant awe of this abstract civil and religious head of the Empire. Like popery such a system is based on deception, those behind the scenes keeping those at a distance in complete ignorance of the trick, in order that their own dignity, power and wealth may stand secure. England is not sure whether or not she should support this system. When China is at peace, and English subjects are unmolested she has no excuse for interference. But when she has learnt the perfidy and intolerable arrogance of the Government, when she finds former treaties disregarded, her vessels excluded from Chinese ports, her honest overtures wilfully misinterpreted, her Queen and nation spoken of with the utmost contempt, and promises made to her representatives insolently broken, she still continues to have faith in that Government and to treat it with respect. If this is not folly it is certainly extraordinary forbearance. Even while Lord Elgin was on his way from England to China it was doubtful whether actual hostilities would be commenced at all. The Chinese Government had another chance offered to it which it refused, and now that the English nation has been insulted, deceived and wronged, and all its peaceful and benevolent purposes have been thwarted, who can deny that the present war is undertaken on just grounds? Now comes the question of the rebellion in China. For several years past a movement has been going on among the people which has excited great interest in spectators, while it has nearly revolutionised the Chinese religion and Government. This movement has been completely ignored in all our political intercourse with China. It emanated from the people, and in China the only opposition it meets with is the Government and its army. The Taiping rebels have, as a general rule, shown a degree of moderation, and moral rectitude, which

in a revolutionary party are quite extraordinary. The representatives of our Government in China have taken no pains to learn the origin and character of this movement, have formed their impressions of it from isolated and exceptional circumstances, and have not hesitated to bring it into discredit whenever they had an opportunity of so doing. When we remember that this rebellion, with all its faults, is an earnest movement in the national mind, a struggle to shake off the bondage and stagnation of centuries, and to burst open the doors of a great country to let in God's light and God's truth; when we remember that these rebels are decent and moral people, that they hold in their hands the same Bible that we revere and pray to the same God, we are surprised and vexed at the coldness of our Government who can so rudely thrust back the rolling tide of truth and support the mass of hypocrisy and ignorance that has so long withstood the advance of Western civilization, the development of commerce and the spread of Christianity.

The Chinese authorities affect a contempt for trade. When Lord Elgin endeavoured to provide for the residence of a Plenipotentiary in Pekin, the Chinese functionaries said in their despatch to the Emperor "Your slaves observed authoritatively that under the Original Treaty 'no state was allowed to send officials to Pekin. On business so in-'significant as that of trade what business could there be to conduct? Yet 'more, the Imperial precinct of the celestial dignity is sacred ground; how 'could the outer barbarians be suffered to profane it by their presence?" The pitiable spirit of gross flattery and abject flunkeyism of a Chinese official alone could end a letter to the Emperor thus, "The opinion that is within the range of his stolidity your slave in the rashness of his ignorance bluntly declares, and, unequal to the excess of his trepidation, awaits your Majesty's commands. A Respectful memorial, presented supplementarily by your slave Wau-kien." This is the way in which Wau-kien concludes his arguments in favour of appointing Kwei-liang one of the plenipotentiaries. It is difficult to distinguish between the insolence and the ignorance of these Chinese "high contracting parties." The likelihood is that they are not such fools as they seem. They know what they are about in their dealings with foreign representatives as well as in their intercouse with the Emperor, and they play both parts remarkably well. Their deceit therefore deserves the more severe punishment. One of them writes to the Emperor,—"the English

barbarians are however full of insidious schemes, uncontrollably fierce and imperious. The American nation does no more than follow their direction." Thus when England bears the expense, sends the troops and the ships, and conducts the principal negotiations, she also bears all the responsibility and more than all the blame, while other nations have merely to walk in quietly through an open door.

In conducting business with these cunning knaves nothing practical can be arrived at. When a demand is made they say they have no power to grant it or even to discuss it, but still they refuse to refer it to the Emperor because it may be beneath his notice, or contrary to his wishes, in which case they would be punished for laying it before him. It is curious that in the secret edict which was sent to Lord Elgin as having been promulgated by the Chinese Government, but which was declared to be a forgery, a suggestion should be made which was afterwards literally followed. It was proposed to send the barbarians away with fair promises, and when they came back to close the rivers and ports against them, laying chains across and fortifying the positions, all of which, though disclaimed at the time by the Chinese authorities, was actually done at the mouth of the Peiho.

There are only three or four Englishmen in China who know the language thoroughly, and this is one cause of our comparative ignorance of the Chinese people. Those who frequent the open ports are not fair types of the people at large, just as in India, New Zealand, and all countries where native and European come into contact, the class of natives so produced are very different from the natives up the country, and usually inferior to them. Our plenipotentiaries are obliged to trust to interpreters, and a serious barrier is thus raised to their becoming acquainted with the state of things. In the present absence of reliable information about China any book written with an honest purpose should be gratefully received, and even when the principles it advocates are not quite correct, it is valuable as an addition to our information on an obscure subject, and as a new view of the question. In this light we look upon Mr. Andrew Wilson's pamphlet on "England's Policy in China," and though it is not easy to discern what is the main idea of the book, we give the author credit for honesty and benevolence of intention. The general tone of it implies that we have hitherto thought too little of the Chinese, and should treat them in a less unceremonious man-

ner than we have done. In the preface the author says. "The real interests of both nations (China and England) are so coincident, and the Chinese are so eminently a reasonable people, that there is no necessity for having recourse to any acts of violence. What England has already obtained from the Celestials might easily have been got without war, had correct ideas of their character been entertained, and more consideration been shown for their peculiar civilization and position." This is a very kind and humane beginning but we fear it contains one or two fallacies. If the Chinese are so eminently a reasonable people there would have been no war, because the object of the war was to bring them to reason; but whatever may be the case regarding the Chinese people, it is clear that reason is not one of the characteristics of their Government. Again, "what England has already obtained from the celestials." We are not aware that England has obtained any particular favours from the celestials, except such as are fully as beneficial to China as to herself. The author says further on—"the time appears to have now arrived when a reconsideration of our whole position in regard to China may be hoped for; and the following pamphlet is issued as one contribution—however imperfect—to that end." The pamphlet accordingly reconsiders our position but does not appear to arrive at any practical conclusion. Towards the end of the book, the author offers England the choice of two things, "territorial occupation in China, or a policy founded on mutual interests and cemented by a practical acknowledgment of past errors." We are afraid the time for acknowledging past errors has gone by. Mr. Wilson denies the "cunning report" that the Chinese people are eager to cast off their Tartar rulers. We are astonished that a gentleman in China with every means of acquiring information should make such a statement. The rebels have for their immediate object the overthrow of the Mantchu dynasty and the people generally are in their favour. China appears to undergo periodical revolutions, not every few years as in France, but every few centuries, and the period appears now to have arrived for another convulsion. Dynasties are apt to deteriorate, and the present one is quite rotten, besides the Tartars are foreigners and the Chinese people are tired of their oppression. Mr. Wilson has a loose way of illustrating his arguments; he brings forward two very stupid anecdotes and upon them founds arguments regarding our Chinese policy. He says:—

"A missionary, whose character is too high for the supposition that he invented the story even for the sake of the exquisite joke, informs me that once when riding on the outside of a London cab, he told the driver that he had been in China. Cabby was much interested in the subject, and promptly asked,—"Are they a civilized-like people about there, Sir? do they take their gin of a morning?" As a brief handy test of civilization, or of the usual ideas attached to it, I know nothing comparable with this question as to taking gin of a morning. Mr. Meadows' laboured definitions must give way before it, and even Mr. Carlyle's test of respectability appears commonplace in comparison. Again, at the taking of Ningpo, in the first war with China, the Tartar troops had just received pay to the amount of six dollars each, and our troops were not long in discovering that fact. It is said that one Irishman, on discovering only five dollars in the purse of a Tartar he had killed, gave the body an indignant kick, as he exclaimed,—"Ye profligate! ye've been and spint one of them!"

The Cabman and the Irish soldier afford excellent illustrations of the usual manner in which we judge the civilization and condemn the moral character of the Chinese."

The stories themselves are not very amusing, and between them and his succeeding remarks we see not the slightest analogy. The following paragraph contains useful and reliable statements :—

"The missionaries who have traversed the empire in native costume, the scientific men who have resided at Pekin, the interpreters who have accompanied diplomatic missions to the imperial court, with the laborious students whose lives have been devoted to China,—all these, though their personal interests lead them to depreciate, speak of that country with respect and even admiration, while the ignorant Irishman at the goldfields of Australia, the selfish storekeeper of Singapore, the dollar-hunter of Honkong, who has not learned two words of the language, and the merchant's clerk of Shanghae, too often see nothing to admire, little to tolerate, and almost everything to condemn in China and the Chinese. Sir George Staunton, the learned translator of the Penal Code of China, says that those best acquainted with the subject have come to the conclusion that "a considerable proportion of the opinions entertained by Chinese and Europeans of each other was to be imputed either to prejudice, or to misinformation; and that upon the whole it was not allowable to arrogate, on either side, any violent degree of moral or physical superiority." Of that Penal Code even the *Edinburgh Review* was compelled to say,—"We scarcely know an European Code that is at once so copious and so consistent, or is nearly so freed from intricacy, bigotry, and fiction." Dr. Morrison, the pious and able author of the great Chinese and English dictionary, said,—"In China there is much to blame, but something to learn. Education is there made as general as possible, and moral instruction is ranked above physical." Sir John Davis, a great part of whose life has been passed in the country, passed on them one of the highest eulogiums ever given to any people, when he truly wrote,—"Poverty is no reproach among them;" and he is of opinion that they have "been underestimated on the score of their moral attributes." Dr. Williams, one of the highest living authorities on the Chinese, and who lately visited Pekin as Secretary to the American Embassy, admits, though writing as a missionary, that "they have obtained, by the observance of peace and good order, to a high degree of security for life and property; the various classes of society are linked together in a

remarkably homogeneous manner by the diffusion of education and property, and equality of competition for office ; and industry receives its just reward of food, raiment, and shelter, with a uniformity which encourages its constant exertion." It would be easy to make many more such extracts ; all showing that whatever may be the opinion of the prejudiced and ignorant, those who have most claim to be heard in this matter speak of the Chinese with high respect, and are slow to condemn as bad what appears extraordinary and unintelligible."

The chief causes of our unsatisfactory relations with China, the author ascribes to our under estimate of Chinese character, the "Australian and Californian" character of many of our countrymen engaged in business in China, the suspicion which has been engendered by the cruelties of former adventurers, the opium traffic, and the operations against so-called pirates on the coast. There is much truth in the following :—

"China is closed more than ever to the traveller and the missionary, is it more open to the diplomatist or more likely to enter the comity of nations ? Scarcely so when it has for the first time been eminently successful in fight against us, is improving in its long neglected art of war, and has had its faith shaken in our desire to observe treaty stipulations. It must be admitted that at the present moment we are farther off than ever from satisfactory diplomatic relations. Many persons are always looking forward to some satisfactory and invisible end, but as affairs progress, it appears further off than ever. Our representatives assume a higher position than formerly with reference to the Chinese, and it is admitted so long as they have a strong force at their back ; but real respect has not increased, while good feeling has been lost, and the Chinese have learned that we are so far from unanimous in our judgment of the policy to be pursued, that any violent enterprises made against them are likely to be crippled and imperfect. Suspicion of our designs is stronger than ever."

The author says the Tartar Government has now become so thoroughly part of the nation that it is not easy to make any distinction between them for practical political purposes, and he goes on to enumerate several Chinese who were as bad as Tartars and Tartars who were worse than Chinese ; and to say that "the statesmen of China are more enlightened than the public opinion of the country ; but as in other countries their action is limited by the public." It is very probable that this is the case as far as politics are concerned, regarding which the Chinese people are kept in comparative ignorance, but as regards, good feeling, common sense, religion, trade, and social advancement we do not think the opinion will hold. There are very few Europeans who have seen much of the people, but the few that have invariably bear testimony to their kindliness of disposition, simplicity of habits,

industry, ingenuity, and general capability. The mass of the people do not take much interest in political affairs; they are satisfied if they have the means of spending a quiet, happy existence, without being too much troubled with their own Government or the interference of foreigners. Mr. Wilson says "It cannot be denied that the treaty of Tien-tsin reflects high credit on the insight and diplomatic skill of the Earl of Elgin, and of his assistants Messrs. Wade and Lay, though its accomplishment was mainly owing to the somewhat overlooked fact that the Chinese Government is willing and anxious to do everything in its power to promote friendly relations with Europe." If the correspondence that passed between Lord Elgin and the plenipotentiaries is reliable, the Chinese Government appeared very unwilling at first to enter into friendly negotiations, and after they pretended to be willing, they laughed in their sleeve and no doubt planned the pretty little piece of work on the Peiho. Mr. Wilson now inserts a communication from a foreign merchant on the question of the Treaty of Tien-tsin. "It is a maxim in the West that treaties once made must be executed whole and in all their parts; and no greater disgrace falls on a Government than the deliberate non-fulfilment of treaty provisions. But this is not the maxim of the East; treaties are not thus understood or executed. The rule with the Chinese, exemplified by the history of their treaties, is that those provisions which are beneficial to commerce, which have received their free assent are binding; and that those other provisions which have not received their free assent are not binding." This is certainly a pretty way of concluding treaties, and if that is the usual practice of the Chinese we must teach them some other way. We cannot afford space to discuss the several provisions of the famous treaty of Tien-tsin, but whatever they were the Chinese agreed to them, and failed to fulfil them. They secured many advantages to China which her statesmen were too obtuse to perceive. They may have been somewhat premature in their demands, but the history of European connection with China rendered it necessary that such conditions should be insisted on. At present we are at war with the Chinese Government, and though we need not give any direct encouragement to the rebels let us not act against them and thus create a triple war in China. If we do not occupy some spot in China it is probable that some one else will. There should be a joint occupation

or none at all; we prefer the latter. Then when our objects have been attained and the troops withdrawn, let us leave the rebels to fight their own way and institute a better Government in China for which we shall be exceedingly obliged to them. We conclude with an extract from Mr. Wilson's pamphlet.

"China is the England of the East; the United States, the England of the West. The three great Industrial Nations of the World have a claim upon each other's forbearance, intelligence, and aid; for it has been by the the same constant fruitful labour, and by regard for the welfare of their people, that peace and prosperity have abounded within their borders. The two more youthful and more vigorous nations may yet find that these calm Celestials—whose grotesque aspects have caused so much merriment —have already solved many great social problems which become every day more threatening both in England and America; that their stored wisdom contains much, besides competitive examinations, which we may turn to account; and that, though weaker than the denizens of the West, they have reached a higher social and political development than any other which Time sees or History records."

Weeds of Poesy, *by G. L. F. Bombay*, *Smith Elder and Co.*

WE have had another addition to the Gallery of Indian Poets. G. L. F. is decidedly of the lackadaisical and sentimental school. He is in love with melancholy, and adopts as his motto, "The flower of my life is past. Led by a late-earned experience, I will renounce earthly things. I will weep and no longer sing." He has wept to some effect—he has wept a whole volume of *Weeds*. These obnoxious vegetable productions were culled in the woodland rambles of G. L. F.'s early boyhood. "A few of them," he tells us, have sprung up amid the thorns of youth and manhood." Poor G. L. F.! thorns were bad enough, but to be afflicted with weeds at the same time must have been unbearable, unless the weeds were of that kind which have the property of smoothing the thorny path of life, and calming the ruffled brain. This bouquet of thorns and weeds G. L. F. "casts on the waters, not of the great sea of the world" in case they should be lost altogether, but "of the narrower humbler rivulets of Friendship and of Love," where he hopes some kind stranger passing by or whose house may be on the bank of the rivulet may pick them up and rescue them from oblivion. Some of them have floated our way, though we cannot be certain how they have reached us. They cannot have been borne

along by the Hooghly, because that is scarcely a "narrow, humble rivulet," nor can they have come up the river carried along in triumph by the *bore*, because they were never cast on the "great sea of the world." However, the green bouquet is in our hands, and let us be thankful for it whatever way it may have come.

"My God! it is a marvellous world
Where thou hast set my place
Tho' man hath into ruin hurl'd
Much of its primal grace."

So the notes of G. L. F.'s first verse ring on his lyre, reminding us of the expression of that faultless, gentlemanly and unimpassioned bard who

"Smoothed his cheek, and sleeked his hair,"
"And said the earth was beautiful."

Having finished his *Proem* the bard goes on with a series of poems beginning with the religious, and through a gradation of meditations on Greece, Rome, Canaries, Roses and Red Indians, arriving at length in the profane territory of Emmanuel and Leonora, and the Maid of Odenwald. At last he is able to control his impetuous Pegasus and brings him back into the proper path in which all good, quiet pegasi ought to run.

"My God, if I have wandered long
And far from Thee astray,
Yet hear my penitential song
And sanctify the lay."

The next verse is a work of art after one of the old masters—Joseph Addison. The picture is not quite correct but upon the whole it can easily be recognised as a laudable attempt. Behold the picture, is it like?

Copy.	Original.
"Thou know'st the Child, the Boy, the Youth	When in the slippery paths of youth
In erring courses ran;—	With heedless steps I ran;
Spirit of Life, and Light, and Truth,	Thine arms unseen conveyed me safe
Convert, accept the man."	And led me up to man.

G. L. F. is evidently very fond of poems of this school, some of which are to be found among the paraphrases and hymns used by Presbyterian congregations, as his frequent allusions to them will show. A passage in his first Hymn, to which we refer our readers, will illustrate what

we mean, and show how nearly his composition comes up to the original or rather the several originals, for the peculiar excellence of this work of art is that it is not copied from a single model but unites the beauties of two or three distinct pieces, blending them into one harmonious whole. We think it not only allowable but highly commendable in beginners to copy the works of masters, and of masters to select the best, but we think it a waste of time for an artist to copy any of his own previous works. G. L. F. has, in one instance at least, done this and we do not think his own copy is equal to his own original.

Original.

Like him whose sorrows closed in death
His earthly TASK will done,
Who shares the high-sphered Milton's wreath
In PARADISE RE-WON.

Copy.

Your rapid course, appointed ages, run !
Bard of the earth ! thou too, thy task well done,
Shalt share the high-sphered Milton's wreath
In PARADISE RE-WON.

In the "Christ Child" G. L. F. attempts that jolting, inharmonious measure called English Hexameter which reached the acme of absurdity in Longfellow's Miles Standish and Tupper's Proverbial Philosophy. The attempt does not recommend the measure but rather confirms us in our abhorrence of it. In the transition stage to which we have already alluded we encounter a poem called "Greece" sighing over the departed glory of that land, and the poem that follows entitled "Repent thee Rome !" administers a severe rebuke to the eternal city for all its past delinquencies, and adjures it in very strong language to repent.

By the Albigensian war—
By the blood of brave La Vaur—
By Piedmont's hills in slaughter dyed—
By thy lying, lust, and pride—
By each deed of darkness hid
In Goa or Valladolid—
By Italia's sunlit clime
Cursed with heresy and crime—
By Savonarola's blood
Whose pile illumed the Arno's flood—
By English Hooper's dying groan,—
Thou ANTITYPE OF BABYLON,—
Repent ! Repent thee, Rome !

We have heard of marvellous things being done during sleep, a man

once learned to swim while he was asleep, and another solved a most intricate mathematical problem. The well known "Rousseau's Dream" is said to have been composed under similar circumstances. Rousseau was lying asleep in his chamber and dreamt he saw a certain old gentleman, who shall be nameless, sitting cross-legged at the foot of his bed, playing the tune, which is now so familiar, on a fiddle, in very rapid time. Rousseau suddenly woke, and remembering every note of the tune he wrote it down. In like manner G. L. F. wrote verses in his sleep and says of them, "though worthless in themselves they are given here as a psychological curiosity," which undoubtedly they are :—

THE CANARY.

Gently she drew him from the golden cage,
And placed him drooping on the sacred page—
The trembling bird, bewildered, back retired :—
Then, by Isaiah's prophet-notes inspired,
Poured forth a stream of song so wild and shrill,
Awed was each heart, and every tongue was still !—
He paused—from the half-opened casement shone
A stream of glory from the setting sun ;
Glanced his keen eyes, his downy plume was stirr'd,
Quivered each winglet of the wondrous bird.
Expectant silence sat on every soul ;
Sudden, a low unwonted music stole
From forth his parted beak, while on him fell
That halo from the Heavenly Israel.
"Farewell !"—for thus articulate the sound
Thro' that admiring audience rolled around :—
"Farewell, sweet girl !—thy favourite hastes to join
"The spirits of his brother-birds divine.
"Yet, when at eve o'er thy enslumbered sense
"Mysterious music breathes its influence,
"Wilt thou not know the singer ?"—
As he sings,
A soft air sighs in his dilating wings ;
He rose, and, as the girl stood weeping there,
Passed from her sight, and cleft the ambient air !

Our bard is evidently a favourite with the muses ; they visit him when asleep and breathe soft numbers into his ear. It saves a great deal of time to compose when asleep and write when awake. In fact, we recommend G. L. F. to adopt this system entirely, as the verses produced by the sleeping poet are not so worthless as he modestly thinks, perhaps not so worthless as some he writes when awake.

We are anxious to select from this little volume a passage

that contains real poetry, but we have turned the pages backwards and forwards, read and re-read the pieces, and are at a loss to find any passage which contains an original or a truly poetical thought. The spirit that characterises the poems is excellent, the moral and devotional pieces are written in a truly Christian tone, and by persons fond of that particular style of poetry they will doubtless be highly appreciated; the descriptive poems on general subjects read musically and bring the scenes described clearly before the reader, but beyond this amount of praise we are not prepared to go. The unconscious imitations of other poets we have already hinted at, and the feebleness of thought we have pointed out. We should be very glad to see a poet in India, but as yet we have not been able to discover one. We do not demand of all prose writers that they be original, nor do we even demand a poet to create a new poetic style, but when a man comes forward with poems that contain very little more than the thoughts that pass through the minds of every one of us, and are by many of us, at some insane period of our lives, written down, we cannot afford to shew any quarter. We do not know which poem G. L. F. considers his best, nor can we predict which of such a mediocre collection will survive the effects of time, but to exhibit the general style of the *Weeds* the following extract from "Midnight Musings" will suffice:—

"O now, methinks, how exquisite 'twould be
To revel, like a creature of the air,
The long night thro' in the broad flood of moonshine,
To pass from space to space, or skim along
Upon the stealthy moon-beams silently
To lonely places, where, from Nature's urns,
Gush sparkling fountains, where the wild-deer come
To bathe their antlered foreheads in the stream,
Where lingers the gay-plumèd halcyon, where
Like faery-ship the water-lily floats
In unseen loveliness, and soughing reeds
Wave musically o'er the marish-flowers.

"Delicious dream! methinks that I could love
To be the spirit of this haunted dell,
This fair oasis in the dreary hills,
And teach the small birds, and the rippling waves,
And teach the overblowing winds to breathe
A prayer for pity on IERNE's woes!—
Methinks—

"But I must stay the wandering flight
Of myriad-thoughted Fancy: not for me

The faery legendry of young Romance.
Me sterner duty calls, and I must curb
Imagination to the sober paths
Of disciplinal and time-hallowed Truth."

With which wise resolution we fully concur, and having seen our bard fairly back into "sober paths" we wish him and his book farewell.

The Mutinies in Rajpootana: being a Personal Narrative of the Mutiny at Nusseerabad, with Subsequent Residence at Jodhpore, and Journey Across the Desert into Sind, together with an Account of the Outbreak at Neemuch, and Mutiny of the Jodhpore Legion at Erinpoora, and Attack on Mount Aboo. By Iltudus Thomas Prichard, late of the Bengal Army. London: John W. Parker and Son, West Strand. 1860.

THOUGH published rather late in the day this work is valuable as supplying an important link in the series of events of which the Bengal mutiny was composed. The more stirring incidents of which Delhi, Lucknow and Agra were the respective centres have already been described. This book contains few stirring events, but treats rather of a mutiny that occurred without the bloodshed and atrocities by which rebellion, in other places, was accompanied. Mr. Prichard was an officer in the 15th Bengal Native Infantry stationed at Nusseerabad at the time the outbreak commenced. The events he describes are those which came under his own observation or were imparted to him by officers on the spot who had the best means of giving him information. The events of which he had personal experience took place chiefly in Nusseerabad and Jodhpore; those for the account of which he was indebted to friends occurred at Neemuch, Erinpora and Mount Aboo. He resigned his commission shortly after the mutiny was suppressed, and is therefore able to write impartially of public events and of public characters. The value of Mr. Prichard's work rests chiefly on its being a reliable and interesting personal narrative. It does not attempt to grapple with the great question of the origin of the mutiny, or the means necessary to prevent a recurrence of a similar convulsion. It discusses freely, and arrives at a just conclusion regarding, that one point which has formed the subject of so much controversy—the greased

cartridges. It expresses the opinion that the great want in India is the absence of sufficient power in the hands of individual officers at a distance from superior authority, and the careless manner in which the most momentous occurrences are treated by members of the Supreme Government, who have little or no knowledge of India beyond the precincts of the Presidency town; and that physical force must always be the foundation of our rule in this country.

We shall endeavour, in as brief a space as possible, to follow our author through the scenes he describes. The territory of Rajpootana includes a number of petty native states of which the principal are Jeypore, Jodhpore, Bhurtpore, Kotah, Oodepore and Malwa; at the court of each of these there is always a British officer as political agent. The Governor General's Agent, who resides at Mount Aboo on the southern confines of Rajpootana, exercises authority over all the other agencies. The surrounding states send their vakeels to him, and by this means he is kept informed of all important occurrences. The appearance of the hilly part of the country is thus beautifully described:—

In the mountainous parts of the country the scenery changes much, and becomes bold and grand. Grand it is anywhere, even in its most desolate wastes, for it is impossible to travel through these otherwise uninteresting regions without recalling to mind the wondrous traditions of old times, and the tales of patriotism and chivalry and devotion which the ancient history of Rajpootana is so full of. There is no need of fiction here, where facts are sufficiently imbued with the romantic to satisfy the imagination of the most wonder-loving reader that ever perused the pages of Scott, or waded through the voluminous works of G. P. R. James. Every hill almost that you see has an old ruined castle cresting its summit, to which some tradition is attached, and every now and then you pass the consecrated spot where the widow has in days gone by devoted herself to her deceased husband, and the rude sculpture of the man on horseback holding out his hand to the figure of a woman on foot, carved on the slab of stone, shows where the sacrifice of the suttee was made. Here you pass walled cities where in former days a resolute defence was made against the Moslem invader, till, reduced to extremity, the brave garrison first celebrated what they call their 'jauhar,' that is they made a huge pile of wood and combustible materials and kindled it, threw their wives and children, all they held dear to them on earth, and whose honour was dearer far to them than life, into the flames, and after watching them perish before their eyes, dashed open the gates of their city and courted death at the hands of their enemies. Here you pass the lonely hermitage by the clear mountain stream in a shady dell, the shade only too grateful where the burning summer sun at mid-day has tremendous power, whither the courtier or the soldier, wearied by the toils of ambition, deserted the world and retired to end his days in peaceful contemplation on the attributes of the Deity. Or you may see in other places monastic establishments, supported by the superstition of some raja who, after leading a life of crime, sought to obtain

favour from heaven and satisfy his conscience by founding an institution for Jain or Buddhist priests, on the same system, as our monasteries."

In the centre of this district is a small tract of country called Ajmere, belonging to the British. The principal towns in it are Ajmere, the capital and residence of the Commissioner, and Nusseerabad the head quarters of the Rajpootana Field Force. The troops stationed at this place when the mutiny broke out were the 1st Bombay Lancers, the 30th N. I., the 15th N. I., and the Jellalabad battery of Native Artillery. These were of course all native troops. The mutiny broke out at Meerut on the 10th of May 1857, and the news reached Nusseerabad a few days after. From that moment the officers of the garrison felt the greatest anxiety regarding the conduct of their men. It was evident to them that the startling news from Meerut made their own men restless and excited, though subsequent events showed it could not have taken them by surprise. They concealed from their wives and families the exact nature of the intelligence that had reached them. While their own minds were maddened with anxiety they were obliged to keep up a cheerful exterior and to live on in hope. Those days of suspense must have been far worse in their effect upon the mind and body than the period when the actual danger had arrived. It is always thus: we are elated with the prospect of future fortune which does not realize our expectations when we actually have it; and when peril threatens us we torture our minds with scenes of suffering, danger and death which reality itself cannot surpass. On the 28th of May the Nusseerabad troops mutinied, and from that period the officers and their families experienced a feeling of relief; they knew the worst and prepared to encounter the dangers and difficulties which in the then state of affairs seemed in store for them. One of the features of this Nusseerabad mutiny seems to have been pretty general in similar outbreaks. The officers of each regiment felt confidence in their own men, but had no faith in the rest. The consequence of this was that superior officers were unwillingly deceived as to the probable behaviour of the troops, and bold preventive measures were not taken. The men of each company expressed the greatest possible devotion to their officers, but accused the men of other regiments of mutinous intentions. Up to the very evening the mutiny broke out the officers were obliged to keep up the

appearance of confidence, because if they did not they would only be hurrying on the catastrophe. As the crisis approached the stories about bone-dust and greased cartridges were in every sepoy's mouth and formed the immediate excuse for the rising. A few days before the outbreak a party of the 15th were sent to occupy the Fort of Ajmere in conjunction with a company of the 30th, and each thought or pretended to think the other unfaithful. One man of the 15th while there said to his officers, "Ah Sir, this business" referring to the outbreak at Meerut, "has broken out prematurely, and you will get over your difficulties; but had preparations gone on three years longer as was intended, you would have lost India." This man was a Mahomedan non-commissioned officer; he mutinied with the rest. The Ajmere fort was then garrisoned by a body of Mhairs who proved faithful, and by saving the fort with its arsenal and treasure they probably saved the whole of Rajpootana. The mutiny broke out on the afternoon of the 28th of May. The 30th took possession of the guns; the 15th when ordered to recapture them refused to advance; the cavalry advanced a little way and then left their officers in the lurch. Major Spottiswood was mortally wounded and died soon after; Cornet Newbury was cut to pieces among the guns; and Lieutenant Lock and Captain Hardy were badly wounded. It was subsequently ascertained that there was a private understanding between the infantry and the Bombay cavalry. The latter, though they acted as an escort to the officers, refused to fight against the mutineers to whose mercy they intended to leave their families, and they in return were not to plunder the cash box of the Lancers. The officers now saw that most of the men were in mutiny. Volunteers were called for from the Grenadier Company of the 15th; the whole company advanced and the colours were consigned to their protection. The order was given to march towards the Ajmere road. The grenadiers now refused to move; two men ran off to the mutineers with the colours, and in another moment every musket was levelled at the heads of the officers. They galloped off amidst a shower of bullets but fortunately no one was hit. At length it was decided to abandon the station and go, with the ladies and children, to Beawr about thirty-two miles distant. During the journey thither the Colonel of the Bombay Lancers died suddenly, probably from apoplexy. On the morning of the 29th the fugitives reached Beawr where the Commis-

sioner of Ajmere was at the time. He did not offer that hospitality to the weary travellers which might have been expected. The greater number of the party including all the ladies and children were accommodated in the house of Dr. Small, while the bachelors were eventually entertained by the Commissioner. Meanwhile the station of Nusseerabad had been thoroughly destroyed by the mutineers. They left it and proceeded to Delhi, the great focus of the revolt, closely followed by a body of Raj troops under Lieutenants Walters and Heathcote, but were never overtaken.

Mr. Prichard's narrative now digresses into an account of the outbreak at Neemuch on the basis of particulars furnished to him by Colonel Abbott, 72nd Native Infantry, who commanded the station. This place is about 120 miles from Nusseerabad on the one hand and from Mhow on the other. The troops stationed there in May 1857 were the 4th troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery (native,) left Wing 1st Light Cavalry, 72nd Regiment N. I. and 7th Regiment Gwalior Contingent. On the night of the 3rd June all these troops mutinied. The officers were allowed to depart in safety. The next morning the mutineers plundered the bazaar and treasury, destroying what they could not carry away from the officers' bungalows, and set out for Delhi. They reached this place eventually and became part of the rebel army. After the action of Nyjufghur when Nicolson's column totally defeated the enemy the Neemuch Brigade as a separate force was never heard of. The officers and ladies went to Nusseerabad and thence to Agra which they reached on the 3rd December in safety. Meanwhile the ladies of the Nusseerabad party were in Beawr, waiting to learn the best means to be adopted for their safety. When the Raja of Jodhpore sent an invitation to all the ladies to accept of his protection till they could proceed to Bombay the most of them accepted it, but a few returned to Nusseerabad. Jodhpore is a city of considerable size, containing some 60 or 70 thousand inhabitants. It is built on the extremity of a ridge of rock rising abruptly from the surrounding plain to the height of 300 or 400 feet. The ladies were kindly received by the Raja and very attention was paid to their comfort. Mr. Prichard, who had stayed behind at Nusseerabad, took an opportunity of visiting them and with that purpose set out on his journey in a bayley drawn by two bullocks; the conveyance is thus described :—

"A bayley is about the most uncomfortable kind of conveyance a man can possibly be tortured in. It consists of a small square cart, the seat of which always slants either backwards or forwards, with a roof supported on four slender poles; it is impossible to sit upright in it, for there is nothing to lean against; lying down is equally out of the question, for there is no room wherein an ordinary-sized mortal can bestow his legs. Natives who can sit all day in an upright posture with their legs doubled up in some inconceivable way under them, vastly approve of this method of conveyance, and will ride the whole day and night quite contentedly in a position that would subject every Englishman in a quarter of an hour to the most excruciating cramps. There is no protection from the dust, and very little from the sun, and altogether it is about as unadvisable a mode of travelling as one could well meet with. But in the year of grace 1857 we were not particular. A year before, if any one had told me the time would come when I should consider myself most fortunate in possessing a lota and riding in a bayley, I should have either thought my informant mad, or that he was 'chaffing' me."

He was escorted by three Raj Sowars who formed a plan to murder him on the way, but he overheard their conversation, and managed to get rid of them by sending one to Ajmere for his horse and sending another on with the bullock cart. He then walked on and on until he reached Ajmere. After remaining a few days there he went on to Jodhpore, accompanied by a guide called Achal Sing who proved a faithful and serviceable fellow. On halting for the night at native villages Mr. Prichard sometimes put up with Thakoors, whose curiosity regarding him was greatly excited; they asked him all kinds of questions, examined his few travelling accoutrements and insisted upon his eating before them:—

"The attitude assumed by Achal Sing on these occasions was sufficiently amusing. He regarded me something as Barnum would have done had I been a dwarf or a marmaid. Without any sympathy with my wish for privacy or desire for repose, the more I was surrounded with visitors, the better he was pleased; the notice I attracted seemed to him a source of unfeigned gratification, exactly in the same ratio in which it was disagreeable to me. I was his pet dancing bear, and he was the showman. So he would bring his huge carcass into the room (for he was an enormous man, with his broad chest and thick muscular limbs—a regular Hercules), and seat himself on his haunches, with his back against the wall, rest his chin upon his knees, and regard with a smile of satisfaction the crowds of sightseers by whom I was surrounded, and the evident excitement my arrival among them had caused. At the same time he seemed to think it incumbent upon him to watch over me as if I had been a child entrusted to his care, and tried to impress on his fellow-countrymen the importance of the responsibility imposed upon him in the protection of my person."

Mr. Prichard arrived safely at Jodhpore, and to occupy his time as well as to render service to the state, he undertook the charge of the Post office which had become a very important one owing to the disturb-

ed state of the country. Jodhpore was the centre of several lines of communication which were kept open by the energetic measures of the executive officers in that part of the country. Another digression in the narrative gives an account of the mutiny of the Jodhpore Legion at Erinpoora, and the attack on Mount Aboo. The first accounts of the latter occurrence received at Jodhpore proved to be grossly exaggerated. The Erinpoora mutiny was a more serious affair. Lieutenant Conolly, the Adjutant of the Jodhpore Legion, was the only European in Erinpoora with the exception of some sergeants and their families. The false and exaggerated accounts of the attack on Mount Aboo which reached Erinpoora, fanned the flame of rebellion, which was already flickering. Lieutenant Conolly was in a dangerous position. He did all that was in his power to restrain his men but they were uncontrollable. On the day of the mutiny many of the mutineers were for taking his life which they would have done had not one or two of them, among whom was the well known Abbas Ali, interposed in his favour. The next day the sergeants and their families were allowed to go, but Conolly was carried off. The following details of this officer's escape are given in his own words, extracted from a letter to Captain Black :—

"At Doola they had three or four rows—councils they called them—about me. At last, Mihrwan Sing and the other beauties, seeing Abbas Ali would not give me up, said I might go solus. Next morning, they sent again to say, no, I should not go. However, Abbas Ali and his men surrounded my charpoy all night ; we none of us slept, and on the morning of the 27th, when the force was ready, the guns were loaded, the infantry shouldered arms, and I was brought up. I was told to ride to the front ; poor Dokul Sing, the havildar-major, and some others, ran out blubbering ; Abbas Ali and Abdool Ali, rode up on each side, made me low salaams, and told me to ride for it ; that not a sowar should be allowed to interfere with my retreat. My three sowars, who, I have forgotten to say, had stuck to me as if I had been their brother since the very beginning, by a preconcerted plan, were ordered to see me off a little way. I could not help giving a farewell wave of the hand to the infantry in irony ; they shouted and laughed, the band struck up, and that is the last I saw of the legion. I rode right in to Erinpoora with three sowars ; I came straight here, and the people seemed ready to eat me with joy. The names of the three sowars are, Nusseeroodeen, second troop ; Elahu Bux, third troop (the man who used to ride my grey) ; and Momin Khan, first troop. They left everything behind, and, I must say, are three as fine fellows as I wish to see. By-the-by, the cavalry said if I would agree to turn Mussulman, to a man they would follow me. Very kind of them. They offered me money when I was coming away, and also on the march. I took twenty rupees from Abbas Ali; now I wish I had taken my pay: they twice offered it."

This man, Abbas Ali, made an offer to Captain Monck Mason, the political agent at Jodhpore, to desert with a large body of his own

cavalry and the guns to Jodhpore, if he and his comrades were pardoned and reinstated in the service of Government. There was no time to communicate with a higher authority, and so Captain Mason was obliged to decline accepting this offer in consequence of the Government order that no officer was to treat with rebels as long as they had arms in their hands. One of the Thakoors under the Raja of Jodhpore, the Thakoor of Awah, was at this time in rebellion against his feudal lord. These petty rebellions were very frequent in Rajpootana. The Jodhpore Legion had to pass near the Thakoor's fort on their way to Pallee. The Thakoor had sent an emissary to Captain Mason to arrange terms between himself and the Raja, in which case he, the Thakoor, would lend his aid against the rebels. Captain Mason had no authority to interfere without the Raja's advice, but the emissary refused to treat with the Raja. The consequence was that the Thakoor of Awah made common cause with the mutineers, and waged open war with the Raja and the British Government. A body of the Raja's troops was accordingly sent to lay siege to Awah under the command of Anar Sing, a brave and and favourite officer. The Raja's troops were very lukewarm in the cause they were supposed to fight for and nothing could be done. Captain Mason went out from Jodhpore to the camp to encourage them, and the result was that he was killed. He was a favourite with all who knew him, and his death at this critical juncture was an irreparable loss. Meanwhile Brigadier General Lawrence had been besieging Awah with 150 men of the H. M.'s 83rd, three guns, a portion of the Mhairwarra battalion and the 1st Bombay Lancers. This was about the middle of September. Had General Lawrence been supported by the Raja's troops we might have taken Awah, but with so small a body of Europeans and reliable native soldiers it is not to be wondered at that he did not think himself justified in storming the place, and he retreated ; soon after this the mutineers went off to Delhi leaving the Thakoor and his men in the fort of Awah, which was evacuated in January 1858 when besieged by Colonel Holmes and his column. In October news reached Jodhpore of the murder of Major Burton and his sons at Kotah of which Mr. Prichard gives the following account:—

"One day in October we were startled by the intelligence of the treacherous assault on Major Burton, political agent at Kotah, and the murder of that officer, his two sons, and the medical man attached to the agency. In many of the published accounts of this transaction, the Kotah Contingent

was described as having enacted this tragedy, but this was a mistake into which certainly no Indian writer ought to have fallen. The men who attacked and killed Major Burton were the king's regular troops—a body of soldiers entirely distinct from the Contingent, which was drilled and commanded by British officers, and which mutinied, as before related, at Agra, on the 5th July. Major Burton had returned with his two sons to Kotah, from Neemuch, where they had been residing, upon the assurance of the Raja that a residence at Kotah would not be attended with danger, and from a desire to be at his post. The day following his return he was surprised by hearing a great noise, as of a multitude approaching from the direction of the city towards the Agency. At first he supposed it was a procession coming out to welcome him back, but he was soon undeceived, for it turned out to be a large body of the king's troops coming to attack the Agency. They brought guns down to bear upon the place. Major Burton and his two sons retired to the top of the house, where they defended themselves for several hours against the host of cowardly assailants, but were at length overpowered, and cut to pieces."

At length Mr. Prichard was enabled to relinquish his Post Office duties and resolved to leave Jodhpore with his wife and as many as were desirous of going to Bombay, by way of Hydrabad and Sind. Lieutenant Tyrwhitt accompanied the party with a strong escort composed chiefly of Sind Police and Beloochees. Their way lay across the barren deserts of Sind, and the journey, though relieved by many a pleasant incident, was by no means free from inconvenience and danger. The following is a graphic description of the scene the party presented as they wound their way over those lonely regions :—

"On moonlight nights our caravan looked most picturesque, and I often cantered off the road, to the summit of the rising ground at a little distance, to watch it winding along below me: the wild-looking escort of their camels and horses, covered with gaudy trappings; the matchlocks and steel, wherever visible, glittering in the moon's rays; the long line of carts wending their way is single file; then the flanking parties, mostly on camels, and the quaint 'ruts', with their pyramidal coverings, the motley group following in the rear, amid which the elephant towered like a large ship among a fleet of little boats, all passed below me like a panorama, while ever and anon the sound of laughter or the chorus of some rollicking song, swept through the clear, bright air, and fell, mellowed by distance, on the ear; while all around, far as the eye could reach, stretched an interminable waste of desert, stunted shrubs, and undulating ground, unblessed by a single spot of verdure or cultivation, or a single trace of human habitation. There is something glorious in the intense solitude of the desert, a feeling akin to that one experiences on the sea shore There is a charm in the very luxury of desolation, a music in the very intensity of silence, not even the wailing howl of the jackal being there to interfere with the solemn stillness that reigns over everything. One can easily imagine how it was that in ancient times, when men thought it a duty to leave the only place where they could do their duty—that is, the busy world, where man meets man in the daily struggle of life—and waste their intellectual energies in contemplation, they chose the solitude of the desert for their resort. There is little

indeed to admire during the day, when the unclouded sun lights up every thing with a distressing and monotonous glare, but at night, when the stars shine brightly through the clear atmosphere, or the moon sheds her gentle rays upon the scene of solitude, a man can feel the littleness of earthly things, for there is nothing external at all events to intervene between his soul and God."

After arriving at Hydrabad the difficult part of the journey was over, the remaining two days of it being performed in a steamer which landed the whole party at Kurrachee. Mr. Prichard there found every thing in a state of excitement; the town was full of strangers who arrived from all parts, and of troops which had just arrived from England. Having sent his family on to Bombay, Mr. Prichard attached himself to H. M.'s 7th Royal Fusiliers and marched with them to the Punjaub.

To all who read the volume we have thus briefly sketched its merits will be evident. The style is one distinguished by good taste. Some books on the mutinies are written in such a careless off hand manner that readers are naturally disgusted with them; others are vitiated by egotism and conceit; from these faults Mr. Prichard's book is free. The account of the important events he described is here and there agreeably relieved by light and cheerful descriptions that find an appropriate place in personal narratives, and that have within the last few years become a *sine qua non* in all books on general subjects which meet with the favour of the public.

The Bible for the Pandits: The first three Chapters of Genesis diffusely and unreservedly commented in Sanscrit and English, by James R. Ballantyne, LL. D. Madden: London. Lazarus: Benares. 1860.

This, we presume, is Dr. Ballantyne's farewell to India, though not (we trust) to Indian literature. In his new position at the India House Library, he will have ample opportunities of working out the design, of which the pamphlet we are noticing is the first instalment;—an annotated translation into Sanscrit of such leading portions of the Bible as may furnish a connected view of the nature and ground-work of our Holy Faith.

During his fourteen years' residence in India, Dr. Ballantyne has been gradually clearing his way to this great end. Soon after his arri-

val he sat down to the task of enucleating the meaning of the several schemes of Hindu philosophy. His editions of the popular Text Books of the different Schools are well-known and appreciated. He next edited, for the use of the Pandits, some European Treatises, (as Whateley's Logic and Rhetoric, and Berkeley on the Principles of Human Knowledge,) which appeared likely to interest them and win their confidence. He then gave them a "Synopsis of Science," employing the general method of arrangement with which they were already familiar from their study of the Nyaya. The "Synopsis" after leading the student up to a discussion of the nature of Historical Evidence, concluded; "Let professing Revelations be examined." This was the end of his first cycle of teaching. He next began with a Treatise in which the comparative claims of the Christian and Hindu religions were canvassed. This treatise (entitled, "Christianity compared with Hinduism,") which was noticed by us in a recent number, concluded with advising the reader to "Search the Scriptures;" and to do so, using the prayer; "shew me the truth,—who am seeking it." The annotated "Bible for Pandits," of which we have now before us a specimen, was the natural sequel to the above Treatise.

How methodically Dr. Ballantyne has proceeded in all this may be best seen, if we quote a passage from his discourse on "Translation into the languages of India" written in 1854, in which he tells us what he conceives should be the ultimate aim of education.

"In designing an educational course, if we are to go to work methodically, systematically, and profitably, then regard must be had to the end and to the means. Where no distinct end, or not the same end, is kept in view by those who take part in a discussion, agreement as to the means is pretty well out of the question. And how can we hope, as Bacon says, to achieve the course if we have not first distinctly fixed the goal? It may be said, indeed, that there are more goals than one, inasmuch as we do not expect all our pupils to go as far as the one who goes the farthest. Be it so; but let us first settle the goal for that *one*, and then the various stages which the others may content themselves with reaching, will all lie along that more extended course.

"Shall our absolutely ultimate end, then, be the production of a first-rate engineer, or of a valuable revenue officer, or of an accomplished native magistrate? With this I am not prepared to be satisfied. *My proposed end is the making of each educated Hindu a Christian,—on principle and conviction.* This end, as I propose here to indicate, implies every thing that the amplest course of education can comprise."

The Commentary on the "Three first Chapters of Genesis" is, on the whole, well adapted to the object the writer had in view; which was

(as he tells us) to let the Hindu know, what Christians believe and why they believe it. He modestly professes only to select, combine, and shape materials already supplied by other writers;—among whom his chief authority appears to be Kurtz.

One thing that strikes a reader, on even a cursory perusal of the Commentary, is, the firmness with which the Author insists that his reader shall bring to the study certain *moral* qualifications. However much a warning of this kind may be neglected in some quarters, it is obviously the dictate of common-sense. Even Pagan teachers, in the Academe or the Porch, required that their hearers should bring with them certain *right principles*. Dr. B., therefore, is fully justified in asking that his Pandits shall approach the study of his book "devoid of malice and not bent on wrangling;" He declines attempting to prove the existence of a Creator, because "all men believe in it, except, perhaps those who by cavilling have confused their own understandings:" "The *competent* reader," he says, will not ask for proof in such a case. The well-qualified student, he says, will many times be satisfied with knowing the truth of *fact*, without seeking to ascertain the *reason* of the fact. A time may come, he urges, when we shall have a deeper insight into the secret things of God; but "previously to such great and final manifestation of the hidden things of God, *we have only to expect with humility*; and the mysteries which in our present state we cannot comprehend, we must silently acquiesce in." When an objector asks, "*How could* a divine communication be made to the sacred historian?" he replies, that to know *that*, one ought to be one's self inspired;—a reply which he illustrates by the following apologue;—

"In a certain village the whole of the inhabitants were blind from their birth, and one of them obtained his sight by means of a surgical operation. His companions having learnt that he was able to describe what was going on at a great distance even better than they themselves could tell what was going on close beside them, desired him to say by what means it was that this knowledge reached him. He endeavoured to declare it to them, but he found his endeavours useless. They could not in any way understand how a knowledge of the shape of objects not within reach of his hand could enter by the front of his head; but that such knowledge really did belong to him, *those who candidly investigated the truth of his words became assured.*—The application of the illustration to the matter illustrated is obvious."

All this is perfectly natural and rational. Dr. B. clearly felt that

in addressing persons like the Hindus more was needed than appealing to their reason. A certain submission of the reasoning faculty, candour, humility, patience, and similar moral qualities were eminently necessary.

We notice all this the more pointedly because, in a somewhat multifarious and discursive Introduction to his *Specimen Translation*, Dr. Ballantyne has said much that seems to bear in the opposite direction;—as if religious questions might be discussed with no more reference to moral qualifications than would be demanded if we were dealing with a geometrical problem.

The provocation to this (evidently) hasty composition was given by the London *Record;* which, in a review of his Essay, charged him with having addressed "the head rather than the heart." It would have been easy to reply that his address to the head was *in order to gain entrance* to the heart. Instead of saying this, however, Dr. B. rushes forth, with keen logic and stout rhetoric, and indignantly accepts the reproach:—'Yes, he *was* addressing the head; and meant to do so; there were plenty of people—the whole Missionary body—addressing the heart; and to very little purpose. *He* would have nothing to say to the *heart;*'—which he speaks of as a very weak and 'womanish' part of our nature. "I address 'the head' *exclusively,*" he says, at p. xi. Now we entreat Dr. Ballantyne to forgive us if we say that we prefer his (normal) practice to his (effervescent) theory. In his Commentary he *does* appeal (and most justly) to those sentiments of modesty and humility and docility, which are indispensable to any profitable examination of moral or religious subjects. He does, also, (most reasonably) recommend his pupil to pray to God for His illumining grace. No sensible, religious-minded man could do otherwise. Why, then, after this spontaneous endeavour to put the heart in a right frame, should our author have allowed himself to accept the *Record's* view of the impossibility of addressing *head and heart* simultaneously? Why this supposition of implacable hostility between the intellectual and moral parts of man? Why this handing over of the "heart" to the dominion of *sentimentality?* We would—with the greatest respect to Dr. Ballantyne—enter a firm and decided protest against any such cowardly concession. The *heart* is no more to be identified with sentimentality than the intellect is with sophistry. Manliness, not weakness, is the true

characteristic of a cultivated heart;"—manly, sober, brave, *faith*,—such as Socrates showed in the face of death, when the strongest efforts of speculation seemed to yield but little solid ground for him to rest his convictions upon,—such as St. Paul, with the full light of Revelation beaming down on him, was still called upon to exercise;—for, in every age it remains true;—"The righteous man lives by faith."

Dr. B. refers us to Bishop Butler as one of his chosen models. Now, that Butler appealed to men's intellects, who doubts? But it is equally certain that his addresses to the intellect are among the most searching appeals to the heart and conscience ever made by mortal man. We may add that in his xiiith Sermon, Butler expressly laments that in his age many had recoiled from enthusiastic extravagances, till they got "into the contrary extreme, under the notion of a reasonable religion—so very 'reasonable,' *as to have nothing to do with the heart and the affections*." Again, as regards the question of *humility*; probably no human writings (unless, perhaps, Pascal's) dwell so much as Butler's do, on the necessity of the religious inquirer's coming to his task in the spirit of genuine humility.

If there be any who give way to a "spurious humility, which is only a mask for indolence," we resign them to the unmitigated weight of Dr. B.'s censures. But we have no grounds for thinking that such a charge lies against the *missionaries*. We know sufficient of that body to say, that we believe they will read Dr. Ballantyne's remarks without any feeling but that of benevolent regret, as regards the writer's misconception of their character, and of earnest desire to profit by any of his suggestions. None are more ready than they to acknowledge that perhaps they have not always ploughed or sowed or watered the soil of the human heart aright. At the same time, we are in justice bound to maintain the right of the Missionary to follow out *his own methods* freely according to his own conscientious convictions. It is an excellent thing for a man to act, as Dr. Ballantyne has acted for fourteen years,—to do his own work in his own way, and to let others do theirs in their way. It is the most useful, as it is the only safe and comfortable mode of procedure. A learned layman, who eulogises the Missionaries (as Dr. Ballantyne does, very genially) for their self-devotion and laboriousness, gets into a false position, when he complains that they do not give up their time to the study of Sanscrit. Suppose it to be

true—without inquiring whether it *be* true—that 'no missionaries are profoundly versed in Sanscrit';—does not this proposition necessarily involve another,—that 'no men profoundly learned in Sanscrit are missionaries'?—And *whose fault is that?* Dr. Ballantyne has the remedy for this state of things in his own hands. Supposing the proposition to be true at present, he can, by his own act and deed, strip it of its truth by to-morrow's dawn. The mission field is open to all well-qualified candidates. If those who have had facilities for acquiring Sanscrit learning say they are otherwise engaged; or they are not disposed to become missionaries;—well;—let them, at least, admit that the fault of those, who have given themselves up to the work of preaching and teaching in the vernaculars to the neglect of Sanscrit, is not greater than theirs, who, possessing a wide acquaintance with Sanscrit, do not devote it expressly to the cause of religion. If it be said, that they *are* engaged in furthering the progress of Truth, as laymen,—good; we say again;—then why call on the clergy to leave their more special functions, and intrude on a province already so worthily occupied? Proceed, as you have done, and let the missionary have the benefit of your labour without upbraiding.

The Missionary is, we think, taking up a perfectly justifiable position, when he looks on the Sanscritologue as the Statesman does on the economist. He receives the results of his special investigations with gratitude, and uses them so far as they appear likely to conduce to his own higher aims. But he does not, by this, subject himself to the censure of the scientific investigator. A statesman may, if he please, become an economist; and the Missionary a Sanscritologue; but these are, in fact, departures from their strictly proper occupations. The statesman's eye has to traverse a far broader area than the Economist's; and the Missionary's than the Metaphysician's or Philologer's. Theology still maintains her ancient right to subordinate the labours of all other scientific inquirers to her own transcendent pursuits. The Missionary may not be able to edit the Rig-Ved, to annotate the Vishnu Puran, or to write clever dissertations on the Darshanas; but he may make what is written by men who are able to do these things, ancillary to his own work.

We would now gladly close these remarks. But we must not forget—*Amicus Plato, magis amica veritas.* Duty compels us to use our censorial

authority on some passages of the Introduction, which seem to us more or less objectionable.

1. Dr. B. has expended a large amount of his ingenuity on the inquiry,—Can the word *Nirguna* be properly applied, as it is by the Vedantin, to Almighty God? It strikes us that the controversy might be easily cut short, if the following preliminary question were first settled. Supposing that *guna* refers only to the qualities of material things:—has the Sanscrit, we ask, any term that could be used of spiritual qualities or attributes? If it have, let the word be produced; we shall know what use to make of it. If it have not, where can be the use of employing so inadequate an instrument of thought,—one that can only adapt itself to the two antipodal errors of Idealism and Materialism—in the discussion of theological topics? The sooner such a language modestly retires into the domain of the past, the better. The English reader of Dr. B.'s Anglo-Sanscrit dialogues might readily be led to infer that there *must* be some Sanscrit term corresponding to "attribute;" or how—he may ask—could it represent such a sentence as this?—"Instead of holding, as they (the Vedantins) are so often accused of holding, that God has no attributes in *our* sense of the term, they hold in fact that *He is* ALL *attribute, sheer existence, sheer thought, sheer joy.*" The Sanscrit, however, for the words in italic is simply "*Kewala sachchitanandátamakam*," which does not even *touch* the question. This abstinence from all attempt to reproduce the pointedness of the English, enables the Sanscrit translator to steer clear of the occasional inconsistencies of the original. E. g. At p. 54, the Vedantin who had before been affirmed to hold that Almighty God was "*all, attribute, &c.*" is now made in the English to say that "Knowledge is no quality, but *the Thing, (vastu)—The One Thing—the Absolute.*" The Sanscrit of the part in italic is entirely silent about *vastu:* it runs simply "ekádwitiya brahma rupoh."

2. At p. lxx. Dr. B. says that "Germany constantly and England occasionally gropes after" the principles of which "the Vedanta is a calm, clear, collected exposition." The principles thus approvingly spoken of, are those of *Idealistic Pantheism;*—perhaps the subtlest poison, which the human spirit ever drank. Elsewhere Dr. B. shows that he is fully aware of the erroneousness of the Hindu systems. He admits that "the distinction between right and

wrong is well-nigh obliterated among the mass of the people;" and remarks that "this state of things, whether *brought about* or not by the philosophical systems, is emphatically *symbolised* by them." We should like to see this (p. xcii.) suggestive hint developed with Dr. Ballantyne's rare power of illustration. An essay on this point would be worth half a dozen ordinary treatises on Hinduism.

3. At p. lxxxvi, Dr. B. uses what we think very hasty language about the origin of evil. He objects to a person's speaking of 'God's *Permission* of Evil;' because, he says, such a phrase "necessarily implies that Evil has been created by another Creator or else that it is self existent,"—both of which are manifest absurdities. But surely there is a *third* alternative hypothesis; and that the very hypothesis which gave rise to the common use of the word "permitted" in reference to Evil. This explanation, which is at least as old as St. Augustine, says;—evil is not a *positive* thing; it is the *absence* of good;—and the *possibility* of a dereliction of good is inherent in the very existence of a finite creature possessing free agency. Now it is quite true, that this explanation does not pretend to say *how* this possibility became actual; still the fact that moral probation involves in its very idea the possibility of turning away from good, does at any rate rescue us from those other monstrosities to which Dr. B. restricted us.

4. One more remark—the most important of all,—and we have done.

Dr. Ballantyne uses the word "Absolute," as if he thought it one of his "strong points." We are persuaded that it is a constant source of weakness to him. As employed by him, the word "*Absolute*," [generally rendered in the Sanscrit *Brahm!*] is a manifest *limitation* of the Godhead; evacuating our conception of God (which, though infinitely unworthy of HIM, is yet the noblest of human possessions) of all that immeasurable 'length and breadth and depth and height' of essential glory, that belongs to it in the mind of the instructed Christian. "An Absolute Essence" he says, (p. lxvii) "related to qualities is a plain contradiction in terms." Yes, we reply, if by the "Absolute" you mean *absolute privation;* but not, if you mean by it (what the word ought to mean, if used of the Ever-blessed God, absolute fulness of every good that ever was or shall be, or is possible,—absolute perfection. It is

simply an equivocation to oppose *Absolute* in this sense to the possession of attributes. In the all-perfect, self-existent, ever-blessed, Nature there exist, (we doubt not,) illimitable, inconceivable, treasures of—what angels may speak of in more apposite terms, but we lisping in human language may call—essential attributes. This infinite fulness we believe was neither increased nor diminished by the Creation of the Universe any more than (nay, infinitely less than) the luminous power of the solar orb is either augmented or lessened, when a ray that has travelled down to our earth falls on a prism and is refracted into a spectrum. The sun remains the same, the properties of light remain the same, whether the prism be held out or not. To our poor minds the Divine Nature may seem—nay, must seem—broken up,—refracted, into separate attributes, (Justice, Goodness, &c.) whilst they co-exist in Him in inseparable Unity ;—but that is no reason for denying either the reality of the existence of those Attributes in Him or the truthfulness of our thoughts concerning Him.

"We have spoken freely (as Dr. Ballantyne, we are sure, would have us speak) of what we believe to be the merits and demerits of his recent publication. We sincerely admire his many great endowments. It is because we do so—and because we hope that India will yet draw (more largely indeed than heretofore) on those endowments—that we have allowed our animadversions to extend to so great length. Few men have the metaphysical power that he has ; fewer still possess his facility in propounding and illustrating his conceptions. We trust that both these high gifts may be long devoted to the noblest object ever set before the energy and zeal of our countrymen,—the diffusion of the knowledge of the "True God and eternal life" among the millions of India.

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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

DECEMBER, 1860.

ART. I.—1. *History of Civilization in England.* By W. BUCKLE.

2. *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia.* Edited by J. R. LOGAN, Vol. III. Part I, (New Series.)

3. *University Education in England for Natives of India.* By HODGSON PRATT, ESQ., B. C. S.

THE portly volume whose title we have placed at the head of our list, and to whose contents we shall principally have to call attention, is the first of two which together are to form an introduction to the History of Civilization in England; it thus constitutes one-half of the gigantic porch of what will be when completed one of the most colossal structures ever raised by the genius of man. The author believes that history has never yet been philosophically treated, he asserts that all previous historians have been mere chroniclers of events, he complains that they have failed even to collect the materials out of which history must hereafter be elaborated; and with an apparently full consciousness of the appalling vastness of this undertaking, Mr. Buckle boldly enters on the task of himself writing history 'scientifically.' Admiring his courage we heartily wish him 'God speed,' trusting that he may not have over-estimated his forces, that before commencing to build he counted the cost, and that this volume may not be destined to swell the list of "Historical Fragments."

Our criticism shall not follow him far even into this introductory portion of the work, but confining our attention almost exclusively to its earlier chapters—in which however the ground plan of the structure is sketched out—we shall briefly analyse some of the most striking features as there developed, and dwelling more at length on the application to British India of the theories and hypotheses advanced, shall close our examination with a few critical remarks on what we conceive to be Mr. Buckle's shortcomings.

Although not ostensibly set forth in the work itself, we believe that the initial conception, the thought which underlay

Mr. Buckle's earliest sketch of his views on the subject of scientific history (the history of civilization, or of social philosophy) is one which has forced itself on the attention, and occupied the minds of many of the ablest men of our times, namely the limits of speculation, the fixing of the boundaries which *legitimately* separate the fields of research from the province of Metaphysics, of Theology, and from that of inductive science, respectively. In savage life each man does every thing for himself; erects his dwelling, builds his boat, constructs his weapons, of war or for the chase, and devotes his leisure to the embellishment of the ugly image he worships, or of the grotesque garments he wears. The first step in advance is a division of labor, a recognition of specialties.

Now our intellectual progress follows a precisely parallel track. The wise man of ancient times was supposed to know every thing, and in truth the great men of the days of the infancy of science did spread their immense energies over wonderfully extended areas of research; the danger of superficiality was however at all times so great, that many of them were, perhaps involuntarily, led into charlatanary, and pretence. The pretence was naturally greatest where the excuse for its existence was least; we need not however go far back in search of counterfeit omniscience. Even in our own day, wherever crude ideas on the subject of the nature of scientific knowledge prevail, examples abound: nor are ignorance on the part of the admirers, and false pretension on that of the admired, by any means necessary conditions for the development of very strange misconceptions. For example, many men to this day in India, believe in doctors. A short time ago it was universally accepted, even by men full of intelligence and possessed of great information on many subjects, that a doctor naturally knew every thing. Government seems to have shared this impression; we have indeed heard of a distinguished member of the medical service who was supposed by the authorities to be a botanist and was officially trusted with duties the discharge of which demanded a knowledge of scientific botany: but besides this it was assumed that he was master of a very special branch of botanical science, which concerns itself with timbers and forest trees: nor was this all, for he was also thought to be a geologist, and accordingly very important duties were confided to him which could not be discharged rightly save by one possessed of great knowledge and practical familiarity with that science.

Medical knowledge was not however supposed to have languished, or lost ought by the neglect implied by the time assumed to have been devoted to the study of Botany and Geology,

for this officer was subsequently put in charge of the lives and limbs of Her Majesty's servants: so far indeed from having suffered from neglect, or pined in the shade of more favored pursuits, it soon became apparent that Government had reason to suppose that a special and most important branch of Medical Science had been specifically cultivated by this Encyclopædic Savant, for investigations of the gravest moment, connected, as well as we remember, with sanatary considerations as applied to military buildings, were entrusted to his care. A case of this kind, which however is quite a typical one in India, can only occur where ideas entertained on the nature of scientific knowledge are crude. Meanwhile in Europe the advantages of the sub-division of labor, have long been so well understood, that now in this very science of medicine, for example, every man of real eminence devotes his attention to some particular province of the immense field opened by his profession: each organ, each tissue, each function is the work of a life. Take geology; in the place of the men who in days gone by produced "Theories of the Earth," and who knew all that was known of what was not then a science, we now have a mathematician scrutinizing the geological data furnished by a physical explorer; a microscopist calling in chemistry to determine for him the contents of minute vescicles in crystals, and extorting thence evidence to elucidate the structure of rock masses. The botanical geologist, the anatomist follow a similar course. But it would be wasting space to insist more fully on the extent to which the limitation of the several fields of knowledge has become a recognized condition of success in every scientific pursuit; the fact is undoubted, and is precisely similar to what occurs in the case of the simple arts of life. An analogous though not exactly similar step has for some years engaged much attention and been treated of by some of our most distinguished writers, we mean the recognition of the boundaries separating the legitimate domains of Theology, Metaphysics, and the inductive Sciences. Every one who has for a moment thought on the subject will acknowledge that these boundaries have been on all sides ignored: we have seen theology, on the one side, claiming universal dominion, and assuming to dictate without appeal in every department, her ambitious doctors impairing her real authority by untenable pretence: placing the inspiration of the sacred writings in antagonism with the facts of physics and astronomy, in past times, and within our own, opposing the same authority to the facts of Geological Science; and even now a cry is raised against the orthodoxy of a naturalist who investigates the tangled question of the mutability of species.

Nor has all the fault been on the side of Theology: if she has been unwilling to retire within her lawful confines, and abandon fair territories long held by prescriptive right, Philosophy has too often overstepped her own borders, and invaded the proper dominions of her neighbour. Long claimed as a vassal, called the "handmaid" of her imperious rival, once almost proud to hold even that subordinate position, she has since rebelled, and not content with asserting her true independence, has made the most unjustifiable raids on the grounds of her oppressor. If then the vulgar pretensions of self-seeking bigotry refuses even now to acknowledge that the earth moves round, we can readily point to an equally vulgar pretenciousness, and to bigotry no less narrow, in the essays on 'first causes' generally, on the 'origin of evil' and such subjects, in which a shallow logic, has, by the exhibition of its imbecility, handed to Theology her most formidable engine for the retardation of knowledge. Nor are shallowness and imbecility alone guilty of leading inductive reasoning beyond her proper field of action. If facts have rushed in where wisdom should have declined to tread, wisdom has unhappily not always herself exercised a just self-restraint, for it would be a contradiction in terms to stigmatize as wanting in any intellectual qualification, the many great men who have erred in this way; but whatever their merits, those who have done so are no less guilty than are the many equally able theologians who have dictated to the natural sciences on the strength of their own interpretations of the sacred writings.

We repeat that one of the most marked tendencies of the writings of our greatest men, on all sides, and of whatever prepossessions, has of late been an endeavour to fix and a determination to respect their limits; and we believe that the application to sociology and philosophical history of this endeavour to fix, and this determination to respect, the true limits of the legitimate field of inductive science, is the greatest and most important service which our author has rendered to his generation, and that whereon his soundest claims to fame will rest. We have thought it desirable to preface our analysis of Mr. Buckle's work with a clear statement of the above conclusion, we shall now proceed to follow the track by which (as we conceive) he reached it.

No intelligent student of social science will have carried his researches far without being struck forcibly by the strange facts which statistics unfold: namely the recurrence of events, of whatever kind, under certain conditions, not clearly or directly connected therewith. In some cases, as has so often happened when the statistics of trade and of disease are concerned, he

will be tempted, and often on utterly insufficient grounds, to refer some two facts to the relation of cause and effect respectively, hastily seizing on any solution of his problem, and forgetting the multitude of disturbing causes which may vitiate his conclusions; in other cases however the result of his observations will be different: when for instance he finds himself face to face with the figures enumerating the facts of crime, he will often stand aghast at some ultimate conclusions to which they seem to point, and it may be long ere he be driven to satisfy himself with the conviction that though men are actuated by countless complications of motives, there is in the numerical recurrence of certain combinations of these motives, a system uncomprehended, unanalysed, but all powerful, a systematic action analogous, if not similar to that systematic action which when traceable in the phenomena of inanimate nature is called "a Natural Law."

We will then suppose our student to have applied the canon of the limits of inductive reasoning, to have satisfied himself that he may, in his statistical labors, legitimately neglect all reference to theological and metaphysical theories, to have thus escaped from the iron grasp of the twin giants Predestination and Free-will, and to proceed on his way feeling, instead of the quaking swamp of the Slough of Despond, the firm ground of rational experiment once more under his feet. He accepts the proposition that "all human action is regulated by *Natural laws*" on the ground that the only necessary condition of the possible determination of such natural laws, is the existence of facts of observation, and which can be submitted to comparison and calculation, and that human actions satisfy this condition—he returns then to his statistical labors and we shall now with Mr. Buckle's assistance point to some of the data, and some of the conclusions thereby suggested, which strengthen and establish by definite evidence the above proposition.

The regularity with which numbers recur in the statistics of crime is notorious to most people of education: but the more one reflects on the circumstances of the case, the more unaccountable it seems, that such a crime as murder should be subject to this regularity. Murder of all crimes would à priori seem least amenable to average causes, it ought to be the most purely accidental of occurrences: yet not only do the usual numbers reappear regularly for the same areas and in given times, but even the instruments with which murders are committed recur with the most startling monotony. (p. 22.) Statistics indeed have established the very curious fact that, although both fluctuate, crime varies less than disease in a given time and space: for example, the number of persons accused of crime

in France from 1826 to 1844 was, by a singular coincidence, about equal to the number of male deaths in Paris during the same period: the difference being that the fluctuations in the annual number for crime were less than in those for mortality. (See "Quetelet sur l'homme." Vol. I., p. 7, and Vol. II., p. 164.)

But if even murder submits to the laws of average numbers, suicide at least ought to be the most capricious of events; in fact however suicide is a monotonously regular product of the state of society: (p. 25-26) for example, in London, where the accumulation of the chances must be enormous, the annual average is 240 during a long series of years; the greatest divergence being a maximum of 266 in the year 1846 and a minimun of 213 in 1849. The statistics of marriage give similar results: and whatever we may think of such considerations as temper and caprice as influencing marriages in detail, the only step we have made towards a practical solution of the problem of causes in the aggregate, is the established connection between the number of marriages and the price of corn. The regularity of recurrent numbers in statistical tables is not however confined to serious subjects such as marriage and murder, the most trivial events are subject to a similarly dull uniformity of recurrence. Much ridicule has been heaped on statistical research in consequence of the so-called triviality of some of its pursuits. A laugh is always at the command of one who seeks to raise it by calling the student of statistics a man who can tell you the percentage of one-eyed men who also wear white hats. It would appear more reasonable however to assert that the really pertinent question is not the triviality but the relevancy of a fact: nothing, however trivial, is worthless which establishes a conclusion capable of throwing light on such a subject as the regularity of human actions. In spite then of the slight importance intrinsically attaching to the fact itself it is well worth while to quote the post office returns to show that the proportion of undirected letters posted within a given time, to the whole number posted within that time is constant: this strange fact has been established beyond question by the post office returns of both France and England.

The fisherman living on the sea shore sees the tide rise and fall: the regularity of the recurrence of the phenomenon even establishes in his mind a conviction that on any given day he can confidently predict the coming ebb and flow, and he accordingly acts on the assumed stability of nature. To his more thoughtful neighbour, watching the same facts another conclusion is superadded, namely that what he observes is the result

of antecedents themselves constant, that the stability of the phenomena, the regularity of the recurrence of the event, is the effect of the fixity of the causes which produce them: and hence the first belief in the existence of what we call *natural laws.*

Now in the case of statistics the first step was taken long ago. The fisherman's faith in to-morrow's high water, the belief that what has happened a considerable number of times, will often happen again, has for ages been of daily application. A London tradesman purchases the good-will of a business after inspecting the books of the establishment, simply on the strength of his belief that about as many persons, who want to buy what he wishes to sell, will, in years to come, pass along some particular street, as had done so in years past: he will scrupulously satisfy himself that the books have been honestly kept, and will carefully enquire whether some new thoroughfare may not possibly disturb the continuance of the traffic, on the normal stability of which he never for a moment hesitates to calculate; every Railway bill, every canal Bill presented to Parliament, is based on a precisely similar assumption.

When however a man ventures to take the next step, and asserts that in the case of statistical figures, as in the case of the tide table, or in the case of the daily rising of the river, we are entitled not only to expect a recurrence of the phenomena, but also to believe that these depend on causes whose action is regulated by natural laws, alarmed orthodoxy takes fright: she has ceased to pray for divine protection from the fiery tail of the comet, because we have learned something of astronomical science, but she still prays for rain, in as much as atmospheric phenomena and their laws are still little understood: she accepts in the matter of tides the formulas of attraction, because they are susceptible of demonstration, but anathematizes the application of analogous reasoning to analogous data, where our ignorance furnishes her with a temporary excuse for halting; driven from many an outwork she retires with her face to the enemy and advancing truth ever finds her prepared to defend to the last each patch of debatable ground—here then accordingly she takes her stand. Predestination or free-will, as the fashion of the place and time may suggest, are called to the front, and are doing their duty just now most efficiently. Why indeed should we expect that dogmatism, jealous of her long usurped power, should at once yield to the quiet impartiality of the inductive spirit, that domain in which she has dictated her laws? Long used to enforce her mandates with all the weight of divine sanction (a sanction which she has bestowed in turn on almost every conceivable act, as well as dogma) she could not be expected to hear weekly the announcement that she had no

longer any right to interfere, that battles and damnable heresies were as much the effects of causes as are thunderstorms and the potato rot, and that inductive research is legitimately applicable to the causes of all such phenomena alike.

We have however already supposed that our student has made his escape from the twin giants, we shall farther assume that even when hounded on by orthodox dogmatism they have left him unscathed, and we accordingly invite him to subscribe to Mr. Buckle's fundamental proposition as he himself puts it:—" when ' we perform an action it is in consequence of some motive or ' motives: that these result from some antecedents: and that ' therefore, if we were acquainted with the whole of the ' antecedents, and with all the laws of their movements, we ' could with unerring certainty predict the whole of their im- ' mediate results."

Of the whole of the antecedents, and of all the laws of their movements, we are in nearly complete ignorance; the above conditional proposition is nevertheless true. It may perhaps be superfluous to remind the reader that the power of prediction spoken of is the highest aim of every inductive science, or in other words the ambition of inductive science is to arrive, by her own inductive process, at generalizations high enough, and therefore of sufficiently wide application to be used deductively for the purpose of predicting phenomena. The grandest triumph yet achieved by inductive science of this kind was perhaps Le Verrier's prediction, by calculation, of the time and place of the appearance of a new star. Astronomy alone, the most advanced of the inductive sciences, is competent to perform such a feat; but even this youngest sister, the newly born sociology, just claiming to be a science, may in virtue of that claim boldly state (as in the passage quoted) the scope of her aims, and our author is the first, as far as we know, to advance them clearly and in their true proportions. Distant indeed may be the day when we can hope for the conditions to be even partially fulfilled; instead of having arrived at high generalizations social science is now at work to determine which of her few theories can rightly claim to have risen above the state of empyric dogmas. Mr. Buckle indeed believes that events, acknowledged as the consequents of ascertainable antecedents, are even now determinable to an extent hitherto unappreciated: and though, in spite of all his enthusiasm he rejects the idea that his pet science is yet ripe for any of the higher uses of inductive philosophy, he yet holds that as an engine of enquiry she has vast power of throwing light on the philosophical study of history. Although then we believe it to be clearly proved that such a science exists, and is a real branch of inductive research, and that the

phenomena of which it takes cognizance, being guided by natural laws, will when observed, give the clue to the discovery of those laws, as has happened in so many other cases. We must remember that no generalization of any considerable width of applicability has as yet been reached, and that every proposition advanced may be suspected of empiricism; that it behoves us closely to watch that none of these be taken in a wider sense than is its due, or be supposed to prove more than it really implies; that in proportion as statistical generalizations are empyrical they must be rigidly treated as facts for the particular conditions of the data from whence they have been educed, and never erected into Laws of Society as such.

Our author must be submitted to this surveillance: his present work announces itself as an attempt to write history scientifically; he promises that, in the conclusion of the work, (half of the introduction to which we have before us) he will use deductively, in discussing the prospects of English civilization, formulæ, which he will have inductively derived from his analysis of observations on the phenomena of civilization historically considered. We shall not now stop to enquire how far the science of sociology is in a condition to admit of any very considerable success attending such an attempt: it is sufficient for us that, if we keep in mind the cautions just suggested, nothing but good can come of the enterprize and we thus proceed to Mr. Buckle's second proposition.

His first (as we have seen) is that "all human action is regulated by natural laws," which is merely equivalent to say that sociology is an inductive science; his second is that "The laws of human action must be sought either in the action 'of external phenomena on the mind, or in the action of the 'mind on external phenomena"—human action being indeed "merely the product of the collision between internal and external phenomena" (p. 32). Whatever be the prospect of his plan we can here at least follow Mr. Buckle with pleasure and profit: even if he be destined to fail in raising his science to the eminence on which he hopes to place her, he at all events works among his elementary materials, with a zeal, a skill and good faith which make his work one of the most fascinating of historical essays.

The action of external nature on man, as earliest discernable, is naturally first discussed: its influence must have made itself felt from the very first existence of society: the principal of these external influences are "climate, food, soil and the general aspects of nature." In treating of them Mr. Buckle groups the first three together, and with, as we think, admirable

sagacity, avoids all attempts at any artificial classification of phenomena practically inseparable; instead of endeavouring to analyze the causes, he submits to his scrutiny the effects produced on man by these powers of natures, by soil, food and climate; of these he distinguishes two, 1st a secondary action of external physical causes on man, as when great fertility of soil produces a very abundant crop, that is, a relation of the soil to its produce, the action of one part of external natures on another (p. 46) and its mediate or indirect influence on man. 2nd. a primary action of external physical causes on man, as when a happier climate encourages more successful labor, that is, a relation between the climate and the laborer, or a direct operation of external nature on man.

The former of these two modes of operation of external nature on man, has always first exercised its influence, it has formed the basis of all the older civilizations, its results have been enormous, vast as the powers of nature on which it rests, but if colossal they have, like their origin, been stationary and not susceptible of any high ulterior development. The latter, on the other hand, takes longer to show itself: it is a direct action on man's powers; on the nature of those powers then its results depend; instead of being stationary these are elastic, and to the limits of their elasticity we have yet to reach: the newer (for instance the European,) civilizations spring from this source and it is for this reason, fundamentally, that the grand old civilizations of Asia, Africa, &c., just reached a point to which they rapidly attained, but which none of them ever has passed: while the more tardy civilization of Europe, slower to appear, and slower to progress is still growing, though already far a-head of its tropical rivals.

The question of the accumulation of wealth is the first which presents itself: it is the elementary condition indispensable to all civilization. Mr. Buckle gives an able statement of the facts (according to our present knowledge) of the chemical and physiological character of food, for which however interesting and important we must refer to the volume itself; he shows that where the excess of the food produced over the requirements of those who produce it is greatest, there the earliest accumulation of wealth takes place: the inhabitants of such countries as the valley of the Ganges, and the valley of the Nile, require less food than the inhabitants of Europe, and not only do they require less food, but their food is far more easily produced, (p. 53) and hence the first accumulation of wealth, that is the earliest civilization, obtains there, and in similarly circumstanced places.

The problem of the distribution of wealth commences of course to be practically solved synchronously with its accumulation, and its importance cannot be over-rated. In an advanced stage of society the phenomena of the distribution of wealth are extremely complex, but in the early stage they are, like its accumulation, regulated entirely by external physical laws: and so absolute, and so irresistible have these laws been that "they have kept the vast majority of the inhabitants of the 'fairest portions of the globe in a condition of constant and in-'extricable poverty." (p. 47). In as much as the distribution of wealth is in fact the distribution of power, these physical causes have dictated the conditions of the social and political inequalities which form the key to the history of civilized countries.

Mr. Buckle proceeds to point out that wealth, that is wages, profits, interest taken together may be considered as a fund to be divided between employers and employed. Wages, that is the price of labor, like the price of anything else vary with the demand: that is to say supposing the above *fund* to remain constant the amount receivable by each laborer is a question of population. The increase of the wage fund is a question of the accumulation of wealth, and as we are here dealing with the distribution of wealth we take it as constant. We may now proceed to seek to discover the causes which, tending to encourage a rapid increase of population, overstock the labor market, and keep the average rate of wages at a very low standard. "If two countries, equal in all other respects, differ only in this: 'that in one the national food is cheap and abundant, in the 'other scarce and dear, the population of the former country will 'inevitably increase more rapidly than the population of the 'latter——the average rate of wages will be lower in the former 'than in the latter, simply because the labor market will be 'more amply stocked." An enquiry then, into the physical laws of food is the foundation of the only possible solution of the problem of wages: that is the problem of the distribution of wealth. As we have seen above, the inhabitants of hot countries require less, and can grow more food than the inhabitants of cold ones, and hence (p. 59) "there is a strong and constant ten-'dency in hot countries for wages to be low, and in cold ones for 'them to be high." Thus considering the laws of the distribution of wealth we find that the action of those physical causes which gave birth to the earliest civilizations, also impressed upon them their social and political peculiarities, dependent as these are on the inequalities of the distribution of wealth.

All the ancient civilizations were, we accordingly find, seated

in hot countries. In Europe, for the first time, one arose in a colder climate. Here the operation of the laws above indicated rendered the reward of labor greater, the distribution of wealth therefore less unequal: and since the conditions of growth and advance were in this case connected with the elastic element of man's mind, instead of resulting from the inelastic powers of nature, as happened with the older civilizations of Asia, Africa, &c., a development was attained unlike, and scarcely even analogous to any thing that had previously existed: differing in fact in the most essential attribute, for a living, growing, germ, had taken the place of inevitable stagnation.

The one exceptional instance of a European nation possessing a very cheap national food is found in Ireland, and how absolutely the law asserted itself is easily shown. (P. 60). The best experiments go to prove that "one acre of average land with po-'tatoes will support twice as many persons as the same quantity 'of land sown with wheat," according to this law then we should expect to find an increase of population twice as rapid, all other things being tolerably equal, in a potato growing, compared with a wheat growing country; accordingly we do find that up to the time of the Irish famine the returns actually give three per cent. as the increase of the Irish population, one and a half being the rate for England in equal periods, and the direct and necessary result was striking, "in England the increase is 'somewhat too rapid: and the labor market being overstocked 'the working classes are not sufficiently paid, but their condition 'is one of sumptuous splendour compared to that in which, only 'a few years since, the Irish were forced to live."

In short then (p. 62). "the food of a people determines the 'increase of its numbers: the increase of its numbers the rate of wages:" The rate of wages being low implies an unequal distribution of wealth, that is, an unequal distribution of political power and social influence, and thus the normal average relation between the upper and lower classes depends on the operation of physical causes.

Mr. Buckle selects Hindustan as an example of a country which has for the longest period possessed the highest civilization of which we have any record. Its development has always been confined to those rich tracts where wealth could readily be accumulated: this accumulation was rendered easy by the great fertility of the soil, and the rapid reproductions of the national food, specially of rice. (p. 64.) He shows that thus there has arisen in India that unequal distribution of wealth which the conditions naturally tended to encourage. Records two thousand years old prove that at that distant period a state of things similar to

what we see existed, and warrant the conclusion that affairs were in the same condition since the accumulation of wealth first fairly began: the upper classes enormously rich, the lower miserably poor: those who created the wealth receiving a minimum share of it, the rest absorbed as rent or profit by others: and as always follows, wealth, after intellect, being the most permanent source of power, the inequality of wealth was accompanied by a corresponding inequality of social and political power, (p. 66.) "It is not therefore surprising that from the earliest period to 'which our knowledge of India extends an immense majority of 'the people, pinched by the most galling poverty, and just 'living from hand to mouth, should always have remained in a 'state of stupid debasement, broken by incessant misfortune, 'crouching before their superiors in abject submission and only 'fit either to be slaves themselves or to be led to battle to make 'slaves of other."

He proceeds to make an attempt at estimating the rate of wages. The plan of averaging payments is rejected on account of the fluctuations in value rendering such a plan worthless. Since however the actual produce of a country must all be divided into wages, interest, rent and profit, and since we can ascertain the rates of interest and the proportion of rent for great periods, a simple process of elimination gives us the wages, which are the residue after rent, profit and interest have been paid. The Institutes of Menu fix interest at a maximum of sixty per cent. and a minimum of fifteen per cent. Mill states the average interest in 1810 to have been from thirty-six to sixty per cent.

Rent is next considered. In England and Scotland (p. 68,) the rent paid by the cultivator for the use of the land averages one-fourth of the gross produce: in France one-third is the proportion: in the United States it is very small, often only nominal. "In India the legal rent, i. e. the lowest rate recognized by 'law and the usage of the country is one-half the produce," and often much more, as several authorities are cited to prove. Ram Mohun Roy speaking of Bengal, in his "*Judicial and Revenue Systems of India*," (at p. 69,) says "in an abundant season, 'when the price of corn is low, the sale of their whole crop is 'required to meet the demand of the landholder, leaving little 'or nothing for seed or subsistence to the laborer or his family." Now from these facts we may conclude that rent and interest being always very high, and interest necessarily varying with profits, and thus giving us an estimate of this also, wages cannot but have been proportionally low: the former can rise alone at the expense of the last.

These conclusions can afford to stand alone but it is easy in conformation of them to appeal to the well-known fact that people in India are still obliged to work for a pittance barely sufficient to support the exigencies of life. As wealth gives power and poverty ensures contempt, as "there is no instance on 'record of any class possessing power without abusing it, we 'may easily understand how it was that the people of India, 'condemned to poverty by the physical laws of their climate 'should have fallen into a degradation from which they have 'never been able to escape."

It would we conceive be gratuitous to produce instances or proofs of this degradation, which must be superfluous to readers of this *Review*. Three generations of freedom from at least the more overt violence of the truly hellish tyranny of their Bramins have left them what we are all familiar with. What they were when tongues used to be slit for a disrespectful word, boiling oil poured into the ear that dared listen to the hallowed accent, when a Bramin paid the same penalty for murdering a man as for killing a crow, we may conceive if we can. "Abject 'eternal slavery was the state to which they were doomed by 'irresistible physical laws." "Their only business was to 'labor, their only duty to obey. Their annals furnish no 'instance of their having turned on their rulers, no war of classes, no popular insurrection, not even a popular conspiracy— 'all changes from above, none from below—there have been 'wars of kings, and of dynasties, revolutions in government, 'revolutions in the palace, revolutions in the throne, no revolu- 'tions among the people."

We shall not follow Mr. Buckle farther into his work, as we promised, we shall stop where he turns away from Hindustan to pursue his subject elsewhere. Such then are his views of the foundations of history, such the point of view from which he contemplates human affairs. He may claim our respectful attention for his logical accumen, his great research, and for the philosophical impartiality of his tone of thought: his theories are based on the broadest principles and he appeals to the most potent and widely acting causes: he also points to facts so notorious and so interesting to us, that the study of what he advances is sure to present some attractions to every thoughtful Indian reader.

Perhaps the first consideration which a careful perusal of the work will suggest to an Englishman in India will be the great difficulty of his position here. We do not intend to enlarge on this subject in its primary form. Mr. H. Pratt, in the pamphlet whose title we have placed at the head of this article, tersely and

ably sets this forth. "English officials in India.........cannot see 'from the point of view occupied by the masses.........They may 'think it an exaggeration to speak of our rule in India as neces- 'sarily involving serious wrong and error. If so, let them call to 'mind the degraded condition of the Madras rural population and 'the wide-spread alienation of feeling produced by the treatment 'of the talookdars of the N. W. Provinces: the defects in the 'perpetual settlement of Lower Bengal: the practical denial of 'justice arising out of the expense and delay attending all suits 'in the civil courts: the objectionable mode of taking and re- 'cording evidence in our criminal courts; and the infamous state 'of the police,......we do not know the people and they do not 'know us." (p. 9) Forcible as this is, no one acquainted with the subject will think it overstates the difficulties of the position: we are not now concerned with details however, nor are we competent to deal with the question suggested in the above passage: we look from a different point of view, namely one including the European subject of the Government of India, as well as the rulers themselves, and, in presence of all the difficulties of the case, we may suppose the man to sum up for himself his duties, thus:—as an individual, while pursuing his own legitimate interests, rigidly to avoid injuring those into juxta-position with whom, he has, for his own objects, and of his own free will, brought himself: as far as he is concerned in ruling, to encourage whatever he believes to be for the advantage, present or prospective, of those into whose country he has thrust himself. That the latter is consistent with at least the professions of our rulers, we extract from Mr. Pratt's pamphlet (p. 8) some of the evidence given before a Parliamentary Committee by Sir F. Halliday to show. "I go the full length of saying 'that I believe our mission in India is to qualify them (the na- 'tives of the country) for governing themselves. I say that the 'measures of the Government for a number of years past have 'been advisedly directed to so qualifying them, without the 'slightest reference to any remote consequences upon our ad- 'ministration." We believe this passage is a perfectly fair sketch of the feelings of the class of which the speaker is a worthy member, and they are entitled to high respect. We cannot however pass them by without confessing our profound distrust of people who have a *mission:* our reasons for this will be more fully developed hereafter, and of all missions one of a political tendency is perhaps the most dangerous. Firmly believing that *politics* "so 'far from being a science, is one of the most backward of the 'arts" (Buckle) we maintain that the duties of Government should be directed to the remedying of evils, the removal of the

most salient obstructions, that the minimum of interference is equivalent to the maximum of good legislation, and that legislating on principles, a thing to which honest statesmen, unfortunate enough to have a mission, are specially prone, is inevitably pregnant with the most serious risk, if not certainly mischievous: and for this simple reason that there *are no ascertained principles,* that the science which may some day elaborate such is at present in its infancy, and that therefore, those who desire to legislate on principles, really legislate on prejudices instead: 'the true wisdom then of rulers consists in adapting temporary 'expedients, to temporary difficulties as they may arise."

A man of very far less ability than Sir F. Halliday possesses, but who has not been exposed to the temptation which the possession of power suggests in the shape of a " mission" will readily accept, if indeed he needs, the lessons which Mr. Buckle ably enforces on the subject of the *growth of civilization.* When our author insists on *self-elaboration* of national life as the *only real* advance, when he dwells on the disheartening text of the utterly transient character of the results produced by individual effort, we involuntarily recollect the grotesque effect of the mixture of European political ideas with those of Hindustanis, and the curious results, displayed for example in Calcutta, of a century of intercourse of European and Bengali.

If then, actuated by the motives above supposed, namely the determination to avoid injustice in our private capacity, and to encourage politically whatever we believe to be for the real good of Hindustan, we deliberately enquire after the means, and, with reference to the latter part of our duties, ask what we ought to do, the answer is one not very pleasant we conceive to any one, but utterly repugnant to the ideas of a man with a mission. If we take Mr. Buckle for a guide he will say you can do absolutely nothing *positively,* and even *negatively* but little.

Even in a self-governed country, where the ruling men must, from the circumstances of the case, have at command many means for ascertaining the true state of the conditions, the maxim above stated holds, and the minimum of interference means the maximum of good government. How much more is this the case here in India, where the ruling men are foreigners, and in the state of ignorance concerning those they govern so ably described by Mr. Pratt? May we not then subscribe to Mr. Buckle's conclusion that every law is, *pro tanto,* an evil and advisable only as the lesser of two, and that the direct influence of European civilization on that of Hindustan can produce a beneficial result solely by addressing itself to encouraging the

development of natural tendencies, and religiously abstaining from forcing into existence abnormal products.

As an instance of what we in practice mean by thus insisting on the inexpediency of tying bunches of flowers to dry branches, instead of patiently watering and manuring the hidden roots of the sapling, we shall select an example from the history of public instruction in India: and in fixing on the Medical College we have the satisfaction of according unmixed praise. It has met a most crying want which our exotic position in India created. Surgeons sufficiently instructed in the art (if not in the science) of medicines have been by its means made available where they could not, without its aid, have been obtained, much suffering has been alleviated, many valuable lives saved: to use the simile above suggested, dead branches have been not only decked with bouquets, but also hung with sweet and wholesome fruit, their aspect has been picturesque and their taste refreshing: in common with many abnormal products it serves an excellent purpose. What we however have to do with at present is the ulterior result; this is generally assumed to be the spread of medical knowledge, in the sense in which similar institutions at home advance that desirable object, and here we take issue: medical education in Europe is the natural product of the requirements of the people among whom it exists, here it is the abnormal result of artificial stimulants: there it is the fruit of the branches on which it grows, here the exotic fastens on to a dry bough. The result then of medical education here ought not to be similar, or even analogous, to that of medical education in Europe. Suppose the vitality of our educational system tested by the withdrawal of the fostering care under which it has assumed its present aspect, suppose British influence removed, does any one seriously believe that in 20 years the *direct* results of the instruction afforded by the Medical College would be appreciable in the state of medical knowledge throughout Hindustan? For ourselves we think not; results indeed there would be, but they would be *indirect* results; they would exercise a most important influence in the land, but this would have little perceptible connection with the forced product now brought forward to meet an artificial demand. All that is implanted of this medical knowledge would vanish like the mushroom growth it is, but it would leave behind (not knowledge but) DOUBT: old ignorance might perhaps smother imported information, but old faith could never be again what it was: scepticism, the first origin of all real knowledge, (as contrasted with information, or superficial acquirement,) would, we conceive, strike root; *it* was not contem-

plated, still less sought, and cultivated, but being naturally evolved out of the conditions, would naturally grow.

A still more striking example of what we mean is suggested by the history of Missionary Enterprise. That Missionary is more sanguine than ourselves who believes that, if the British power in India were passed away, 20 years hence a trace of the Christianity *he teaches* with such noble and patient perseverance, would be left. In this case again we have the dead dry branch sustained by extraneous aid, galvanised into a spurious vitality by external agencies: the work, good in itself, and admirable in the highest degree when considered from the point of view of the motives and the efforts of its promoters and agents, but really effecting not what these intend and believe it should bring about, but a widely different result, and in this instance one at which the workers would stand aghast, and from the suspicion of which they would shrink back in dismay. Scepticism to wit: their well meant endeavours to produce that hopelessly abnormal result, a Hindu Christianity, has, even already resulted, principally by means of their admirable schools, in the spread of, not a creed, but unbelief, and this unbelief is in reality as necessary a precursor to the existence of their creed as is the preparation of a soil for the reception of a crop. To take the simile suggested by agriculture:—these devoted and zealous husbandmen go forth laden with their good seed, but they scatter it on ground already rank with pestilent weeds: it is choked, and withers ere it grows. Happily however along with their seed there are mixed, in spite of all their care to exclude them, some grains of a noxious substance, destructive to all vegetable growth; they sow broadcast, the fate of their seed we have stated; its noxious accompaniment however infallibly does its work of demolition; blank spaces here and there appear in the dense growth of the deadly jungle; the filthy weeds pale, are less succulent, even in a few places wither, never to rise more on that spot. The problem of what is to replace them is only postponed: the blank spots are moreover still few, but they spread, and although their very existence may now be readily overlooked, and themselves be overshadowed by the surrounding foliage, they are there, and nothing can ever reproduce on their surface the growth they once sustained.

Such we believe to be the result of Missionary labours in Hindustan: their Christianity is as ephemeral as the presence of themselves is accidental, but the real, because the natural, result of their teaching is as stable as the constitution of the human mind. The popular creed is the formal expression of the national religious feeling: and in as much as Christianity

does not embody the religious aspirations of any section of the inhabitants of Hindustan it is simply impossible that it should for the present be the creed even of a sect. When the national character shall have become suited to the doctrines of Christianity these may spread, not till then. "If a religion suit a 'people, it needs no protection, if it does not, no protection 'can give it permanence." (P. 245.)

This last proposition is dwelt on by Mr. Buckle at some length and supported by a mass of evidence. He shows for instance how a noble monotheism, nobly taught to the Hebrews, stringently enforced by every striking and effective sanction, failed of acceptance: being unsuited to it, they *could not* adopt it; so in the face of menaces the most awful, punishments the most severe, indulgent forgiveness and tender mercy the most winning, they multiplied their golden calves and brazen serpents until their gods swarmed on every high hill and under every green tree. Time went on, their mental growth, however slightly, progressed, and they became intellectually fitted for their creed; they accordingly then accepted, and thoroughly assimilated it, at a time too when the sanction of rewards and punishments, the warning threats and soothing promises had ceased to give it their support; (p. 236.) To take a modern instance:—he sketches the condition of Protestant Scotland, and Sweden, on the one side, and of Roman Catholic France on the other: intolerance and superstition he says may without injustice be considered as the characteristics of countries where Roman Christianity flourishes, while comparative liberality as a rule accompanies the reformed faith; although true in the majority of cases this rule does not always hold: for whenever we find a case where accidental circumstances have checked the natural tendency of a nation to possess itself of a religion in harmony with its intellectual development, there we also find that the professed religion remains itself only in name: thus in Scotland and Sweden a religion calling itself Protestant is as intolerant and superstitious as that called Popery in Spain or Italy, while in Roman Catholic France there exists a freedom from intolerance and superstition as great as is to be met anywhere else in Christendom. (P. 240-245).

The *Calcutta Review*, Vol. II. (1844) contains a sketch of the History of the Jesuit Missions of South India, which affords strong confirmation of our views on this subject, and furnishes an apt illustration of what Mr. Buckle sets forth. It is well worth the perusal of the student of Hypothetical Hindoo Christianity. The writer holds up the followers of

Loyala to our just scorn, and they truly stand in the most absolute contrast to the Missionaries of our own purer faith but we fail to perceive any reason whatever for assuming that protestant Christianity, if left to itself for a generation, among the inhabitants of Hindustan, would maintain a greater purity either of doctrine, or form, than the rival Christianity of Xavier did in the case described : just as the protestantism of Scotland is fanatical and superstitious so would the protestantism of Hindustan become imaginative and sensual.

But while we conceive it to be hopelessly Eutopian to expect that any considerable *direct* result can now be secured by religious propagandism, or by the teaching of our advanced schools, we firmly believe that the indirect good they do is very great: they spread *doubt*, and wherever they touch this mark is left behind. Which of the Alumni of the Medical College cares for the incantations of the village Hakeem over his drugs? What student of the higher schools but sneers at the geography his father believed in? And is it in human nature that *this* feeling should not spread? in it we have the real initial step in the road to progress; if their teachers were gone the next generation might not, we believe certainly would not, hear lectures on systematic botany and comparative anatomy, or even on physical geography, but neither could they return to the standard of two generations back (i. e. the standard of all former generations). Progress it is true might be very slow, but it would be progress: problems would be worked out, the solutions of which were learned by rote by the grandfather of these real laborers: that path in short, would be trodden, which always have been, and ever will be passed over by every people on its way towards civilization. Thus too with religion: the indirect action of Christianity would, most certainly we believe, render ancient Hinduism simply impossible; in alliance with knowledge, its influence would be immense. The systematic religion of the country might, probably would, retain the names, or even some of the forms of ancient creeds; but as a greater amount of knowledge came to be assimilated by the people (instead of, as is now the fate of knowledge, heaped in the heads of a few of them) though the names, and the forms of their creeds might exist, the substances would most certainly change, and the people, once escaped from their present condition, no longer brutal, and debased, brutal debasement would necessarily cease to be the characteristic of their national religion.

Analyzing then the prospect of the history of education and religion as they are introduced into Hindustan by us Europeans, we believe that their real and vital influence is not only less

than it at first seems to be, but is also radically different in kind; nor need we regret this scepticism, product as it here is of the collision between European and Asiatic civilization. Speaking of its spread, in matters of religion, in Europe Mr. Buckle says, "far from our apprehensions being roused by this 'rapidly increasing spirit we ought to do everything in our 'power to encourage that which, though painful to some, is salu-'tary to all, because by it alone can religious bigotry be effec-'tually destroyed." (P. 328.)

We were once told that the spirit of scepticism is by no means a novelty in Hindustan, and both the ancient and modern literature of the country were appealed to as affording evidence that it not only existed, but flourished at remote periods. We speak here of Bengal only. Passages were asserted to abound in which the professors of religion, and even its priests, are ridiculed, and their vices and follies made the subject of laughter; this evidence however, we conceive to be quite at fault, and it may not be altogether useless to point out the distinction which we believe exists between this kind of satire and scepticism. Attacks of this kind on men have never done any good or advanced the cause of truth: the real object ought to be to demonstrate that the vices and crimes of priests are the necessary result of the systems they live under, the natural fruit of priestcraft. Neither Rabelais nor Boccacio were sceptics because they were satirists and so successfully held up to public scorn and ridicule the lives of the priests of their days; no more we suspect were the Bengali writers who put on the stage omnivorous and drunken Bramins as we are informed they have done. The look of the names of Rabelais and Boccacio as we write them support some curious reflections. Although they were after all mere satirists and not philosophical thinkers, the true sceptical movement of the reformation commenced in their times: (Rabelais outlived Luther) and with what result? How slow has after all been the growth, how partial the spread of that great movement: how considerable a portion of Europe was, when it arose, unfitted for its reception: how thoroughly it was trampled down in such countries as soon as it showed itself there: how great a portion of Europe remains even still rank with the superstitions of 400 years ago: how great a portion even of protestant Christendom is now well nigh as slavishly bound in chains which the people have forged for themselves out of a religion of reason and liberty as ever their ancestors were in those of the ancient thraldom. When we reflect that 300 years of growing knowledge and ripening political instinct have resulted in the acceptance by some of our countrymen of the degrading tenets of a Judais-

tic Calvanism, and by others of the miserable puerilities of fantastic ritualism, and then turn to the future of Hindustan, our hopes may well sink low indeed—almost yield place to despair. Have not our educational, our religious, our political propagandism been raising little sandhills in the course of an advancing tide?

We have above pointed out what we consider the legitimate limit of our hopes, and if all our labor has been but throwing up heaps of mossy sand in the tide way, we can at least console ourselves with the reflection that, although the receding wave may not leave behind it any thing even remotely resembling what our plans proposed to build up, the surface will not be exactly what it would have been, had we never worked upon it—some little crooked furrows, some slight inequalities of the surface will mark the place.

British rule in India has been disadvantageously compared with that of preceding dynasties. We have been told that were we gone, heaps of empty beer bottles would be the only monument of our dominion. We may however allow our predecessors to boast their palaces and their tombs, their forts and their aqueducts, faint impress of human action on inert nature, and ourselves appeal to the indelible stamp which we should have fixed on the human element itself. We should have left behind us scepticism, that from which all intellectual activity ever has sprung, and ever will spring, that which has heralded each step in the slow progress of all civilization worth calling by that name. They not only left Hinduism what they found it, socially, morally, and politically, but degraded their own creeds to its level; we have planted a dagger in its heart; not as we conceive by the suppression of female infanticide, and of suttee, or by the encouragement of widow marriage, but by suggesting DOUBT.

Admirable in themselves are such results of British rule, as those we mention above, but they are from without; they are as it were the lopping off of a few of the more salient sprigs and blossoms of this deadly tree; useful and beneficial measures as far as they go, we believe them to be immeasurably inferior in importance to the quiet spread among the Kerani class in Calcutta, and other large cities, of a little useful knowledge, and thoughtfulness and the consequences of these in leavening the mass. Here we have an agent working on the roots of the plant, not on its blossoms, introducing a new element into the sap, allying itself to the process of natural growth. Slight it may be, inappreciably small its results, or even apparently contradictory, still being a natural and indigenous, instead of an external and exotic product, we have the firmest faith that it will

here follow the course which similar phenomena have elsewhere followed: that doubt coming first, will generate enquiry, growing into a search after truth, and slowly but surely ripening into freedom, intellectual, religious, moral, social, political.

Nothing can be more certain than that the system of *Caste* is absolutely inconsistent with the existence of any real civilization of our European kind. Who can count the generations yet to live and die, ere the iron grasp of this tyrant can be shaken off, or even materially relaxed? The enquiry is indeed beyond calculation, the elements are too numerous, and too little understood to be amenable to computation: let us however congratulate ourselves on the sagacity of the late rulers of British India, and on their having ever avoided all attempts at its suppression, would that it were possible to salary every idle Bramin in Hindustan, and give to all others ready opportunities of learning a few simple truths and arts, and facts of nature. Suppose that the English rulers of Ireland had from the time of Cromwell paid the Romish priests, and taught every bog-trotter to read, instead of initiating that fearful system of tyranny and persecution under the blight of which (though it has long ceased to exist) that miserable country still groans. Should we, think you, ever have had manly decency insulted by the contemptible spectacle of a Smith O'Brien or by the driveling criminalities of the recent Popish crusade.

Leaving for the present the subject of education and popular religion and extending our view to the general question of the action of government we find our author thus expressing his views. "The only services which government can render to 'the interests of civilization are to maintain order, prevent the 'strong from oppressing the weak, and adopt certain precautions 'respecting public health." (P. 257-58.) All other duties he would probably describe as negative; thus, when the exigencies of the case necessitate any commercial regulations, he would have them as few and simple as may be, and so on.

If we take this view of the duties of Government, and look forward to the future of British power in India, and the prospects of its influence on the political history of the nations of Hindustan, the survey is scarcely more encouraging than the former one. We must in the first place remember that freedom and self-government never have existed, and never can exist without the spread of knowledge among some considerable portion of the people, without, in short, public opinion. This is a slow operation in all recorded cases, but every attempt at stimulating it into fictitious or premature activity will infallibly retard it, precisely as

the growth of a plant is retarded by a child who digs up the seed, every now and then, to see how it is getting on. To take a practical example, we believe that placing eminent Bengali gentlemen in the Legislative Council would in no way tend to the advance of that spirit from which representative institutions spring. It is no question for us whether such a step might not be a very good one to take; the plan might serve excellent purposes, and be in many ways beneficial: but of this one thing we are perfectly certain, namely that to suppose such an arrangement would "accustom the natives to the ideas of self-government" or would "foster the spirit of representative institutions" is equivalent to mistaking the very elementary conditions necessary to the existence of political life. We believe that the greatest danger at this moment threatening the prospects of the growth of political life in Bengal is the *Protection* which is in store for it at the hands of its present rulers. Thoroughly convinced, as we are, that the object of the ruling men in British India as stated by Sir F. Halliday is to govern for the good of the country, we hold that the relation in which they stand to the development of its political life is pregnant with the gravest dangers to that life: the more honest the effort at protection, the more baneful the result: the more energetic the action, the wider and deeper will the blighting effect extend. The changes have in these late times been remorselessly rung on the word *neutrality* but we must nevertheless at all risks reassert it here, and state our conviction that taken in its most comprehensive sense it lies at the base of every hope for the prosperity of British India; that ruler who shall most rigidly observe it, will most surely advance the cause which his interference might have been intended to promote, but which it would infallibly have in reality retarded.

Mr. Buckle's views on the kind of *Protection*, against which we thus invoke neutrality, are ably developed at considerable length; (pp. 565-570) the causes of its great power in France are dwelt on, and the blighting results of its action indicated; as illustrative of this a contrast is pointed out between the fate of municipal institutions in France, and in England,—when established in England they had grown out of previously existing *rights:* Magna Charta contained important stipulations in favor of "*all classes of freemen.*" The Earl of Leicester in his rebellion against Henry III. had issued writs to Burgesses and citizens to elect representatives, thus originating a real House of Commons; the assembly up to that time had been nominated by the Crown and filled with nobles and priests: sub-infeudation had been abolished by the act *Quia Emptores:* copy hold tenure existed, and the rights of yeomanry were jealously guarded;

on such a soil municipal institutions could grow, and self-government was a function already natural to the body of the people. In France on the other hand, no noble had ever allied himself to the popular cause or given representative institutions a chance; such things as yeomanry, citizens, freemen, could not be said to exist, in their stead sub-infeudation survived. When the feudal system crumbled to nothing in both countries, the result in each was as dissimilar as the antecedents were radically different. In England municipal institutions became the strongholds of that popular political power on whose existence their own depended: government was localized in all kinds of ways: symetry was sacrificed to vigor. In France meanwhile, Municipal Charters became a dead letter, they were graciously conceded, granted, given, and were futile and meaningless: they soon collapsed from want of life within and sunk into the centralization elaborated into so imposing structure by Louis XIV., the bane of France under the first Napoleon, the real secret of the possibility of the miserable juggle called universal suffrage under the present ruler, and "whose worst feature is that it supplies a machinery ever ready 'for the purposes of absolute power." (P. 573) Such is the nature, such some of the results of this protection, which, superseding the activity of those vital powers on whose development all healthy life depends, blights in its fatal shade what it seeks to aid and sustain. Its proximate results are however often very plausible: we have indeed had them lauded of late *ad nauseum*, in the case of the asserted administrative efficiency of despotism; we confine our own attention to pointing out its danger, specially as applied to our own position in India, and are thus led back to the subject of education.

When we see youths paid by the government for learning, and then paid for having learned, we sigh to think that a result so desirable in itself, should be produced at the cost of so much risk of evil consequences: that the prospects of the real and healthy spread of knowledge among the people should be retarded by the best meant intentions to advance its cause. We are far from venturing to condemn as a whole the plan acted on by the government in the matter of education: we acknowledge the weight of the many difficulties in the way of any conceivable plan: we believe in the sincerity and in the ability of those who originated, and of those who worked the existing one: nor have we any plan to propose which we think superior to it, but at the same time we think it no harm to point out what we believe to be its inevitable result. Moreover we should strongly protest against any extension of the protecting element in the existing

system, or its introduction elsewhere: an example of such an attempt is furnished in the pamphlet already quoted and we fear that the known abilities of its author may perhaps afford some sanction to a scheme which, driving this principle of protection to its extreme limits, illustrates some of its worst features.

It is proposed to establish an association for the purpose of sending to Europe a small number of young Bengali gentlemen, who should proceed to an English university with the object of being impregnated with the spirit fostered by our English university educational system; of being imbued with a tone of manly self-reliance, of assimilating something from the "vigorous, high toned, free and generous life of England;" and who on their return to this country would form a connecting link between Europeans and the native community. A fund is to be raised by subscription to defray the expenses of these chosen youths, they are to be received in England by the association, a proper person is to be appointed to take charge of them and advance their general interests, and they are to be protected even from other protectors, for we find that they will be insured against "any impertinent attempt at propagandism." It is certainly difficult to restrain a smile when we are promised that the issue of all this is to be "manly self-reliance, independence, &c." as per programme. We are at a loss to understand how any one even slightly acquainted with this country, could propose such a plan *for the attainment of such an end:* had the author contented himself with promising, as the result of his proceedings, a class of public servants whose Europeanized educational accomplishments might be useful to government, and whose native subserviency, nurtured by this elaborate system of eleemosynary teaching, should be cultivated to the most perfect finish of servility, we should have thought the means at least suited to the end, and given him credit for a sound knowledge of human nature in general, and a just appreciation of its Asiatic peculiarities. If as an experiment it were attempted to cause an ordinary young Englishman to go through a university career uninfluenced by that spirit of 'manly self-reliance and independence,' which Mr. Pratt so justly asserts to be the most precious result to be desired in the case of a Bengali, could ingenuity contrive a scheme more likely to ensure success than this one of sending him there the recipient of public alms, bestowed for the loudly avowed purpose of making him learn to be independent and manly? And still after clearly setting forth that the youth of this country need nothing save some of this moral tone, after plainly showing how

difficult it must be for a Bengali gentleman to assimilate the desired moral element, this is the plan set forth. Other ends might be met, other objects gained, much good might arise, from even thus, sending young Bengalis to Europe; for instance few men who had ever been in Europe would even join a rebellion against European power in India; but we have no hesitation in asserting that, whatever else its results, the scheme could never effect what is proposed in this pamphlet, itself an admirable specimen of that kind of protection which aggravates to the highest point the very fault it seeks to remedy, and crushes in its fatal embrace the bud it seeks to ripen into premature fruit.

One of the objects, subordinate to the above, also proposed, is the admission of Bengalis to the Civil Service as covenanted officers. We are told that "there is no object of ambition so 'keenly, and increasingly desired by the youth of India, (Mr. 'Pratt is a Bengal officer, and here as elsewhere India means 'for him Bengal) as admission to this highly honored and 'privileged official guild, and only by coming to England is the 'object attainable." (P. 24).

We are assured that no superstitious respect for caste would interfere to prevent young Bengal from visiting Europe. The necessary cost is estimated at only £200 per annum (rather low we think, but this is immaterial to our present point)—so that it cannot be the cost which stands in the way of hundreds of young Bengali gentlemen visiting Europe now—why then don't they go? Mr. Pratt presents us with a truly curious sketch—young men of high intellectual powers, writhing under a sense of injustice, goaded by the keenest ambition to enter on a course to which, he tells us, their religion is no obstacle, and for which hundreds of them possess the pecuniary, means and nevertheless do not enter on it. This association, unlike Providence (who we know helps those who help themselves) is to take some of these youths, and, by a process, that might almost succeed in turning the son of a Cumbrian yeoman into a *sneak*, to imbue them with "manly self-reliance, &c. &c." as above. We have yet another quarrel with Mr. Pratt, he is so enamoured of his plans that he promises that it would place even the Supreme Council within reach of native gentlemen, that it is to "make the Queen's Proclamation something more than an empty word." (P. 25.) We venture to remind him that the proclamation is not an empty word, and needs none of his protection. Why does not he complain that the champion's belt is an empty strap, because he or Sibchunder dont go into training? or does he think it unjust that the next fight is not to come off

at Hooghly in order that his late friends the Danes should have a chance?

The proclamation *is not* then an empty pretence, as we are told to believe, the Council *is* open to Bengalis, they *have* a free stage, and we hold that to superadd to that the protection of the proposed association, although it might produce Bengali Covenanted Civil Servants, or even (in the emphatic words of the pamphlet) "Buffers," would most certainly not produce gentlemen, but would on the contrary leave its victims more utterly Bengali than it found them.

The time we firmly believe will come when Bengali gentlemen will assimilate much of our European social and political and even moral feelings and habits, as much as the healthy development of the good qualities normal to their nature will permit. They will visit Europe freely we have no doubt; but we as firmly believe that, if this noteable proposition were carried out, that time would be postponed instead of advanced. The putting on of European habits, as a mark, *must* (pro tanto) unfit the wearer from appreciating the spirit whence those habits spring: or, to resume our rather threadbare simile of the tree, the hanging of fruit and flowers on the branches would indefinitely retard the natural development of such fruit and flowers as would have been naturally produced.

But we cordially agree with Mr. Pratt in his view, and see how desirable it is that young Bengali gentlemen, should go to Europe, and visit our universities; it is to his plan we object, and because we know that if it be acted on, his object *must* be defeated. We acknowledge how unpleasant it is to recognize one's impotence, how much more agreeable it is to patronize, and to evoke visible results than to wait for the slow procedure of nature, and to rely on Providence and its unswerving action; the unpleasant course is however the only safe one in this case, and the influence of ruling men, if not strictly confined to negative action, must be noxious; all we can suggest, or the most powerful can accomplish, is to seek to remove obstructions. What then does prevent young Bengalis from visiting Europe? We think Mr. Pratt is right in saying that caste may be eliminated from our list, and we believe that pecuniary considerations have only an indirect influence, in as much as there are unquestionably many young men who could afford to pay £400 a year. No one who knows the class will deny that many are both sufficiently intelligent, and sufficiently well informed on European subjects, to feel a great curiosity about Europe, where many pleasures would be open to them. Thus we have wealth, intelligence, information and curiosity (besides the growing ambition of which Mr. Pratt

tells us) as inducements to go On the other side we place first natural timidity, and the vis inertiæ of an Asiatic temperament, absence of *pluck,* or whatever it is to be called; that view of life which places the existence of such an institution as the Alpine Club, altogether beyond the horizon of Bengali conceptions. Next, and not less influential we place vanity: it is well known in Hindustan that those gentlemen who have gone to Europe, have spent very large sums of money there, creating (as *we* know) a curious superstition universal in London, that every one who wears a pugri must be either a crossing sweeper, or else a scion of Royalty. The feeling then certainly exists among the gentlemen of India that short of lavish expenditure their position in England would be an undignified one: they can't go as *princes,* so wo'nt go at all; nor is this by any means (as we think) inexcusable; one aspect in which it presents itself to Hindustanis is this: here, the Europeans whom it is pleasantest for them to meet (or shall we say least unpleasant) are the highest officials: few native gentlemen find association with non-official, or subordinate official men, very attractive; could they go to Europe as *princes* they know that the high official class here and at home would be kept in contact with them: were they to go however to spend £400 a year, they would be thrown on the resources of a society of which they think they see a sample in the men they dislike and are naturally afraid of here: this we think is most reasonable. For the removal of these obstructions we have no panacea to propose, nor yet do we know of any royal road by which they may be evaded; we believe indeed that they will rather be overcome, than either removed, or evaded; but we believe too that the question must work itself out. It may be a pleasant task to amuse one's leisure in the construction of "buffers" to protect natives from European insolence, though how the medial position should by any stretch of imagination be supposed to be an attractive one we fail to perceive. We would, besides what we have already suggested, add that this question of European insolence itself admits of discussion: as thus: when two Europeans meet the basis of equality is the normal condition of their intercourse, it is always assumed: this *is not* the case with Asiatics: every man is either master or slave, either condescends or crouches, and each by turns: when an Asiatic and a European meet the former must either patronage or cringe: to the high official he cringes, but his patronizing of the lesser European is repulsed with 'insolence'; who will venture to deny that this is as near the truth as any other theory? no one we think who knows Hindustan.

We do not apologize for dwelling at some length on this subject which, though not itself one of primary importance, forms a part of one which certainly is so, namely the general question of our social and political relations to the people of Hindustan; and what we have been speaking of leads us to the subject matter of the work second on our list for examination.

The journal of the Indian Archipelago Vol. III., p. 117 contains a paper entitled " Europeanization of the Indian races" in which the author assumes that there exists a science which he calls by the name of " Ethics of Ethnology" : that race peculiarities not only exist as a *vera causa* in the affairs of man, but may be referred to as an *ultimate cause* in explaining social phenomena. We have indeed met with one writer who carries his faith in breed farther into politics and history than even the author of this paper seems to do: Mr. Gobineau a learned Frenchman, has lately undertaken to reconstruct history on a new basis, his hypothesis is that breed and race peculiarities account for everything in the annals of both nations and individuals. With these views we place in contrast the following quotation. Mr. Buckle (p. 37) says " the differences between 'nations are often ascribed to some fundamental difference 'in the various races into which mankind is divided while 'such original distinctions of race are altogether hypothe-'tical, the discrepancies caused by differences of climate, soil 'and food, are capable of satisfactory explanation." Much more to the same effect might be given, in which Mr. Buckle ignores, without however contradicting absolutely, the existence and influence of race peculiarities, treating them simply as unproved. Mr. Mills seems to imply more than this in the following passage: " (Principles of Political Economy," Vol. I., p. 390) he writes, " of all the vulgar modes of escaping from the consi-'deration of the effects of social and moral influences on the 'human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the di-'versities of conduct and character to inherent natural differ-'ences."

Fortified by the authority of these passages we return to the examination of the paper, which we present as an example of principles and reasoning diametrically opposite to those of Mr. Buckle's work. *In limine* we object that to take for granted that the *Europeanization of Indian race* is desirable seems utterly gratuitous; would any reasonable man assume as self-evident that to Frenchify Germans, or Germanize Spaniards, would form a laudable object of exertion?

As to the means, the first proposed is European colonization. The next is put as follows: " Every encouragement must be given

'to those natives who are willing to separate themselves from 'their creed and caste, and adopt that of the ruling race;" such as do "will in time be most trusted, and most employed 'by the state;" a caste that is open to all, and that em-'braces the ruling race cannot remain for many generations an 'object of general hostility." Further on we are told that "old 'dominant and exclusive castes cannot continue to maintain 'their superiority when they find that power, knowledge and 'position are slowly and surely passing away from them, and again "when it is seen that it is more respectable and advan-'tageous to be a Christian than a Hindu, the social revolution 'will have been accomplished: again it is asserted that this plan 'appears to be favoured by Providence for it has generally been 'followed by dominant races, and it has succeeded."

Our knowledge of history is limited, and we confess that the instances, above alluded to, in which this plan, under the favour of Providence, has succeeded, have altogether escaped us. To the general assertion we oppose one case thoroughly familiar to all readers of English History, we mean that of Ireland, of which we suspect the writer has not had an opportunity of hearing. A great many generations ago, colonization *was* tried in Ireland; there were dominant Englishmen, and a subject native race; every encouragement *was* given to those who were willing to separate themselves from their creed and caste, those who did so *were* most trusted by the state; still some how we find that the "caste embracing the ruling race" although it was also "open to all" nevertheless actually has remained an "object of general hostility for many generations." In that wretched country "an old dominant caste" positively has "maintained its superiority" although they unquestionably did see "power, know-'ledge and position slowly and surely passing away from them:" there it was long "seen that it was more respectable and advantageous to be" a protestant than a Romanist, and with what result? With one which it is difficult to call a success in policy, and to attribute which to the protection of Providence would be simply absurd if not impious.

The paper contains some equivocal expressions: for instance, when *ancient and dominant castes* are spoken of, Braminism is probably meant, when on the contrary a *ruling caste* is mentioned, the word is applied in a radically different sense, as the equivalent namely of *race*, and confusion of ideas is the natural result. But the obscurity is not confined to the verbal expressions: for instance we are told that government should be "at once thoroughly Christian and thoroughly tolerant." Now in as much as all history proves that a government is al-

ways tolerant inversely as it is religious, and as it would be difficult to show that Christianity forms an exception to this rule, we submit that the expression, as it stands without explanation or support, is simply a contradiction in terms: again conciliation is recommended and we are cautioned that it is not either "concealment or compromise—but perfectly consistent with the 'maintenance of right." Now however absolute a truism these words may embody, we fear that the line of demarcation between the conciliation recommended, and the compromise deprecated, is far too subtile for practical application to a national policy, scarcely strong enough to resist the distortion to which every day casuistry would submit it.

Why, we ask, cannot we keep our hands off, and confine ourselves to a line of action which can be demonstrated to be innoxious at least, and to *tend towards* the results all are agreed in thinking desirable? If the construction of "Buffers" is of questionable utility, and difficult in the process, if the *Europeanization of Indian* races by a judicious admixture of colonization and persecution is as impossible as it is little to be wished for, can we not place the means of growth within the reach of the people, supply the intellectual sustenance, the means of gaining knowledge, which is the food of the animal, the manure of the plant, remove every removable obstruction to natural growth and cease to try and distort the direction in which development seeks to take place? When instead of removing trammels we affix them, we infallibly either stifle growth, or irritating opposition, fail to produce what we sought for, and only succeed in turning a natural into a monstrous growth.

Can it be reasonable to set up an image (and that image the incarnation of our own pet virtues) and then deliberately proceed perversely to twist the natural growth of a creature of the Almighty, into the nearest practicable approach thereto? Yet this is the Europeanization of Indian races, or else the Creator has forgotten to impress the laws of progress on natural development, and has delegated the charge to individual men. No, our task is to take care that our influence does not deprive the natural growth of national intelligence of a fair chance, that its beginnings do not get crushed by theories of ethnological ethics and all protecting philanthropy, that the struggle and ferment of healthy life is left to work out its own results according to the laws impressed by the divine ruler on the phenomena of national growth, laws of which we are profoundly ignorant, but which we may rest assured are under a control to whose guidance we may safely confide their working even without suggesting ourselves as the fit and proper model for imitation.

Instead then of encouraging European colonization as a means of Europeanizing the Indian races, we should be inclined from our point of view to consider their presence here at all as being due to the phenomena of *their* national growth, such as the increase of their numbers, the spread of their commerce, and the like, and as a phenomenon abnormal to the national development of Hindustan, and as such *a priori* calculated to disturb natural conditions, and to give rise to an anomalous result. Hence, it would be the duty of our rulers to confine their action to attempts to obviate the bad consequences of these anomalies, to protect the weak against the strong, to see that all got fair play. The author of the paper we have been discussing says that "European colonists *must* not bring with them an arrogant sense of their own superiority," but we think our masters may save themselves the trouble of publishing that edict with official sanction, they will have done their duty if they protect European colonists from violence and wrong, and restrain them from its commission; happily Europeans do not as yet come to this country to elaborate the ethics of ethnology but to trade.

Again surely we may protest against the form of propagandism recommended by the author of this paper. Attempts to lay down the limits of persecution are we believe very dangerous; they have as far as we are aware, always signally failed. "Giving encouragement" to proselytes, "trusting, and employ-'ing them, showing them that power, knowledge, and posi-'tion" are exclusively their's, that "respectability" and all advantages accrue to renegades, all this we unhesitatingly stigmatize as persecution under its most repulsive form; we decline to believe that such a plan will be, or ever has been favored by Providence, and we deny that it ever has succeeded or ever will succeed in attaining any desirable end whatever.

Believing that the fault of all governments, even of our own English government, is over interference, we think that many matters besides the weighting of race horses might with advantage be left to those whom they may most concern; and we believe that in this very delicate matter of national religion the safest course as yet struck out is *non-interference*, and that the less a government has to do with the religion of the people the better for the religion, and the better for the government. We pass judgment on no system: the case with us is a choice between the two courses, interference, or non-interference; and we venture to suggest that experience teaches us this, that government interference in matters of religion, whether for its encouragement, or for its suppression, can scarcely be asserted to have, on any occasion, exercised a very beneficial effect;

while on the other hand, it cannot be denied that in many instances the result of such interference has been baneful in the extreme. For these reasons, besides deprecating the systematic persecution above recommended, we would urge the expediency of detaching government from all connection with any religion whatever. Thoroughly free from all religious pledges, government might be thoroughly tolerant: and it is only consistent with human nature to admit that tolerance based on indifference, is a safer ground to trust to than tolerance which rests on repressed prepossessions.

One of the lessons which Mr. Buckle frequently insists on in the course of his work, is the danger of supposing that the science of politics and sociology are ripe for high generalizations. He states this, but does not, we think, apply it as rigidly as he should do. An example of this may be quoted: he claims to have established certain conclusions on a scientifically satisfactory basis: as thus "the progress made in Europe from barbarism towards civilization is exclusively due to intellectual activity." (P. 204.) Even if we admit this to be true we may fairly question whether he be warranted in proceeding to treat the proposition as if it established something still more general, such as this, that *the aggregate of the acts of any mass of men has a necessary relation to the aggregate of the knowledge possessed by them:* whereas all that the statement implies, all that can legitimately be deduced from it, is an *empyrical generalization* for a particular set of conditions, and not a *natural law* of universal application; such empyrical generalization may be admitted to be of very high utility, without claiming to be a natural law, and we may accept the assertion made by Mr. Buckle, that the only philosophical mode of treating history is to consider all human actions as amenable to natural laws, without necessarily believing that any such are as yet established.

He may err in attributing to the rules he has established a wider application than they are entitled to, but it is a very common fault, and one which has been committed by many able men. The history of our Indian politics affords many examples of this blunder in reasoning, this assuming of unproved propositions, or stretching of well established partial and limited generalizations beyond their legitimate limits. We believe for example that those critics of the late Mr. Wilson's measures were right, who complained of the speeches which he made prior to his departure for this country, in which he so often asserted that certain conclusions, no doubt satisfactorily established as empyrical generalizations, of great importance in the management of such facts as fairly come within their range,

were of universal applicability, or at least were applicable under the very different conditions which obtain in India.

Or to take another instance. During some recent discussions in the Legislative Council, and by the press, certain measures were stigmatized as "class legislation." Those who were in favor of the measures thus condemned evaded the accusation, but as far as we are aware none of them took up (what we conceive to be) the sounder ground of calling on their opponents to prove that class 'legislation' is necessarily vicious. This seems to have been taken for granted on all sides, and yet we do not know that any attempt has ever been made to establish any such proposition, and we believe that if made it would fail. We of course do not advocate class legislation as generally desirable, still less assert that it was desirable in this particular case; the very just assertion that it is, on the contrary, undesirable, is an empyrical conclusion of great certainty, but as such should be confined to cases in which the conditions are identical with those from whence the experience of its undesirability was at first derived. This was not asserted in favor of the application of the maxim in India, it was not even asserted that the question should be tried on its merits, but on the contrary every one seemed to accept it as a natural law, a scientific generalization of the highest kind, and of universal application. On examination we soon find how shallow its pretensions to this position are. No one will question that we have a still higher generalization in the statement that *it is the duty of government to protect the weak against the strong:* applying this to the former maxim we cannot deny that a class (as a class) has often been oppressive, on the contrary it would be impossible to single out of all history a case in which any class attained power without abusing it, and exercising it against the weak: if this be true, what becomes of class legislation? The weak must be protected against the strong.

There is a recent Indian case of class legislation which was followed by the most fearful calamities: we believe that it was the cause of some of those calamities, and yet, we dare to believe that it can be justified. At the annexation of Oudh the landholders were deprived of a power which they had notoriously abused; they were thus alienated from the British Government, and to their hostility are unquestionably due some of the worst episodes of the mutinies: notwithstanding which we must either admit that it is not the duty of a government to protect the weak against the strong, or that the government of India was right in legislating against a class of pestilent tyrants. We have taken this maxim, that it is the duty of a government to

protect the weak against the strong, and elevated it to the highest position; we confess that we consider it entitled to this position, but should any one advance that this too is but an empyrical conclusion, and insist that it should be stated thus, that it is often the duty of a government to protect certain weak against certain strong, we should not find fault with him for over-refining or casuistry.

Most certain it is that legislation on theories, or as the doctrinaires would say, legislation on principles, has in every recorded case failed, and it is in the highest degree probable that this will continue to be the case until politics (or sociology,) has reached a far higher standard than it has yet done: until that time arrives the truest wisdom of law makers is "to endea-'vour to adapt temporary expedients to temporary contingen-'cies." All our statistical generalizations being empyrical the highest is a fact only for the particular society from which it is collected and not a law of nature as such; in every case we must be prepared to find disturbing causes, the antecedents and consequents of which remain unexplored, vitiating our calculations. By forgetting this, the reputation of the science itself, the just influence, properly exercised by the few ascertained truths of which it consists, are injured. We have seen an accomplished journalist write, and heard able men say, of some measure that it was good "in spite of political economy, and Adam Smith," the fact of course being that the failure was not due to any flaw in the few truths and maxims above alluded to, but to their being pushed beyond their power of application, being made to do duty for what they are not, in short, due to the action of the residual phenomena not contemplated or recognized in them: phenomena, residual as regards our knowledge, but forming the vast and overwhelming majority of the active causes in most of the cases which came before us for judgment.

Summing up our reflections on this latter part of our subject, we cannot avoid the conclusion that there must certainly exist in man's mind a strong tendency to prefer the synthetical to the analytical process, the deductive to the inductive, the dogmatic to the sceptical. Ourselves humble followers of the metaphysical school which represents all our initial mental evolutions as inductive, which teaches that our senses furnish the raw material of our ideas, that experience, experiment, comparison, combination turn our simple conceptions into complex ones, a process analytic and inductive in its essence nevertheless, are driven to the conclusion that, at a certain stage, this process loses favor, and the inverse rule is adopted. It would seem that we weary of the inductive, and for a season at least, cling to the deductive

plan of proceeding. Take for example a boy, a youth—we allow of course as stated, that his ideas on solidity, extension, &c., &c., are all inductively obtained: but how has he become possessed of his ideas on religions, morals, politics? A very limited supply of the most gratuitous assumptions suffices as a basis for the most unhesitating dogmatism. How clearly defined his rules, how trenchant his application of them!

This remark is, we know, a truism of the tritest: but how comes it that a mental condition thus contradictorily developed in the youth of the individual, should appear in the youth of a nation; has the metaphorical expression which applies the word *youth* to an aggregation of individuals, any mystic meaning? Contrast the mental process through which a child, or an assembly of savages, passes in the presence of a conqueror, with the way an intelligent man proceeds, and you will have an excellent example of the deductive as compared with the inductive system. The first mental operation performed by the former, is to assume that what he or they have seen, really happened, of the latter to question the reality of appearances. The next is to conclude (quite rightly) that, the feat being superhuman, the performer is a person to be feared, in the former case, which in the latter if nothing can be detected in explanation the apparent fact is taken as an isolated occurrence, to be used hereafter in comparison with others.

Far stranger however but not less true, that like an individual, like a nation, a science should have a youth. The expression here is metaphorical in a still higher degree: and the strangeness of the fact is aggravated by the reflection that when one science is still in the mythical (or theological) stage, another will have got past it to the metaphysical, or even to the positive rank: and that the same individual man may cultivate two sciences, to one of which he applies a totally different mode of reasoning from that which he makes use of for the other. This must have been the case at the end of last, and the beginning of this century, with those astronomers who took any interest in geology for instance. The latter science was at that time *in its infancy*, a few facts had been observed, (imperfectly) some of these had been grouped under some general empyrical statements, but as soon as a very few narrow inductions had been established, a wholesome scepticism was abandoned, the generalizations already reached were erected into natural laws, and though only particular propositions of very limited application, did duty in many a chain of reasoning as universal rules. Astronomy meanwhile was following the strictest inductive course, and we may be certain that

many a man was in intercourse with both sciences at the same time. But political economy in our time presents a still more striking instance, where the rules of inductive research are, as we have labored to show, so systematically neglected by men who (or many of whom) would laugh at a similar proceeding in the case of other sciences. Impatience of doubt, that is, a tendency to dogmatism, is responsible for many a strange flight of fancy in the youth of science, emphatically so far the state of all the inductive sciences during the dead period of the middle ages, when the inductive spirit had disappeared with the last Greek school of physics, and the deductive dogmatism reigned supreme over the intellectual desert.

It only now remains to offer a few criticisms on Mr. Buckle's work, as a whole. The most salient blemish, and that which would we think first strike any one on closing the volume is the marked inconsistency of its first and second portions. Mr. Buckle commences by announcing his intention of writing history scientifically, he ridicules those who have told of kings and courts, of treaties and battles, under the impression that they were writing history, he lucidly states what his own conception of the exigencies of the subject is. Statistical considerations form the basis; men are to be regarded in masses, the influence of external nature on man's mind, and of mind on matter, are the phenomena to be taken into account; the scientific estimation of the result of the collision of these forces is the only real history. Proceeding consistently with this view, he compares, in the earlier portion of the volume, the older civilizations of Hindoostan, of Egypt, of Mexico, &c., showing that all these were elaborated under conditions so similar as to be, as far as the application of his theories is concerned, practically identical, and that they were all due to the action of external nature on man. He points out that this action, though the first in time, cannot progress beyond a certain point, in consequence of the inelastic nature of the causes at work: hence the older civilizations have been all stationary, or retrograde from that point. Whereas the civilization which is due to the second class of causes, namely to the action of man on external nature (that is the civilization of Europe) has no hitherto appreciable limit, depending as it does on the elastic energies of the human mind. At this stage our expectations were raised high, we hoped to have found in the sequel of the volume the earlier European civilizations treated in the same spirit as the ancient barbaric civilizations had been: instead of this however we have a brilliant essay on episodes of French and English history.

After perusing these chapters with the greatest inter-

est, we congratulate ourselves on having met a writer whose works will stand on our shelves next to those of Guizot, Carlisle, Cousin, Macaulay, Villemain, but scarce have we time to make the reflection, when we remember that Mr. Buckle denies that these men have written history at all, that he claims to proceed on a plan radically dissimilar to theirs: wherein this fundamental dissimilarity consists we are however as a lose to discover. In his essay we find sketches of character, sketches of policy, anecdotes, terse, well digested, á propos, and eloquently written, the influence of men and measures on the course of events discussed, in spite of the theories in favor of which so much is urged in the earlier portion of the volume, where we are told that it is an error to suppose that the character of individual great men have any influence on the events of their day, such men being but the expression of the phase of popular tendencies and development in their time and locality.

To the personal prepossessions of Henri IV., to the genius of Descartes, to the sagacity of Richelieu he nevertheless attributes quite as much as any of his predecessors had attributed. He has morever does all this so ably that the solitary objection which suggested itself to our mind in reading these pages was this, that lauding as he does the policy of Richelieu as liberal and in advance of his fellow rulers, and praising that of Mazarin as able and honest, he pours the bitterness of his invective on Louis XIV., and on all that was his, without apparently remembering that it was precisely the policy of Richelieu, and Mazarin which made the grand monarque possible: and that it seems scarcely just to glorify as statesmanlike, and able, a system of government, the direct and proximate results of which were confessedly so baneful.

At the same time we must allow that the inconsistency is more apparent than real, more in the *manner* in which he proceeds to treat this part of history, than would at first seem, and mainly due to some obscurity in his explanation of his own plans. The fact we believe is this:—When Mr. Buckle started with the announcement that he would construct a science of history, he failed to distinguish between two ideas both of which bear on his subject. If we admit that a science of life, sociology, exists at all, we may (as we endeavoured to show) arrive at the determination of some general propositions from the application of which much may be learned, and much light thrown on the study of history, but which are far from being of universal applicability. Our author then—as we conceive—worked out these, as far as he thought they could legitimately

be applied, that is, mainly to the earlier and less complex form of civilization, seeking confirmation, at times, from other sources. In the exercise of his discretion, he thought it desirable to analyze some passages in the annals of English, and French history, in order to elucidate certain truths, which he conceived were to be learned from them; for doing this according to his own idea, of the way in which history ought to be written, the materials do not exist, and he consequently was forced to proceed with whatever materials were at his disposal, and as best he could; he accordingly manipulates these materials (a rigidly scientific method being impossible) at least in the spirit of philosophical research. Hence the sudden contrast—that the way on which it came to exist, should not be explained, is our complaint against Mr. Buckle, rather than its existence. We consider him in the earlier part of the work as an artist hewing the marble block into a statue; in the latter, as an artizan, seeking to extract from the quarry, another block from which we hope one day to see a still more perfect statue elaborated.

But in addition to the carelessness which, as we believe, caused this blemish of apparent inconsistency, we have to accuse Mr. Buckle of great inaccuracy in the use of his terms, and expressions; times innumerable we have been irritated by the results of his want of exactness: nor are we among those who think that lucid thoughts are frequently clumsily expressed: had he set his task more clearly before him, we cannot help thinking that his prospects of success would have been greater. As to the final result we do not venture to hope that he will leave the infant science of sociology in a condition to furnish formulæ capable of being applied to the prediction of events, from a knowledge of their antecedents, even in a wide political sense, but he will advance that science towards that condition. His great service to the cause of knowledge, meantime are *first*, having clearly established the existence of the science, having shown that men's actions are, in fact, subject to natural laws; and *secondly*, (should he live to complete his work) that he will have accumulated and digested a mass of information of the very highest empyrical value.

The way in which he treats the question of race is another instance of what we blame as inaccuracy. We have quoted a passage containing a short statement of his views on the subject, and stated that we thought his real meaning might be mistaken. What we conceive his intention to be is, that he prefers, when analyzing history, to take cognizance of the more ultimate causes, and to neglect more proximate ones: to discuss the nature of the conditions which have led to the existence of race

peculiarities, rather than to refer to such peculiarities as themselves producing effects of which they nevertheless are *proximately* the origin: in short he ignores an intermediate agent. But, if we are right in thus interpreting what he says, it is certain that the impression naturally left, and which has in fact been very generally left, by what he has written is, that he would altogether deny the existence of race peculiarities as an active agent in the affairs of men. That we do rightly interpret Mr. Buckle's meaning seems confirmed by such passages as that where he speaks of the emigrant Irishman ceasing to be the lazy imaginative Celt of his home; and of Arab tribes, when they had conquered a peaceful people, becoming themselves peaceful cultivators of the soil, and patrons of learning; for this implies that the Celt normally *is* lazy, and imaginative, (from whatever cause) and the Arab similarly nomadic.

It is however in detail, and in the use of words, where this fault shows itself most; for instance, (p. 138-39) where the powers of natives are spoken of and their influence discussed, we object to his speaking of them as *far greater* in tropical countries, than in Europe, and again as *working mischief*. Is, we would ask, the power displayed in the germination of a microscopic seed demonstrably *less* than that which hurls a mountain mass of rock into the valley beneath? We believe that, if it was only intended to convey that the latter was more *striking to the senses*, or more *palpable to observation*, some other form of expression ought to have been used, than *far greater;* and again it is not easy to fix any very exact meaning to such an expression as that saying that a tiger does *mischief* when he kills a deer.

On similar grounds we object to all such terms as *controlling nature, subjugating her powers, taming her energies, turning her aside from her course, compelling her to minister to man's happiness.* If this seems hypercriticism we submit that such metaphorical expressions convey an erroneous idea, and impress it, none the less deeply because they suggest it indirectly; if metaphor be required why not suggest a true instead of a false conception of the achievements alluded to above? Would it not be nearer the truth to speak of *discovering the secrets* of nature, of *propitiating her co-operation*, of *conciliating her power*, of *cultivating her good will* or some such modes of expression? For, as a matter of fact, this is what really is done: we take advantage of our knowledge of her plans, to avoid her irresistible action, when it is likely to impede some object which we desire to attain, or to seek its aid when favorable to some design of ours. No action of the *powers of nature* can ever with impunity be *opposed, subjugated, tamed,* or even *turned aside.*

The very praiseworthy moral courage which has produced a work like this, antagonistic in its tendencies to so many prejudices, has, we think, been pushed by the author to an utterly useless extent. Feeling apparently that he has drawn the sword on a whole phalanx of enemies, he not only throws away the scabbard, but flourishes the naked weapon over the heads of peaceable lookers on, as if to turn partial into (as nearly as he can) universal opposition. What useful end for instance could he propose to himself in penning this passage? "History has hitherto been 'written by men inadequate to the great task, who have filled 'their works with the most trifling and miserable details: per-'sonal anecdotes of Kings and Courts: interminable narratives 'of what one minister said, and another thought, or what is 'worse, of battles and sieges, &c. &c., ...interesting to 'those engaged, to us utterly worthless." P. 210.*

Can we believe that this passage conveys the real sentiments of our author? Is the mental condition which could suggest the belief that all the great men who have written history, are but twaddling chroniclers, consistent with the production of a work like Mr. Buckle's? We think not: and we accordingly set down such passages simply as the gratuitous flourishes above mentioned, and this one as meaning only to give expression to a poignant regret that the historians who have preceded him did not record statistical figures, or when these were unattainable, give as accurate an account of common facts, as they might possess a knowledge of.

This same spirit of gratuitously offending all who come near, has, we conceive, caused some omissions; as for instance when he speaks of popular religion as exclusively an effect of popular intellectual development, as in fact, a coincident phenomenon, he (as it would seem intentionally) turns a simple historical criticism into a sneer at religion by studiously omitting all mention of the reactive effect of popular religion on intellectual advancement. The way in which he treats literature is absolutely identical with his mode of ignoring religion; it too is spoken of as a product, all its influence is dismissed unnoticed.

There is a good instance of inaccuracy of expression, amounting in this case to absolute discrepancy between his real meaning and the ordinary construction applicable to what

* *All* historians are included in this sweeping damnation; it is at large asserted elsewhere that no man of considerable ability has devoted his attention to that branch of study; in another place Voltaire is spoken of as the greatest of historians, and a somewhat grudging recognition is accorded to the merits of Cousin and Fichte.

he actually says, to be found in his remarks on legislation. He tells us that "it is a fallacy to suppose that Government is one 'of the principal influences by which the course of affairs is 'impelled or guided." In the same page, a few lines below, we find it asserted that "were it not for smuggling, trade must, at one time, have perished under the prohibitive system." Now it seems to us simply a contradiction in terms, to say that a power which could all but annihilate trade, is not one of the principal influences by which the course of events is guided. What we feel quite sure that Mr. Buckle meant, is, that whenever Government does exercise an influence on the course of affairs, it is usually against the growth of civilization, and that it cannot therefore claim to have aided its advance in any way whatever. With the truth or error of this view we have not to deal, it is one of the many subjects of interest which we have left out of sight, but the form in which the statement is put is an excellent instance of that kind of carelessness in detail which forms our gravest accusation against Mr. Buckle. In parting with him we confess to a feeling of shame at insisting on the presence of these small flaws and blemishes, it looks like the veriest hypercriticism. At the same time we honestly believe that criticism is not necessarily trivial because minute; when we stand far enough off to take into view all the magnificent proportions of the promised edifice, we admire it as a literary coliseum, but this admiration is no reason why we should abstain from scrutinizing the steadiness of the scaffolds to be used in its erection; on the contrary, our admiration of the plan, is the most cogent reason why we should point out that defects, now observable in the general outline, are really due to this scaffolding, to the non-essential portion of the fabric, and will, however to be regretted as superficial blemishes, not affect its permanent stability. Although we may think that Mr. Buckle's enthusiasm may, here and there, have bordered on rashness, although his hopes and his wishes have at times been father to the thoughts which he has turned into promise of great things to come, although we do not dare to anticipate for him the success of which he is himself so confident, we believe he already stands in the first rank of fame, and, if he never wrote another line, would have left a great name on the muster roll of English genius.

Art.—II. *Administration Report of British India.* 1859-60.

There are few districts so little known as Tipperah. A public officer upon being appointed there is commiserated by his friends upon being banished "in ultimas orbis." It is taken for granted that a district so remote can have but little to interest, still less to investigate. We hope to show that even here there is much scope for an observing mind—much that can well repay a man for looking about for himself, and for thinking for himself. The ancient name of Tipperah or Tripura as it should be written is involved in much obscurity. Elphinstone says it was called Jajnugur and was tributary to the kingdom of Bengal which had been established after the rebellion in the reign of Mahommed Toghlak.* What Jajnugur or Yajnugur may mean here, it is difficult to say. *Yaju* Sanscrit means rice, and is derived from the root *Yaj*, on account of the religious merit attached to an offering of rice made to a guest or to a Brahman. Then we find that rice is included in the Argha or Arghyu offered to Brahmans. So again we find Anasaya bid Sakantula bring the Argha for their distinguished guest whom they afterwards found to be the king.' Boetluz translates Argha by *ehrengabe* in his Dictionary. If then the word *Yaj* meaning rice has any thing to do with the origin of the name Yajnugur, this last will mean the city of rice. Singularly enough, the district of Tipperah has always been famous for its rice. The different kinds of table rice sold in Calcutta, come from this district. There is a large rice market at Lalpur, which is not much more than 5 miles from Daudkandi by land. If the author of "Rural Life in Bengal" were to visit this place he would very soon be undeceived as to the present price of rice. It is to this mart that rice dealers come. It is from here that large quantities of rice are sent to Calcutta for export.

It is odd that this name Yajnugur should be unknown to the Tipperah people themselves, the more so, as it was changed to Roshnabad so late as 1733 A. D. If the name Yajnugur presents so many difficulties, we are equally at a loss when we come to the name Tipperah or Tripura. Tripura as every one knows means 3 towns, so does Chittagong or Chattugrama mean 4 villages. This however does not help us much in either case—certainly not with respect to Tripura, if the account given by the Tipperah people themselves be the correct one. According to them, the name of Tripura was known long before their settlement there, which they say took

* Elphinstone's India, p. 686.

place about 500 years ago. It was given in honor of the famous *Matha* Temple at Udaipur which is dedicated to the Sun. He is known in Hindu Mythology as Tripurardana or the destroyer of the Tripura Asura who correspond with the Titans in Greek legends. A very considerable portion of the Tipperah traditions are derived from the Mahabharata, the name Tripur itself is mentioned as giving rise to the Sun's name, Tripurardana. In the first book of the Mahabharata, in which the Syambar or marriage of Draupadi is narrated, we read of several kings who came forward as her suitors. Among them we read of a king of Pandu, which name Professor H. H. Wilson says, was applied to Bengal Proper with part of South Behar, and the *Jungle Mahals.* It is worthy of notice that this king of Pandu is associated with Bhagadatta king of Kamarup or Assam—with the king of Kalinga which is on the Burman coast, and with the king of Tamrilipta the modern districts of Tumluk, Hidgelee and Midnapore. From the fact of the king of Pandu being placed as above, and in the same verse with the king of Assam, Bhagadatta, we may reasonably infer that the city of Pandu was situated somewhere in our Eastern frontier. The royal family of Tipperah say they have descended from the Suryavansa or Solar race. It is difficult to reconcile this their claim with another they make of being descendants of Yudhishthira, as we shall show subsequently. To return however to the origin of the name Tripura, this might mean as we have said before three towns and the name of the district may have been given to it from the fact of their being three chief towns or cities, and this name may have been given at a later period than that mentioned by the Tipperah people themselves. If this be so, the question arises, what three towns may be mentioned. We should say, Agartollah, Udaipur, and Roshnabad or Daudkandi. We say Roshnabad or Daudkandi, for something might be said in support of either claim. Looking at the question from a point of view à la Louis Napoleon, that is with reference to natural boundaries, we should give our vote for Daudkandi. The termination *Kandi*, reminds one of Bundelcund, the country of the Bundelas, Rohilcund, the country of the Rohillas; the word is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Khand*, meaning portion, division, &c. Daudkandi then will mean the country, the city of Daud. It is worth noticing that Daud was the last Affghan King of Bengal. Its geographical position would naturally point to Daudkandi as the place most open to attack, and it may be that the place was called Daudkandi from its having been fortified against Daud. There are some who fancy there are remains of what must have been some attempt at fortification at Daudkandi.

But again the term *Kandi* is also given to any small collection of huts—twenty or thirty being called a Kandi—a small *Mauza*. It might so happen that the place was called Daudkandi in honour of the headman of the Kandi who settled there. If this be the case, the first interpretation is reduced to a fanciful conjecture—and Roshnabad's chance improves. We do not think however that Roshnabad had any thing to do with the name of Tripurah—as meaning three towns, the district itself was known as Roshnabad—which name was given in A. D. 1733, when Tipperah became a province of the Great Mogul Empire. The name is still known in the district. It is given to the *Chakla* which is held by the Raja of Tipperah in farm, and embraces a third part of the district of British Tipperah. We have never been able to find out why the Chuprasis attached to the Foujdari Court, have on their badges Chuprasis of Chakla Roshnabad. Agartollah has been for many years the residence of the kings of Tipperah. The one town of Agartollah must have possessed many fine old palaces in former times. At present it is one vast ruin. The royal residence was removed to the new town some years ago. We think however that Udaipur must have been originally the capital of Tipperah. For some four or five miles one sees remains of what must have been fine old palaces. Here stands the mart of which we have spoken. At present Udaipur is the seat of a very thriving trade. It is in fact the entrepot of Independent Tipperah. It is distant from Comillah about two days' journey by water, owing to the circuitous course of the Goomtee—but one may go by land for some portion of the way and reach it in of course less time.

Thus far we have attempted to explain the origin of the different names that have been given to Tipperah at different times. We may be wrong—conjecture at any rate can do no harm where nothing is known, where every thing is obscure.

Tipperah, from its position, was not likely to play any prominent part in Indian history, and would not be likely therefore to attract the attention of the native historians of India. These writers, however, do make mention of Tipperah occasionally. Thus we find that Mahomed Toghul made an invasion about A. D. 1279 and carried off much plunder with him from Tipperah, and among other things 160 elephants. Again in about A. D. 1345 Ijlas Khaja invaded Tipperah, or Yajnugur as it was then called, and plundered it. Despite these invasions, which were pretty frequently repeated, the raj of Tipperah preserved its independence up to the time of Shuja-ud-Din Khan who reduced it to subjection in 1733 A. D. and made it a province of the Great Mogul Empire.

These frequent invasions of Tipperah lead us naturally to suppose, that there must have been something to attract the rulers of Bengal to Tipperah. In those "good old times," a province or country was only invaded if there was any plunder to be had. In those days Kings and Princes were great in "Lut-Táráj." Elephants seem to have been the chief object of attraction. The tribute imposed upon the Kings of Tipperah was always paid in elephants. The village of Sonargong, in the Dacca district, was held by the Tipperah kings, as it attained to its eminence under the Mogul Empire, and its rent was always paid in so many kinds of elephants as were agreed upon, just as the tribute and taxes of Sorail* in the North of this district, used to be paid into the Nawab's treasury at Dacca by a stipulated number of *boats.*

At the best, these few facts give us a most imperfect conception of what Tipperah was in those early times. All that we do know is that Tipperah even then had attained to a high degree of material prosperity, but this is unfortunately all we can know, for the language spoken by the hill tribes is not a written language, and these are therefore no records to aid us in our researches. What was its domestic history—what its internal administration—who were its rulers, whence came they—all these questions and the like must be to us a closed book.

Thus far we have given as much of the early history of this district, as we have been able to collect from the scanty materials at our disposal. The next question of importance that we come to consider, is, what is the language of the district, what its provincialisms—what is the language spoken in Independent Tipperah?

Independent Tipperah includes first the people more immediately under the Government of the Rajah, the Tipperah or hill men as they are generally called, and next the wild tribes who hang about the frontier of our Eastern provinces: of these last, the Kukis are the most numerous and most worthy of notice. The language of the hill men is a spoken not a written language. It has no alphabet. This circumstance of itself proves the language to be one of great antiquity. It may so happen that a language is not a written language from the fact of the people being sunk in barbarism. A written language is one of the earliest developments of civilization. It is not required to meet the wants of a barbarian age—nor of a society whose condition is purely primitive. These remarks will not however

* Some of our readers may not perhaps know that the so-called Dacca cheeses, are really all made at Sorail. When made to particular order they are very good.

apply to the language of the Hill Tribes, because they have all but superseded their own language by that spoken in British Tipperah. The constant communication of the hill men with those on the plains, has naturally led them to form an acquaintance with the language spoken by the "*Lamo dok,*" as our people are called. There are of course some who content themselves with their own unwritten language. But these cases are not very common. We have had one hill man come to us constantly to sell canes which are in great request for punkahs—and we have never had much difficulty in understanding them. They have of course their peculiarities of accent, pronunciation, &c. speak of Hokol for Shokol, for instance. But otherwise they can be understood. The language of the hillmen bears some resemblance to the Sanskrit, and this shows its origin, and its position in the Indo-Germanic family. It must have been brought with the band of Hindu invaders who settled here, and has in all probability been corrupted by the language of the aborigines whom they dispossessed. We shall return to this subject further on, as one argument to the claim set up by the royal family here to their descent from Yudhishthira. It would be foreign to our purpose to enter at much greater length into the subject we have noticed—viz., the affinities of the Tipperah language and the Sanscrit. We might, if we had so wished, have given a list of words in Tipperah with the corresponding word in Sanscrit, but we should have occupied the time of our readers unnecessarily. We hope to show presently the Aryan origin of the royal family of Tipperah which will we trust be sufficient to establish our argument.

We now proceed to make a few remarks on the provincialism of our Eastern Bengal Bengali. We think it would be well if contributors to this *Review,* would sometimes favour the public with some account of the language spoken in the district in which they have had any experience. Every such contribution, however small, is of value to the philological student, and throws some light upon the study he pursues. The language spoken in Tipperah is Bengali, but Bengali corrupted by a large infusion of Urdu words. So much is this the case, that some people speak of the Bengali of those districts as Mahommedan Bengali. The Bible Society, for instance, has a separate translation of the Bible for the Eastern Districts. Any one who has studied good Bengali, must be sorely puzzled on his coming for the first time to a District in Eastern Bengal. The language of the Law Courts again is quite a language by itself. It seems almost incredible that the Court Amlahs, who have all received some sort of education, should commit such gross errors in the Grammar of their own lan-

guage. It is quite a toss up for instance whether *Ami* should be written with a short or a long *i* আমি or আমী, whether a word beginning with y, (য়) should be written with y or j য় or জ. In fact, as a rule, the words are generally spelt wrong. We have known natives who have obtained junior scholarships, &c., express their surprise at being told that the word *clear* is *Spashta* not Pashta.* Nor again are they able to see that it is quite as much bad grammar to say এপক্ষ বোধ করি in Bengali, as it would be in English to say, "this court *are* of opinion." Although we write so strongly about the ignorance which the Court Amlahs show of their own language, we must in common justice to them say something on their behalf. The older men who are employed at the Courts entered upon their career when Persian was the language of the Courts, they naturally studied it and neglected their own language. Our remarks however will apply to all who have anything to do with the Courts, pleaders, &c.† But we must proceed to mention a few peculiarities of the Bengali of this district, as it is spoken, and as it is written.

I. Interchange of S. and H. *Suar* a pig is pronounced Huar. *Sala* a brother-in-law *Hala—Shallah, Hallah.* This interchange is one with which we are all familiar in the Indo-Germanic family. This fact may be observed in other districts, at least, people who come from other districts pronounce sometimes in the same way. The Guru of the Rajah of Tipperah, pronounces H for S and he comes from Burdwan. It might happen that he contracted the habit there just as some people get into the way of dropping H. in English. We have already referred to the hillmen who change S for H. Among others, we have noticed it among the Firazes of whom we shall speak presently.

II. Interchange of S and the palatal *Chha.* Thus Sahib is written *Chhaib.* This interchange may be compared with the French *Chaleur, Chose* pronounced *Shaleur, Shose,* &c.

III. Interchange of J and Z thus জাইয়া is pronounced *zaiya.* In this particular instance three things are to be noticed. 1. The incorrect use of জ for য় of which we have already spoken. 2. The ungrammatical form for the more correct গিয়া. This we say with all due deference to the late Principal of the Sanscrit College, who has used the form যাইয়া himself, and has then sanctioned its use. Without entering at length into this point,

* স্পষ্ট not পষ্ট.

† It may be noticed that most of the Amlahs in those Districts come from Bikrampore, near *Munshigunj* in Dacca. One is pretty safe in asking an Amlah if his house is in Bikrampore.

we shall only observe, that if যাইয়া be correct, then the perfect and pluperfect tenses should be যাইয়াছি, যাইয়াছিলাম, and not গিয়াছি and গিয়াছিলাম।

3. The pronunciation of J as Z.*

Upon this last point we have some remarks to offer. It will be seen that the pronunciation is rather anomalous. Had it been the other way—had there been a Z in Bengali, and had it been pronounced as J, this would have been in strict accordance with philological rules. The letter Z is, as every body knows, a compound letter, made up of D and Y or J, which simple forms are constantly used for the compound letter e. g. Zeus, Dios—Zeus-pater Jupiter. This use of elementary letters for their compound forms is also observed in the Greek letters X and *chi*. Thus we have anax-kios, onux-chor, with which last may be compared the Latin *unguis*, Sanskrit *nath har*, German *nagel.*†

The use then of J for Z would have been strictly correct. Here it is just the other way. This anomaly, if anomaly at all, may be compared with the pronunciation of the same letter in French, as in *juge, jardin*, &c.,‡ the only difference being that the Z is aspirated. We may notice also the change of the French Ambrose into the Italian *Ambroggio.*

IV. Interchange of L and N e. g. *lal—nal* red, *nal-band* and *lalband*, *nuna* and *luna*. People who have travelled in boats manned by mullahs from Noacolly, must have often heard the word *lamo* to take down sail—which is nothing more than *namo.* The hillmen speak of the subjects of British Tipperah, as the *lamo lok* i. e. the *namo lok* the people down below—the Lowlanders.

This interchange of L and N is very common among children. We have heard the story told of Mr. Shillito, the *crack coach* in Cambridge, that he was explaining the interchange to one of his pupils—as the best illustration he could give, he called one of his little children, and asked her, what she would like to have when she went out. "Nollypops papa," was the answer.

V. Among other peculiarities we may notice one which has puzzled us sometimes. The word *bhut* is used most commonly as an equivalent to our "I say," with this difference that we put "I say" before, the natives put "Bhut" after a man's name. It is not at all uncommon to hear a native shout to his friend *Kadir*

* It is worth noticing that whilst the J is pronounced as Z, the Z is pronounced as J, e. g. *Miajan* a name proper is pronounced *Miazan* whilst *Zakhm* a wound is called *Jakhm.*

† For a most elaborate discussion of their compound letters, we must refer our readers to Donaldson's New Cratylus.

‡ Of Lattan—on the English language. Vol. II., p. 3.

Bux Bhut just as Jones might call out to his friend "I say Smith" We do not know what the meaning of this exclamation can be. It can scarcely we fancy have anything to do with the word "Bhut" which means devil, spirit, &c.

To return to our friends the Court Amlahs. It is by no means uncommon to hear a Mohurrir ask a witness at the end of his deposition, *likhiba jano* which means literally, you can write or can you write you know. Of course he means to ask *likhite jano.* Do you know how to write—can you write? The first expression is hopelessly ungrammatical. Again it is very common to hear the ryots, the *Chasha* men, say *Kohitam paritam na, Dekhitam paritam na* for *Kohite pari na, Dekhite pari na.* I cannot say—I cannot see.

We now proceed to give the topography of Tipperah. According to Thornton's *Gazetteer* the District is said to contain 806,950 inhabitants. It is divided into 12 thannahs which are marked in the map which accompanies this article. Daudkandi, the place at which most people stop on their way to the Sudder Station, is situated at the entrance of the Goomtee. A small stream runs off the Megna which brings one to Daudkandi. There is a bungalow at Daudkandi which belongs to the Public Works Department, and which is sadly neglected. No body who knows it can dream of putting up there for the night. At Daudkandi may be seen a *Sati* monument, erected in honor of some devoted wife who followed her husband to the pyre. North of Daudkandi lies the most valuable portion of the Khas Mahals of this district, included in Pergunnah Baldakhal. The settlement of these Mahals reflects the highest credit on those officers of Government who were entrusted with its execution. Those who agree with John Stuart Mill* on the question of peasant proprietors will be glad to learn that the system has worked admirably in Baldakhal. Subsequent perusals of Mill have made us less sanguine than we used at one time to be. Be our doubts on the subject what they may, we are bound to admit that the system has been a great success here. The Khas Mahals have been so judiciously settled that they are in some cases large enough to tempt the rich capitalist, and in others small enough to be within the means of the poorest ryot. The Sudder Jumma is in some instances so low as 3 Rs. Any one who has been through Baldakhal must have been struck with the well-to-do air of the ryots. We may also notice that no part of the district furnishes so little work to the Foujdari Courts, as Baldakhal. If any criminal

* Political Economy. Bk. ii. Chap. 617.

cases do come in from this part of the district, they are generally from the larger mahals which are owned by comparatively wealthy men. It is only when a farmer of one of the larger mahals goes to extort a *Mathot* from his ryots that law suits begin. We would recommend this fact to the especial notice of those who look upon a ryot as the compound of villainy and litigiousness. Khas Mahals may be very troublesome to the Collector—but it is the system under which the ryots are less liable to oppression, and with which they are therefore most contented. It is well known that it is the intention of Government to sell off all the Khas Mahals. This work has been put into the hands of an officer who has quite established a name for himself as a revenue officer. We must therefore crave his indulgence for the few remarks we are about to offer on this subject.

The settlement of these Mahals may be effected in one of three ways. Like Mr. Gladstone we have three courses. 1st the present system might be retained, with of course such improvements as may be rendered necessary by the change in the condition of the ryots generally. We have not the slightest doubt that this course would be made popular with the poorer farmers, the peasant proprietors. At present they hold their lands direct from Government: they are ryots of Sirkâr Bahâdur. Even if they pay their rents through a middleman, they know they are free from any oppression or annoyance. Their rent has been settled by the Collector. To him they always have a ready access. His ear is always open to hear any complaint they make. He is always willing to give them any redress they want. They are sure of justice at his hands. If then we would look to the well-being of the poorer farmers, this mode of settling the Khas Mahals would be most desirable. Unfortunately however it is quite impracticable, under the present system of administration in which the offices of Magistrate and Collector are rolled into one. Any officer who wished to discharge his duties not only satisfactorily but conscientiously, would find quite enough to occupy his time with the work that devolves upon a Magistrate or Collector. The duties of a Collector are at all times onerous; if not from their multiplicity, at any rate from the responsibility which attaches to his office. His work has been increased very considerably under Act X. 1859, as very much that used to be done by the Civil, has now been transferred to the Revenue Court. To his immediate duties have been added those of a Magistrate and he is now charged with carrying out the provisions of the Income Tax Act. It may well be asked, how can one man even attempt to get through all this work. If then the Collector is already over-

tasked it would scarcely do to burden him with the general supervision of the Khas Mahals. For this reason we think that our first course will not answer. 2nd. The next plan that suggests itself would be to farm out the Khas Mahals in Putni, taking the usual *Salami* or *Nazar* from those with whom the settlements are made. This scheme would please the richer farmers, but though it would be very far from being unpopular with the poorer ryots-farmers, the immediate profit to Government would be very great. There are some who will say that it would not quite do for Government to take a Salami. For our part, we do not see any harm in this. Every Zemindar takes it, and what is more, every ryot, and every Ijradar is only too glad to pay it, in return for the advantages which he will derive from the Putni tenure. We believe that Raja Satia Charan Ghosal carried away two lakhs of rupees in Salami alone when he made putni settlements of his estates. We believe that Government would realize from the Khas Mahals in this district alone, some twenty lakhs of rupees on Salami alone. This added to the Salami upon the Khas Mahals in all the Districts would realize an enormous income. 3rd. The last plan would be to sell the Khas Mahals outright or rather to sell them as copyhold tenures. The advantages resulting from such an arrangement would be great. The Government would secure a very large sum of money for its immediate relief. By this plan an experiment would be made of what might hereafter be generally adopted with regard to the whole landed system in India. It will be a great day for India when the Government will have freed itself from the difficult and unpleasant task of collecting the land revenue. Lord Stanley had some such project in his mind, when he suggested the plan of selling the lands at twenty years' purchases. Unfortunately, party questions and parliamentary divisions took precedence of all questions connected with India—and so the matter dropped. Twenty years' purchase money of the estates in Bengal alone, would have been a windfall to the Government, and would have kept it to say the least solvent.

The Khas Mahals in Baldakhal are, as we said before, the most profitable in this district. Those to the south of Daudkandi, known as superior Betelnut Mahals, are a dead loss to Government. Their rent is assessed upon the Betelnut trees. Supari plantations ought not to be unprofitable, if one may judge from the ready sale it finds amongst the natives who use it very largely, as a relish to the pân leaf. The fact however is that this part of the district is overrun with jungle, and is infested with wild beasts. The consequence is, that the na-

tives feel afraid to go and settle there. Immense tracts of lands are thus left uncultivated. Farmers neglect to pay their rents on purpose, so that their lands may be sold. We have known Khas Mahals here to be bought in for a rupee by Government under Sec. 39 Act XI. 1859. Their Sudder Jumma at the time was about 20 Rs.

The question naturally arises, cannot some plan be adopted to render these lands not only more profitable to Government, but also more valuable to the farmers themselves. Some will say, that the farmers are themselves to blame, that their own interests ought to induce them to clear the jungle. We have nothing to say to this argument, as an argument. We are of course aware that self-interest is or ought to be a sufficient incentive in such matters. But this question has to be looked at from two points of view—from the farmers' and from a Government point of view. If the farmers will not look to their own interests, this is no reason why Government should do the same. The Government has a duty to discharge to the people—it has also a duty to discharge to itself. Both these ends would be attained if Government were for instance to offer these lands to speculators on favorable terms. There are many capitalists who would gladly take these Mahals in perpetuity, on the condition that they should hold the waste lands for 5 or 10 years' rent-free. There is nothing, so far as we know, to prevent these lands from becoming very valuable, if only the jungle were cleared. The soil is good. The crops are good on those parts that have been brought into cultivation. The only difficulty, and it is at present a very great one, is to be found in the extent of the jungle, in some parts tree jungle in some parts cane jungle. If favorable terms were offered to speculators, this difficulty would be soon overcome with the assistance of the hillmen who are noted for clearing jungle. These men generally squat on the hills. They clear the jungle, build huts for themselves, &c., but after one year they decamp, and go to settle in some other part of the hills—which they clear and make habitable, and leave after a year. If they could be induced to stay a little longer in the Mahals of which we are speaking, than they usually do in the hills, the whole of the waste land would be cleared. We are given to understand that some few Zemindars are beginning to engage the hillmen to clear away waste lands on their own estates. The only cause for wonder is that this was not done before. We are well aware of the great difficulty there is in getting these hillmen to abandon their nomadic habits and to come down from the hills to the plains. We think however that the hillmen are sufficiently alive to their own interests and would come to terms if they considered them favorable.

Our plan therefore would be this, we would give the waste lands rent-free for 10 years, after which time government would reserve to itself the right of assessing the lands at a reasonable rate, but assessing them in perpetuity, making in fact permanent settlements of them. We would have government impose the condition that the allotments should be visited once in the year by the Collector of the district or by one of his subordinate officers, whose business it would be to report upon the progress made in clearing their lands. We do not profess to give more than an outline of a scheme, whose details we think would be best filled up by Government. We think that some plan similar to ours might be adopted in every district in which there are any waste lands. The results would be favorable as well to the government as to the public. Daudkandi is 32 miles distant from Comillah the Sudder Station. The road is a very fair carriage road all the way. It runs very much above the surrounding lands, and is by this means kept open during the rainy season. The journey by water is very long, owing to the circuitous course which the Goomtee takes. A *Khal* runs almost parallel with the Daudkandi road and is very much used by smaller boats. During the rains a guard boat can come up by it as far as Bankanita, that is 10 miles from Comillah. During the dry weather it is only open to Elliotgunj which is half way between Daudkandi and Bankanita. It was proposed a short time ago to construct a canal from Comillah to Bankanita, and thus have a more direct communication by water between Daudkandi and Comillah than there is at present by the Goomtee river. It is much to be regretted that the higher authorities rejected the plan. Daudkandi would then have been only a few hours distant either by land or water, whereas now the traffic that is carried on between Comillah and Dacca, must come up the Goomtee which takes 4 days during the rains, and a couple of days or 3 days, in the cold weather.

We hope however that one of the first purposes to which the 1 per cent. tax for Public Works will be devoted will be the Bankanita canal. The advantages that would result to the trade between Comillah and Dacca if the means of communication were facilated are so obvious that we need scarcely say more. The expense attending the construction of this canal will not be so very much, as nearly half the work is already done for us, that is to say, the course of the canal exists already. The main road runs considerably above the land on either side—and so the only thing that would have to be done, would be to dig deeper and wider. The difficulty in getting the land would be very soon surmounted by Act VI. 1857.

Just about half way between Bankanita and Comillah lies Maniamate, a most picturesque little spot—a Chittagong in miniature. The Maniamate hills extend as far as Bijapur for a few miles, and then they seem to break off suddenly. These hills to the west of Comillah are called the *Lalmai* hills by the Tipperah men, who settled there in the way we have described. It is a pity that Maniamate was not chosen for the sudder station in preference to Comillah as there can be no question of its being more healthy. Invalids gladly go there for a change from Comillah but as there is only one bungalow, and that not exactly palatable, every body cannot of course be accommodated. Some have fancied that they have seen remains of old fortifications there. We have heard it said that Maniamate is not within our jurisdiction—that it is what is called *Khànà-bari.* We suspect however that if any serious affray were to take place there, the authorities would very soon disabuse people's minds on this subject. We do not vouch for what we say, but we have heard that some serious disturbance took place at Maniamate, a few years ago, and that the Magistrate could not interfere. If this should be the case, we think it would be well for the Government to look to that for it would never do to have a "city of refuge," so close by the sudder station.

Of Comillah little need be said. We are writing for a *Review,* not for *Murray.* The station is studded with *Maths,* of which we shall speak presently. The roads about the station are very good. In the height of the rains one may take a drive 9 miles round the station, over a good turf road for the greater part of the way. The worst road in the station is one which we think ought to be kept most in repair we mean the road to the Bazaar—the High Street of the station. This road is used by all the natives employed at the Courts, by all the pleaders, &c. It is the road to the bazaar, and the road that goes on to Chittagong. Considering that the natives are taxed under the Chowkidari Act, we think that they may fairly claim to have the only road they use kept in good repair. During the rains it is simply impassable, that is unless one does not object to wade knee deep in soft slush. About 5 miles south of the station is Bijapur, where the western hills terminate. It used to be visited very much some years ago for the blocks of petrified lime, which may be still found there. A khal runs by Bijapur which is navigable during the rains. That the traffic to and from Noacolly is carried through it. It is a great boon to the natives if they have anything to do at Noacolly, as they may go in a *Khunda* boat for a couple of rupees. These boats are scooped out of the trunks of trees and are far from being uncomfortable ; one

man paddles at the bow and another at the stern. To the north of the district, at thannah Nasirnugur or Brahmanbarria, a very extensive trade is carried on in hides. This will make the sub-division which Government intend to establish there, a rather unpleasant one.

Tipperah has been very much over-rated for its *Shikar*. Years ago it might have offered great attraction to the lover of sport—but we suspect those who know the district now, will speak rather differently of it. In some parts of the districts sport can of course be had. The vast tracts of jungle land must have some attraction. But Tipperah cannot be compared with Rajshaye or Tirhoot, for instance, for its sport.

To come next to the social features of the district. The vast disproportion of Mussulmans here, and in fact in Eastern Bengal generally, must strike the most casual observer. The reasons for this disproportion do not seem very obvious at first. Tipperah was always under Hindoo rule, and was always remarkably free from the absorbing influence of the Mussulman sway. The Raja of Tipperah has always been a Hindoo. His Court has always been Hindoo. How then are we to explain the fact of the Mussulmans being so numerous? Are they the last traces of Mussulman greatness which have survived the general break-up of the great Mogul Empire? Are they the descendants of those Affghan hordes which devasted Bengal?* If so why should they be found in Eastern Bengal more than in any other part of the country. Had this fact been only observed in Tipperah, we should have had great difficulty in arriving at any satisfactory results. But the fact of the Mussulmans being so numerous in all the districts of Eastern Bengal points, we think, to the influence which was exercised by the Dacca Satrapy, the now obscure, almost unknown, Sunargong once the capital of that province. The muslins for which Dacca has been always so famous, the old palaces and buildings attest even in their ruins the greatness of this province.

The larger portion of the Mussulmans here are Sunis. The Shias form a very small minority, and only remind one of their existence at all during the Mohurrum festival, when they carry about their images in procession and keep the inhabitants awake all night with what least approaches to the "concord of sweet sound." The Firazis are a tolerably large but most influential sect here—as in Eastern Bengal generally. They call themselves Firazis from being more strict observers of the Firz or divine word. Their great leader Moulvie Ruamat Ali, who lives in Jaunpur,

* See Elphinstone's History of India *passim*.

visited these districts some ten years ago. His mission was attended with great success. The Firazis are more scrupulous in the entire observance of the Mahommedan code than their Suni-brethren. They are, if we may so call them, Mussulman Puritans. They profess to carry out the teaching of the Koran to the letter. They fast twice in the week, on Thursdays and Fridays. They attend the mosque more regularly. They eschew everything in dress or manner which would assimilate them in any degree with the Firinghi ón the one hand or the *Bhutparah* on the other. They will not, for instance, wear the trousers so commonly worn by the Mussulmans. They wrap a *Chuddur* round their bodies. A Firazi may be distinguished from any other Mussulman by this part of his dress. Despite their strict observance of the Mussulman creed, they are far from being the most exemplary in their " life and conversation." They are the most unscrupulous witnesses that ever come into the Courts. Like the Cretans we read of in the Bible, they are always liars. This is at any rate the character they bear amongst Mussulmans generally. They are in short a very troublesome sect to deal with.* Dadu Miah, their leader in Eastern Bengal, was the terror of the Dacca and Furreedpore districts. How far the late Lieutenant Governor was justified in releasing him in 1857, is a question upon which we would offer no remarks. During the troubles of that year, the Firazis were doing their best to stir the people up to revolt. The district was saved providentially. Had the Chittagong mutineers come into the station, there could not have been the smallest hope of escape. They came within 20 miles of the station, and then made for the hills, evidently with the intention of joining the Assam corps.

In strange contrast with the fact we have been noticing, viz. the preponderance of the Mahommedans, stand out the *Maths* which are very common in this district. At a distance they look like the spires of churches. We have heard of a gentleman asking the syce as he drove in to the station for the first time whether it was the Church he saw in the distance. The syce's only conception of a " girja" was the Circuit House. Some of these Maths are very fine. There is one at Sudar Rattan about a couple of miles from the Sudder Station, which is very much admired. It was built many years ago by one of the Rajas. There is also another very fine Math at Udaipore in Independent Tipperah. The style of these buildings bear a very great resemblance to the Gothic. What one misses in them is anything approaching to system in their construction. Over a beautiful

* The Firazis are generally found in the chur lands of this district. Their stronghold is in the Thannah Tapkibagra.

carved window for instance there will be found the zig-zag moulding so characteristic of the Norman style—thus putting one in mind of what Horace says of the figure half woman half fish.

"ut nec pes nec caput uni
"reddatur formæ.

The subject of Hindu Architecture is still in its infancy. It may so happen that what we should call anarchies or irregularities in style may be strictly correct according to Hindu notions. Fergusson's remarks on the subject in his "Hand-book of Architecture" are meagre and not therefore satisfactory. One could scarcely expect much more from a writer whose highest admiration is called forth by the Crystal Palace, as a work of art—which Ruskin has so happily named a magnified conservatory. We should be sorry to be misunderstood to say any thing in disparagement of Mr. Fergusson's labours on this subject. All we maintain is, that to arrive at a just appreciation of any style of architecture we must thoroughly admire it. No one for instance would go to Lord Palmerston or to Mr. Tite for his opinion on Gothic, nor to Mr. Scott for his opinion on the so-called Italian style. One word more about these *Maths.* It may be observed that in some cases they have been raised over the palace where a Hindu has been buried. We notice this circumstance because it is so entirely opposed to the Hindu practice of burning bodies.

We proceed to mention another trait of native character, not so much from its being peculiar to the natives in this district, or in Eastern Bengal, but on account of the conclusions we wish to draw from it. We refer to the fondness for titles. Every native who holds the smallest patch of land possible signs himself a Shaikh or a Mizi or a Bhuya, &c. whilst the more ambitious aspire to the title of Khan or Choudhari or Rai Choudhari or Bahadur. A publican* drops his gentile name, Shaku, as soon as he finds himself rich enough to buy a taluk, and this is the case with all natives.

Now the question has arisen, and it is of great importance at the present moment, cannot Government turn to account this weakness for titles, and derive some pecuniary advantages from it? Cannot some scheme be adopted, whereby every person upon paying a recognized fee to Government may be invested with the title of Khan or Choudhari or Bahadur. There is nothing new, nothing chemerical in this. Every reader of Hallam and Blackstone knows that James I. created the title of Baronet when he was pressed for money at the time

* These men are by far the most enterprising.

of his expedition to Ulster.* Nay more, every one upon whom a title of distinction is conferred by the Crown, has to pay the usual fees to the Heraldry office. Our readers will remember the facts that were brought to light when the Emperor Louis Napoleon was invested with the Knighthood of the Garter. If we were to go back to remoter periods, we should find one notable attempt at Plutocracy in the Servian Constitution in Rome. Dr. Arnold's remarks are so pertinent that we shall quote them. "The principle of an aristocracy is equality with- 'in its own body, ascendancy over all the rest of the community. 'Opposed to this is the system which, rejecting these extremes 'of equality and inequality, subjects no part of the community 'to another—but gives a portion of power to all—not an equal 'portion however, but one graduated according to a certain 'standard, which standard has been generally property. Ac- 'cordingly this system has both to do away with distinctions 'and to create them—to do away, as it has generally happen- 'ed, with distinctions of birth, and to create distinctions of pro- 'perty."†

We see no reason why there should not be a Licence for Titles, just as there is soon to be a Licence for Trades—but with this difference that the licence in the former case would be voluntary—that no one would be obliged to pay any fee unless he wished to gratify his pride or flatter his vanity by assuming a title. We feel sure that the pecuniary advantages to Government from some such scheme, would be great, and what is more, the natives themselves would gladly take advantage of the opportunity afforded them, of obtaining a legal recognition of their titles. Every body who paid the recognized fee would feel that he had a legal right to his title. At present any one may assume any title he pleases. Now we do not see why Chand Bun should have any more right to put after his name Khan or Choudhari or Khan Bahadoor than Mr. Smith or Mr. Jones to call themselves Lord Smith and Viscount Jones. Even in France where titles are virtually abolished, despite Louis Napoleon's efforts to revive an imperial aristocracy, a law has been passed imposing a heavy penalty on any one who puts *de* before his name—which used to be a mark of nobility. The

* He (speaking of James I.) had recourse to another method of raising money, unprecedented, I believe, before his reign, though long practised in France, the sale of honors. He sold several peerages for considerable sums, and created a new order of hereditary knights, called baronets, who paid £1,000 each for these patents. Hallam's Const. History, Vol. I., p. 338, 8th Edition. See also Stephen's Blackstone.

† History of Rome. Vol. I., p. 67.

very fact of Government conferring such titles on those natives who have distinguished themselves for their fidelity, or for other meritorious conduct, shows that such titles cannot be assumed at pleasure. A. calls himself a Choudhari. B. laughs at him for this and says, he, A., has no right to call himself Choudhari, whereas his, B.'s, maternal grandfather was always called Bhuya by his Zemindar—and if this Zemindar happened to have been a European, why B. thinks his title is indisputable. It is no uncommon thing for a native to ask his Zemindar to call him or to allow him to be called Bhuya or Choudhari; an instance occurred in this district not very long ago. A native who had begun life as a Zemindar's burkundaz succeeded in saving three lakhs of Rupees, or thereabouts, and was able to buy the fourth or quarter share of a very good Zemindari himself. He was very anxious for the seller of the property to call him Choudhari in the deed of sale. We have not the slightest doubt that he would have put on a few hundreds to his Sudder Jumma, if he could but have gratified his vanity. It is no use going against facts. The natives of this country are fond of titles. It would be as hopeless to try and make John Bright believe in protection, as it would be to make the smallest and most insignificant Kat-Ijaradar believe that it made but little difference to his *Izat,* whether he were called Panaullah Mizi or Panaullah Khan Bahadur.

If we were to speak of the natives here as being litigious, we should only say what we fear is characteristic of natives all over India. We do not think however that any other district equals this for downright litigiousness, for petty frivolous cases. We have known a native institute a suit for damages against another person for withholding a receipt for two annas. He had to pay 4 annas on stamp paper to present his petition! When however people speak of the poorer natives—of the ryots being litigious, they do not seem to bear in mind the fact that these poor ryots have been trained in this art, first by their own landlord, and afterwards by the Muktiars who hang about the Courts. A ryot begins his education in litigiousness by going up to the Sudder Station to give evidence for his landlord. A little acquaintance with the practices of the Courts, into which the Muktiars are only too glad to initiate the novice, soon induces him to try his hand at the same business with his master—and with how much success, the Foujdari records of every district will testify. Still we think it would be hardly fair to lay all the blame upon the ryots for this. We can scarcely wonder at a ryot going the whole length of bring-

ing false charges and giving false evidence, when he finds that his landlord does not scruple to resort to the same practices. In most cases too, the ryots are mere tools in the hands of a Muktiar who cooks up the case and tutors the witnesses.

It is a noticeable fact that the most litigious part of the district, is that from which most of the Muktiars come. If Government wish to check litigation, there should be a limit put to the number of Muktiars in a district. A Magistrate reduced the number here to 50, some time ago, thinking that these would be sufficient for the work. The Sudder Court thought differently, and the consequence is that there are some 250 Muktiars in this district !

Eastern Bengal may be fairly called the Bœotia of India

Quod si.

> Judicium subtile udendis artibus illum
> Ad libros et ad hæc musarum dona vocares
> Bœotum in crasso jucares äere natum*

The Athenians used to "chaff" the Bœotians for their anaisthesia. This word exactly characterizes the natives of Eastern Bengal.

It is their ignorance which renders them so very superstitious—and again it is because they are so very superstitious that they take so little trouble to improve themselves. As a ludicrous instance of their superstition we may mention the fact that the punkah bearers refused to pull the punkah during meals. They fancied their caste would be injured. This however happened many years ago, and we are not so sure but that their laziness had a great deal to do with their religious scruples. The Mussulman servants here have a curious prejudice against doing bearer's work. Their brother Mussulmans who come from Calcutta and know better, laugh at them for this—but in vain. We do not of course by bearer's work refer to pulling the punkah—but to looking after one's wardrobe, &c.

We must now proceed to give some account of Independent Tipperah. The boundary between British and Independent Tipperah is pretty well defined by the range of hills which skirt our Eastern frontier. A considerable portion of the hills is occupied by the Kukis, who are a very numerous tribe and are to be found in the range of hills which extend from Cachar and Munnipore to Sylhet, Tipperah and Chittagong. They must be the aborigines who were driven away to the hills at the time when the Tipperah Raj was first established. They are not all the savages that some people have taken them to be, though at the

* Hor. Ep. II. i. 244.

same time their civilization has barely emerged from its earliest stage. They live almost entirely in the hills—through which they seem to thread their way with as much facility as the aborigines of Kaffraria. Living as they do in so primitive a fashion, they eschew of course all the later developments of civilization in the way of dress. Their pretensions to beauty are infinitesimal so that, altogether, the sight of a live Kuki when revelling in the full enjoyment of his pristine civilization, is by no means a most attractive sight—such a sight however may be sometimes witnessed by the traveller to Chittagong, if he happen to stay for a day or two at the dâk bungalow at Zeraroomgong.

The Kukis have a chief of their own to whom they pay implicit submission. They also pay a capitation tax to the Raja of Tipperah, to whom they owe a nominal allegiance. This tax is only assessed on the married men. The amount of the tax is about three rupees. Some of the Kukis who hold intercourse with the Tipperah men and our subjects, are of course very much more civilized. They are found to make good very troops. The Kuki corps has always given great satisfaction. The Kuki dog deserves some notice. He is short-legged and very long-bodied with long shaggy hair on the back only, the belly, &c. being perfectly smooth. His flesh hangs very loose upon him—a fact which always tells against him in his encounters with other dogs. He is very plucky, and will go up to any thing. A gentleman had a Kuki dog some years ago, a piece of rare good luck, for the Kukis do not like to part with their dogs. This dog never retreated from any thing—went even at leopards, although he was very much mauled of course. The Kuki's affection for his dog puts one in mind of Pope's lines on the Indian and his dog—though Pope's Indian belongs to a different clime by the way.

It is sometimes difficult to draw the line of distinction between the Kukis and the Tipperah men. This line however is drawn very easily by themselves, who notwithstanding their intercourse and intimacy never intermarry. The Tipperah men are divided into some 18 or 20 different classes. The Royal family, by their own account, claim descent from the Suryavansa or Solar Race—on which point they must be making some mistake, especially as they trace their descent back to Yudhisthira one of the heroes if not *the* hero of the Mahabharata. Now this epic poem recounts the adventures of the five Pandus who were descendants of the Lunar Race. The Mahabharata in short is the history of the Lunar, the Ramayuna, the history of the Solar Race. The Tipperah family therefore cannot clearly be descended from the Suryavansa and yet trace back from Yudhis-

thira their descent to Yudhisthira. Their connectión with a descendant is highly probable. This hero's wanderings through India after he had gambled away his kingdom at the time of his ill-fated Aswamedha or horse-sacrifice, are recorded in the Mahabharata, and are most interesting to the student of the early or mythical period of Indian history. Some sort of connection can be traced between the royal Hindu families, and those mentioned in the Mahabharata. One reads of a king of Bengal in that póem—with whom in all probability the king of Tipperah, the Cachar and Munipura Chiefs are all connected. One thing is quite clear. The royal family are foreigners in Tipperah. When they settled here—when they brought their followers with them, is a question which it is well-nigh impossible to answer. Descendants of one of the heroes or kings mentioned in the Mahabharata, they came and settled in those parts, and drove the aborigines back to the hills. These aborigines as we said before must be the Kukis of the present day. Their habits of life, their character, their external appearance, all point to their connection with the aborigines in other parts of India—with the Santhàls, Bheels, &c. "Small in stature, with little 'eyes and flat noses, they have no castes although extensively 'divided and sub-divided into classes and tribes, and no idols, al-'though their superstitions are numerous. They are not without 'industry and ingenuity, and their mountain-huts often possess a 'considerable air of comfort. They are a people without a his-'tory and without a formed language, and having been obliged 'to recede before the superior force and intelligence of the Hin-'du or Aryan race, they have taken refuge in dense forests or 'on barren rocks and have fallen in many instances far below 'the grade to which they had previously attained."*

The Kukis, as we said before, are to be found scattered about the hills between Cachar and Chittagong. They must in all probability have been dispossessed of their country by two or three bands of foreign invaders, and at about the same time. We do not know to what family or race the Manipuri and Cachar Chiefs trace back their origin. There can be no doubt that they are connected with the royal family of Tipperah. There is also no doubt that there is some social difference between them. A member of the royal family here may marry the daughter of a Manipuri chief—but on the other hand, a Manipuri chief may not marry a princess of the house of Tipperah. This fact clearly points to sócial inferiority existing somewhere—a fact which we cannot explain, as we do not know what account the Mani-

* Life in Ancient India, page 17.

puris give of themselves. If we did we might be able to arrive at a probable solution of the difficulty, with the help of the Mahabharata.* We have already spoken of the Kuki's affection for his dog—we ought not to forget the Kuki's goat, to which he is equally attached. Nothing will ever induce him to part with one or the other. The hill goats here are a very fine breed, and would be very much esteemed if only they could be procured. Among the curiosities of Tipperah may be mentioned white crows—a few of which the Raja has in his possession. We believe it was his intention to have presented the late Lieutenant-Governor with a couple on his visit to this district. We have ourselves seen a grey crow—or rather a crow half-black half-white—a fact to which we cannot call the attention of Mr. John Stuart Mill in the next edition of his Logic.

The Kuki's notions of dress differ considerably from ours. The only mark of distinction which he reserves for his chief is a large quill stuck on the back of his head, from which hangs in streamers as it were, goat's hair dyed of a bright-red colour. The Kukis are fond of music, as they understand it. Their musical instrument is made of the pumpkin which they perforate, and on which they stick reeds—a very primitive instrument no doubt—but one which affords them intense pleasure. The pumpkin is turned to account in various ways by them. After it is dried, and the liquid has been extracted from it, it becomes as hard as leather. They use them as pitchers to fetch water in, and make them exactly like the *Kulsis.* When smaller in size they make very good goblets or surais.

The bamboo, like the, pumpkin is converted to various useful purposes by the Kukis and the Tipperah men. It might really be said that the bamboo supplies all their wants. With it they build their huts. With its leaves they thatch their roofs. The young grain which is found in the bamboo blossom, they eat as rice which they boil in the bamboo pot as we believe the Burmese do. Considering that the bamboo is thus utilized by the hillmen and that it is so very common in the hills, it is no wonder that the hillmen cling to their nomadic life which we have already described. As the hills are not attractive to settlers generally on account of the jungle, the hillmen have no difficulty in wandering from place to place.

* We have not yet had an opportunity of reading "Latham's Ethnology of India," and are not able therefore to see at what results the learned author has arrived. We have no doubt however that Dr. Latham has entered fully into the question of the aborigines of our Eastern frontiers and their invaders, if we may judge from the importance that he attaches to our "Origines" in his Treatise on the English language.

"The world is all before them where to choose their place of rest." Among the hills at Maniamate, may be seen small colonies of these hillmen living apparently in perfect harmony with each other.

The Kukis and Tipperah men are very superstitious. They look for an omen in the least thing they do. Before they go out on any sort of expedition, they sacrifice a cock, or any bird or animal they can lay hands on, and look at his entrails for an omen.

> "They would not have you to stir forth to-day ;
> Plucking the entrails of an offering first
> They could not find a heart within the breast."*

The temple which the hillmen hold in great veneration is one at Agartollah, in which are kept 14 heads of brass—supposed to represent their tutelary gods. Every body who passes by this temple is expected to bow to it, or to make a salam to it. Mussulmans with all their strong antipathies to images and image worship do so, or are obliged to do it. The most remarkable feature in their religious worship is the practice of offering up human sacrifices. They do it so secretly that every effort to discover it has failed. Their chief Brahmins, like their confrères all over India, have religious pupils or Brahmacharyas—and it is highly probable that one of them is offered up to appease one of the 14 offended deities. We say highly probable, for the victim is generally selected from that class in other places where human sacrifices are, or need to be offered. Thus among the Khonds the victims were pulled out from amongst the Meriahs, with this difference, that among the Khonds male and female victims used to be offered. Human sacrifices seem to have been offered in very early times. We read of Isaac being led away for that purpose in Holy Scripture. We read of Iphigenia in Greek legend. There is no mention made however of such sacrifices in the Vedas, the earliest Hindu authority we have. In the Rig Ved and the Yajur Ved the Aswamedha horse sacrifice is mentioned, but the late Professor Wilson did not see anything in it to lead to the conclusion that this sacrifice had any religious object. In the Rig Veda—the earliest authority we have, the Agni hotra, or offering of clarified butter, is principally observed. In the Sama Veda we read of the juice of the Soma plant being offered. The earliest intimation we have of human sacrifice is to be found in the Aschareya Brahmana, from which Roth, the co-editor of the Sanskrit Wörterbuch has made some extracts in a most

* Julius Cæsar, Act II. Sec. 2.

interesting article on Weber's Indische Studien. The story when briefly told is this. Harischundra had been married to a hundred wives, and yet there was no man child born to him. At the suggestion of Narada, a sage, he went to King Varma and promised that if his prayers were heard, and a son granted to him, he would offer him up in sacrifice to the king. Harischundra's prayers were answered and in due time a son was born, whom he called Rohita. Varma wanted to keep Hurischundra to his promise, but the latter put him off in various ways, first calling Varma to wait till the child was ten years old, then till he cast his teeth, and then lastly till he grew up to man's estate. Haris-Chundra yielded at last—but his son Rohita was far from being inclined to accede to any such arrangement, and fled to the woods. There he wandered for 6 years, until he fell in with the Rishi Ajigasta. This man had three sons, of whom the second, Semahsepa, was promised by the father upon Rohita paying the Rishi 100 cows. No one was to be found to bind and then to slay the victim unless Rohita gave 200 more cows. Semahsepa who was by no means willing to offer himself in sacrifice, interceded first with Prajapati and then with Agni and Saritar, who referred him to Varma, who again advised him to go to Indra. The rest of the legend is concluded in the 2nd volume of the Indische Studien which we have not got. Enough has however been related to show the fact of human sacrifices being known at this time. The legend is for this worthy of notice, as bringing out the idea of a vicarious sacrifice—when Rohita tells his father he has got Semahsepa to offer himself up in his stead. This legend, apart from the general interest which attaches naturally to it, bears upon our present subject. Whilst the other Hindus have gradually given up human and animal sacrifices, and returned to the older Vedic rites, their brethren here, and we believe the same applies to Munnipore, Cachar and Assam, have adhered to the practice of offering human and animal sacrifices, a practice old in itself—but which was generally superseded by the older Vedic sacrifices. We have heard Hindus notice this ritual difference between themselves and the Hindus of Independent Tipperah. But we must bring our remarks to a close lest our subject should tempt us to make any unnecessary digressions.

Thus do we find broken rays of that Divine Light which first shone forth in its most brilliant effulgence on Mount Sinai, over every tribe and nation of the world.* The deep sense of

* We must refer our readers to the 2nd Volume of Gladstone's Homer—where the Homeric traditions are most ably discussed. Such men as Mr,

our own unworthiness—the consciousness of guilt, the need of reconciliation with an offended God—the means of effecting such a reconciliation—are all shadowed forth more or less distinctly in all the creeds of heathendom.

The Comtist may charm us with his Law of Progress in which he thinks he recognizes three stages—the Theological, the Metaphysical and the Positive. The Panthiest may bewilder us with his abstractions. The materialist may shock us with his grosser absurdities. But the human mind is irresistibly led to look for a common source for those common traditions of which we have spoken. In such a research, neither Comtist nor Pantheist, nor Materialist can afford us any help—"Many 'a young aspirant after a philosophical faith trusts himself 'to the trackless ocean of rationalism in the spirit of the too 'confident Apostle—" Lord bid me come unto thee on the 'water." And for a while he knows not how deep he sinks; 'till the treacherous surface on which he treads is yielding on 'every side, and the dark abyss of utter unbelief is yawning 'to swallow him up. Well is it ordered with those who 'in that least fearful hour can yet cry " Lord save me," and 'can feel that supporting hand stretched out to grasp them, 'and hear that comforting voice, so warning, yet so comfort-'ing"—" O thou of little faith wherefore didst thou doubt."*

Here then we conclude for the present. We hope at a more convenient season to return to the subject, when we shall enter upon questions of great importance—connected with the disturbances created by the Kukis at the beginning of the year.

In bringing these remarks to a close we shall be more than amply rewarded, if we shall have succeeded in leading our readers to see that if they will but use their eyes and ears—if they will but " see with their eyes, and hear with their ears," if they will but observe all that passes around them, and think for themselves, much information might be picked up in the most remote districts in which their lot may be cast. Every district in India teems with legends and customs, every district has a history of its own. If only people would look about, and think, they would with Shakspeare's Duke in the Forest of Arden.

> " Find tongues in trees, books in the running brooks
> Sermons in stones and good in everything.'†

Gladstone show us that deep scholarlike erudition can co-exist with a belief in the truth of Christianity

* Mansell's Limits of Religious Thought, p. 65, 4th Edition.

† As you like it. Act II. Sec. I.

NOTE.

We have since discovered accidentally a case in the Reports of the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut for 1852, page 899—in which some men of the Joom Tribes in the Chittagong district were punished, some with death, some with transportation, for having offered up some Kukis in sacrifice. We extract the following interesting details from the decision of the Sessions Judge of Chittagong. "The murder with which the prisoners are charged was committed in a part of this district known as the Toonia Joom Mehals, situated among the hills, and generally covered with jungle. The inhabitants of this jungle are of different castes and tribes, Mugs, Chukmas, Reangs, (by whom the murder was committed.) Tipperahs, and others, all more or less *nomadic* in their habits. To the east of these people but also scattered through the Joomi, dwell the Kookies, a tribe more backward in civilization than the others, men and women going alike generally in a state of nudity. They are looked on by the other inhabitants of the Joomi as an inferior race. The habits of all these tribes are nearly the same; a small patch of land is cleared of jungle for cultivation, and huts are built on piles for the different families intending to reside there. When the land is exhausted, or the inhabitants become tired of the place, they remove to another spot in the jungle, setting fire to the deserted village to prevent their cattle returning to the homes they are accustomed to .. .. The tribes worship fourteen Deotas or gods, some of which correspond to the Hindoo, while others are local Divinities. It has long been notorious that human sacrifices to their gods are not of uncommon occurrence .... The place of sacrifice described by the witnesses is merely a spot cleared of jungle, and staked round with bamboos about six feet high. The *phoola bans* mentioned by the witnesses are bamboos scraped at the edges, the scraped strips left adhering to the stem thus giving a rude notion of ornament."

The Judge was mistaken in confining the Kukis to the jungle lands east of the Joom Tribes, as Kukis, as we have observed before, are found all along the range of hills extending from Cachar and Manipur to Chittagong. He was equally mistaken in confining the worship or *culte* of the 14 devatas to the tribes mentioned by him. We have stated before that the semi-divinities are held in great reverence by the Tipperah tribes. We forgot to mention one or two circumstances connected with the human sacrifices offered in honor of their Devatas. Their sacrifices do not take place at stated times, though generally once in every year. During the celebration of this sacrifice, or rather religious service, for the fact of the sacrifice is kept a profound secret, a gun is fired every evening a little after sunset when every body at Agartollah is expected to return to his home. If the slightest interruption is offered to this service, such as the sickness or death of one of the priests, it must be performed de novo and another victim must be offered to the offended divinities.

We do not mean to say that the practice of offering human sacrifices is observed by all the Tipperah Tribes. All we say, is, that it is observed by many, discouraged by none of the tribes. The tribe of the *Ujair* are most notorious for such sacrifices.

The Chukmas, to whom the Judge refers, are a tribe not known out of Chittagong. The Reangs are a sort of half-caste tribe, being sprung from the very low Tipperah tribes, and the Kukis. We shall have occasion to refer to them subsequently.

The white crows of which we have been speaking have bright red eyes. Speaking of white crows leads us to mention white Deer, as another curiosity here. To the sportsmen this fact might be interesting.

ART. III.—1. *Act XXIV. of* 1859 *of the Legislative Council of India.*

2. *General Principles to be observed in the Reorganization of the Police.* By W. ROBINSON, Inspector General, Madras Police, 3rd December, 1858.

3. *Police Orders by the Inspector General of Madras Police.*

4. *Madras Police Administration Report for the Official year ending 3rd April,* 1860.

PRESERVERS of the peace have always had a hard time of it. It has been the peculiar lot of these very necessary and very useful public servants to be better abused than any other class of officials. The watchman of the olden time, with his lantern and his rattle, his rheumatic joints and his wheezy cough, was the safe object of slander and assault; until general ridicule and execration turned him into the trim Policeman of the present day. A safe snooze in a watch box is now changed into the vigorous patrol; and we suspect many a "fast" young man can tell, that a "Peeler" is not so safe a subject to handle, as the "Bloods" of former times found in the muffled up antiquities who were supposed to enforce obedience to the law. But even now Policeman X. has his enemies, who will more than hint that he is not above the allurements of a cold leg of mutton; and that he finds the protection of a kitchen and the favors of the cook more to his liking than the weary beat on a cold night, or the perils of enforcing order among a mob of uproarious rioters.

And yet, though jeered at and joked about, the Policeman is readily enough referred to, and yielded to; and with all the fun poked at him, there is an under-current of sound admiration of the really valuable body of men who have been trained up in England for the protection of the people. We are proud that the caped and truncheoned servant of the order loving section of the Public, is found equal to the duties required of him; while our love of freedom and independence peeps out in the feeling, often unmistakeably shewn, that we will not have his powers made too oppressive, or his style of carrying them out too dictatorial. We admit the necessity of control, but will not have that too thorough; and we believe it a fact that the military training of the Metropolitan Police goes on within high walls, and unseen, lest the people should resent their being brought to such a state of efficiency. It must not be forgotten however that this transition has been even in England recent. The pre-

sent state of our Police there is no novelty to us now, and yet it is scarcely half a century since our Home Police Administration was stained with the iniquities of Blood-money, and Bow-Street runners; while the Parish Constable was not more useful, or less venal, than the Indian village watcher. Police science is but thirty years old; it has struggled on step by step, it has even now its difficulties and opponents; but its results remain the noblest monument of the greatest Home Minister of this century.

But, if our Home Police come in for a share of the antagonism which the mere existence of such officials seems to create; our Indian Police have been vilified and abused till the whole vocabulary of vituperation has been expended. There has been no atrocity of which they have not been accused, and their lives have been popularly supposed to be a constant scene of plunder and oppression. The Torture Commission however gave a shape and persistence to the evil repute of the Madras Police which other portions of India escaped. An enquiry conscientiously undertaken, though it did not produce the dreadful evidence anticipated, still showed the existence of a serious evil and foul blot in our administration, and formed a safe and acknowledged basis of attack on the deficiencies of our rule. Observers were startled at the tremendous civil power wielded by an official in whom the Revenue, Judicial, and Police Administration were combined. The truth is we were measuring Indian matters by English standards. The torture was doubtless an important element. It was the prominent, cruel result of a state of rule which was imperfectly understood by the Home mind; but the real point was not the mere suppression of a revolting practice, it was in fact the old western pressure telling in one of its numerous forms on our Eastern conservatism.

The determination to govern India on the more catholic and liberal principles of our Home Institutions, was taken long ago. The fierce denunciations of Burke on the trial of Warren Hastings, may be said to mark the epoch, and since then it has been bravely carried out. But the advance has been fitful and irregular, and the strides have all been made under the pressure and excitement of redressing a wrong, such as the one we are now referring to; the immediate and palpable appeal to our feelings hiding the great political question at stake. In Eastern minds the idea of rule is associated with an individual, not, as in England, with a constitution; and there are some who say that the time has not come when we can dispense with this relic of despotic Government. It is fruitless to discuss whether this be so or not; for we may make up our minds there will be no

backward steps now in our Indian History. There may be little side streams which will manage to conceal themselves for a while, and remain in their old course. But the great flood of Reform is on us, gaining strength every day, beyond our power of arrest already, but let us hope not beyond our power of guidance yet a little longer. When the mouthpiece of Government has announced that Her Majesty's advisers consider that the natives of India should be admitted into the Council, it behoves us to see that our Administration at lower points in the scale, is in accordance with the spirit of so liberal a concession.

We must set our house in order, for, depend on it, these Councillors will not be content to be individual examples of our catholicism. They will claim, and rightly claim, that the principle acknowledged in their existence in such a position shall be carried out in all its integrity, and with the overfulness, not unlikely, of a new found privilege.

We cannot deny, however, that apart from the torture or the political question the Madras Police was in a state which required immediate correction and improvement. This might easily be shown from statistical data, but they are dry reading, and it is sufficient that we acknowledge the past results of our Police action to have proved only its utter inefficiency either to prevent or detect crime. We propose to describe the scheme, from which we hope to obtain the required improvement. But prior to doing so, it will be as well to sketch, in its general features, the ancient police under native rule, because we propose to utilize the existing village police, whose origin dates long before our occupation of India.

In this ancient system we find the rudiments of a sound principle, that is, division of administration. We find imperial Governments maintaining a variety of bodies under different titles, for foreign conquest, or to repel foreign aggression; while the people were, to a large extent, left to their own resources, as regards the domestic police. But this, without the guiding influence of a strong Government, and with a society constituted as in India, became a system of expedience to palliate the great evil of a partially civilized state, viz., the preying of the strong on the weak. These latter, unable to protect themselves, and unprotected by Government, were forced to subsidize the professional classes of robbers, whose right to prey on their neighbours was acknowledged, and whom weak Governments could not repress. The utmost disorder under the name of police resulted. The people took refuge in paying the robber, from the chieftain to the common village thief. These again engaging, not themselves to plunder, or to allow the de-

predations of others; and in case of theft occurring to recover the property or make good the value. The touchstone of Indian Police became responsibility to make good losses. The system therefore was one of compounding felony; not prevention or punishment of crime. The people in practice were unable to enforce complete recovery of their property, and the chance of the wolf letting away the whole of the lamb progressively diminished. The general fees came to be looked on as insufficient for individual cases; and as these occurred the parties were severally obliged to offer a bonus to recover their lost goods. It was on a system of this kind that these classes gained possession of land, on which they paid no tax, or for which land the collective community made good the demand. They received a certain portion of all the crops, and upon houses, shops, trades, looms, flocks of sheep, and herds, they exacted a local rate. To the Governmental Transit duties, these classes added their own. Carts halting or passing within their limits had to pay, and indeed even now in many districts have to pay black-mail to secure their safe passage.

The personnel of this machinery consisted in the Poligars or great chieftains of the country who held the *Kavilli*, or Black-mail privileges, of their own territories, and of such villages in the neighbourhood as found it more expedient to conciliate than to offend them. Another class were the head or *Menkavilgars*, a more dangerous body, as they were generally the immediate leaders of the working robber gangs. These had acquired black-mail privileges over single villages, or clusters of villages —frequently as many as fifty or one hundred. Subordinate to one or both of the above, and always acting as their agents, were the common village thieves. These under the name of "*Kavilgar*," "*Talliari*," or other local designation, were provided with special rent-free lands, by the village community; and invariably levied exactions, on the crops, properties, and goods of their fellow villagers, on the usual understanding of keeping their hands from picking and stealing. This lowest class fulfilled the double duties of collecting contributions for the *Poligars* and *Menkavilgars*, and when necessity occurred, became the retributive pillagers of recusant contributors. We are not prepared to say that this gradation was everywhere present when we acquired possession of Southern India. Traces of the higher grades are to be found in all the districts, but fully developed in the Tamul country. The watcher thief however, with his vices and his exactions, was and is an institution present in every village of the Madras Presidency.

So soon as the establishment of the British power laid the

foundation of law and order, the pretensions of the *Poligars* and very generally of the *Menkavilgars* were found to be incompatible with good Government; and this branch of the system was authoritatively suppressed in the earliest years of our administration. Their rent-free lands were resumed, and assessed; their exactions from the people were forbidden, and in a great measure absorbed into the public revenue; and their interference with the police of the country was interdicted. The declension of their influence however has been very gradual. Curious anomalies are still present in every part of the country, and many a poor ryot has exacted from him, on the sly, a contribution which the authority and weight of the British Government has still failed to relieve him of. An influential landholder in the neighbourhood of the capital of Southern India naively acknowledged to the writer of this article, that the visit of the descendant of the old *Menkavilgar* was even now looked on as a visit from a "Devil"—he was paid what he demanded, and got rid of. In the district from which we write, it lately occurred that the *Menkavilgar* interdicted the functions of barbers, washermen, and milkmen, because the villagers, taking advantage of the protection of the new police, withheld a customary, though illegal, exaction; and it required the vigorous intervention of the Magistrate to vindicate the liberties, and restore the comforts of the people.

While suppressing the status of the *Poligars* and *Menkavilgars* we introduced a system which proved confessedly a failure. What is known as the Thannadar system was attempted, and the management and administration of the police of the district were placed in the hands of the judge—an error of principle under which success could not be looked for, especially when the influence of the deposed *Menkavilgars* was still fresh, and an unsettled state of the country interposed special obstacles.

In 1816, the Collectors of Revenue and their Revenue Subordinates—the Tehsildars of the Talook, and village Moonsiffs, became the Magistracy of the country. And in virtue of this office, as well as by law, the executive duties of the police were vested in them. The Stipendiary Establishment of Peons was transferred to the Magistrate, and the Tehsildars (from that time termed, in this capacity, Heads of Police); while the village watchmen were placed under the village Moonsiff. Thus the revenue and taxing, the Magisterial, and Police jurisdiction, were all combined in the same individuals. When to this it is added that they were the executive engineering Department, of the district—with its system of impressment, and forced labor, it will be readily understood that a sad confusion of functions and duties occurred. Revenue and Imperial

interests necessarily took precedence of the protection of the life and property of the ordinary public. Inadequate means for the execution of great works, and for the collection of revenue from the innumerable payers under a Ryotwarree system, had to be supplemented from a body who ought to have been employed on specific duties of police. Over the working or supervision of the police, the European Magistrate had little control; they were practically at the disposal of the native Tehsildar. By law their supervision led up to the judicial officers of the district, and through them to the Fouzdaree Adawlut. Here we had Judicial Courts supervising Executive Police. But, added to this, we had the anomaly of the Board of Revenue exercising a kind of departmental control; and an appeal of a dismissed Police Officer lay to that body, which had no cognizance of the police administration. The village-watcher became the mere drudge and Revenue Bailiff of the village Collector; while the peon was irregularly employed on duties utterly incompatible, and not a few of a more private and domestic nature. Discipline and regularity of duty, which alone render police administration effective, were impossible; and it was no sin in the ordinary peon—perhaps not even in the Tehsildar—that he lost all landmarks of the principles of law, and used his police powers to further fiscal ends.

It is not only in its direct effect that the evil of this state of affairs has shown itself. Its results have told on the feelings of the people, and have had their share in the separation of the governed and governing body of this country, which has justified the saying, that there is no sympathy between the natives and their European rulers. Long accustomed to the capricious tyranny of a despotic power, the native mind still associates with Government more of the selfish principles of a conqueror than the Catholic system of modern legislation. An official who to-day comes to confiscate the goods and chattels of a ryot whose revenue arrears remain unpaid, and to-morrow to seize half a dozen people suspected of being concerned in a gang robbery, is naturally looked on, in both cases, as merely working out the will of a strong power, and the distinction between the ryot and the robber—the Government defaulter and the offender against public justice—is obscured, if not entirely overlooked. It is this which has caused the apathy of the native community in criminal matters; and has led to the complaints that no assistance is given by the population in bringing to light crimes of which they have cognizance. We say, they have no public spirit; the truth is, they do not yet believe in our public spirit. The vexatious delays, and want of consi-

deration which complainants and witnesses suffer from at our Courts doubtless increase this reticence. But the fundamental thing is, they do not believe us to be acting on public grounds, but for Governmental purposes. And yet the true exercise of the powers of a police is between man and man, not between Government and the people. The policeman does not properly represent the determination of a supreme power to suppress crime; he represents the will of his fellow-subjects that peace should be maintained. He acts under the common, not the statute law.

The system last sketched has likewise failed to fulfil the functions of a police, and, reviewed with our present light, it may be ground for surprize that success should ever have been expected.

From 1854, the Madras Government under the Presidentship of Lord Harris contended persistently for re-organization of the Police Administration; and in 1857 the Home Authorities granted their sanction for this, on the principles advocated by that Government. The model adopted is an endeavour to amalgamate the English County and Irish Constabulary Administration, and adapt it to the wants and peculiarities of this country. More distinctly stated—the change which is now being worked out in Madras, consists in elevating the Executive Police of the country into a distinct department; confining its functions to Police duties alone; divesting it in all its grades of judicial functions of any kind; and withdrawing it in every way from the fiscal and revenue machinery of the country. It is placed under the exclusive management of carefully selected European officers in each separate district; and its maintenance in a state of efficiency is supervised by a Departmental Head, in immediate connection with the principal Secretariat Officer of the Madras Government. The whole is brought into close relations with the village police, to which it is intended, if possible, to impart new vitality; and which, to ensure uniformity of action, is placed under the control of the District Police officers.

But it must not be understood that this separation trenches in any way on the functions and position of the Chief Magistrate of the District. Here is the vexed question, the misapprehension of which has stood so largely in the way of all Police Reforms in this country. We at once concede that the junction of the Magisterial powers in the hands of the most important officer of Government in every district under the Madras Constitution is a wise measure, which we would not only support but increase in power and efficiency. The Magistrate and Collector

of a Madras district is as it were the Lord Lieutenant and General Administrator of his Province. He combines in himself the powers of a whole Bench of Magistracy, and many other of the functions which in a constitutional country like England are diffused among executive bodies from the Home Secretary to the Parish vestry. He has his representatives and subordinates in every talook, and in every village, who will act as his jealous eyes and ears upon the operations of the police, and the feelings of the public regarding them.

In the eye of the law, the magistracy are responsible for the peace and well being of the country. This responsibility must not only be preserved, but be more rigorously exacted from them than in justice to them we have ever been able to do. Bearing in mind that ex-officio the Magistrate is always the Head of the Police, his duty to watch and require a proper discharge of their functions in no way ends. For this purpose we place the local Superintendents of Police under his orders; and thus the district force becomes an improved instrument at his disposal for the prevention and detection of crime.

We are merely introducing that division of labor, which the progress of society has always rendered necessary in all administrative departments. It has become as impossible for an Indian Magistrate, with his numerous functions, to administer the minute details of a successful police, as it had become for a Bow Street Magistrate in England to work effectively the Police of the Metropolis. And experience has shewn us that we cannot entrust the subordinates in the Revenue Department with combined Police and Fiscal powers. The necessity of this administrative reform has been increased by the tendency of the legislation of the present century. The Magistracy in their simplest phase possessed very limited judicial functions. They superintended what Police there was; put down vagrancy; and on the occurrence of crime they were committing officers through whose hands the criminal passed to a jury of his fellow countrymen; or in this side of India to a judicial tribunal.

Legislation, following the demands of society, has elevated the magistracy to positions of high judicial powers and is still doing so; thus we have the progressively increasing anomaly of the thief-taker being the thief-tryer. The necessity of relieving the Magistrate from Executive Police duties, we conceive we have established. Some difference of opinion however has occurred as to the degree of separation required. But, after full discussion and mature consideration, the Madras Government decided that a combination of thought and unity of system and action

could only be obtained by a thorough departmental organization and direction. By Act XXIV. of 1859 then, the Government assumes general control of the police throughout the Presidency, and its administration is vested in an official styled the Inspector General of Police. The functions of this officer are analogous to those of Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, and Head of the Irish Constabulary; and to the lesser executive functions of the Inspectors of County and Borough Police, under the Home Department in England. The general government and distribution of the force, the classification, rank, distribution, and particular service of the members thereof; the arms and accoutrements, and all orders and regulations, are in the hands of the Inspector General. He arranges with the Chief Magistrate of the district the proper allocation and distribution of the Police; estimates the requirements of each province and the measures to be taken for the improvement of the village Police. He watches the introduction and maintenance of discipline, and preserves the uniformity of practice throughout the department. He thus becomes the informer and adviser of Government in all matters of Police details and Criminal statistics.

In each district he has one or more European officers, who are styled superintendents. In the judicious selection of these officers lies the success or non-success of the Police in each locality. The Superintendent is the Chief of the District Police Force, and of the Village Police. He is responsible for all matters relating to its internal economy and management. The maintenance of peace and prevention of crime devolve on him. He carries out the prescribed allocation of the force, and regulates the disposition of his men according to temporary requirements. He is expected to obtain authentic and confidential information on every subject connected with the peace and tranquillity of the country. It is his duty to keep the European Magistrate constantly informed of all matters relating to the well-being and management of the district in a Police aspect. He keeps up a close personal communication, not only with the Chief Magistrate, but with all his subordinates; who are in fact the working and committing magistracy of the county. It is difficult to describe how intimate are the relations between a working police and the judicial magistracy before whom they bring every case. They become our legal advisers and guides; and observing, as they do, the action of the police in the cases which come before them, they are in a position to exercise a wholesome watch and legal check, wholly independent of departmental supervision. The district is arranged into divisions, over each of which is an Inspector. He has charge of five or six police stations, in

each of which is a police party consisting of a Head and Deputy Constable and thirteen men, one of whom acts as a writer. Other sub-parties act as outposts with lesser numbers. An Inspector's range will vary from two to four hundred square miles, and he is expected to be constantly moving over his division; inspecting his parties; observing the mode in which duty is carried on; supervising the action of the police; and affording advice and guidance to the officers in charge of stations. In all cases of serious crime he proceeds to the spot; takes immediate steps for the detection of the offenders; collects and arranges the evidence before committing officers; and if need be, accompanies the cases to the higher courts, to see that their merits are properly laid before the judicial power. He makes a daily report of his movements besides despatching all the periodical reports required to keep the force in efficiency and to record the results.

The inspectors are the officers of the force, and we have adopted as a principle that this officering should take place from a grade of society which would not enter and does not pass through the ranks. We require a degree of intelligence and business habits, possessed of which persons would not enter the lower grades. But irrespective of these considerations, we conceive that in the organization of a large body of this kind the officers should be drawn from a grade of society whose sympathies are not too intimate with the class of men who form the mass of the force. A civil police force ought to have a social position in the sphere in which its duties lie; and great weight and influence is given to its action when its leading members possess naturally a good status in society. But we have some difficulty at present with regard to this portion of the force. This arises from the fact, that while for the ordinary duties of Police we require intelligence and judgment, as well as knowledge of the law and a liberal education, we are at the same time constituting a force, which may be relied on to maintain the peace against all disturbers, and occasionally to suppress local outrages. For these we require personal activity and a stout heart. We require the Officers to know the use of their weapons and to be able to handle and lead their men. No grade of native society in this country combines these requirements. The upper classes have taken to sedentary occupations; and an employment which has the color of a profession of arms is looked upon as below their acceptance, or at least as inconvenient to their feelings. But education is rapidly opening their minds, and we look confidently to their adapting themselves to the demand. We expect a

wide recruiting field in the educated masses, daily increasing, who are now pressing for lucrative and honorable employment.

It has been sometimes doubted whether we are giving sufficient organization and subordination of ranks to constitute a force that should have sufficient cohesion to cling together in difficult and trying times. Here we come to the difference between a Civil Police, and a Military body. For the latter the highest state of solidity is indispensable. But, we contend that in a Civil body this ingredient should not be contained for more than local and civil purposes. Did the occurrence of wide spread rebellion require the civil power to abdicate in favor of military Law, we do not desire that the Police Force should have an organization which would enable it to hang together in combined action against the authorities. Robbed of its European officers the sooner it melted away as an organized body the better. Among its detective and faithful members, abundance of spies and useful aids to the Military Force would be forthcoming. But, we must use foresight in avoiding such consolidation as might render our Police Civil Force a danger or difficulty in the field. Let us not have Police Battalions and Sebundy Corps, which are military bodies, under another name; bodies with military gradations and promotions, where the pyramid rises and is capped by a native commandant, who, while he professedly defers to, virtually supplants the authority of his European superior, and gives to the whole force his own personal tone.

The grades under the Inspectors are Head Constables on twenty rupees a month—six rupees of which is drawn as pony allowance; Deputy-Constables on ten and a half rupees—and 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Class Constables who receive respectively seven, six, and five rupees and a quarter. The force is worked in police parties as we have already mentioned. The stations of these parties are selected so as to command the principal roads, and are at such distance from each other, as that they shall communicate daily, by a system of patrol. The officer in charge of a party has under him an area of from 50 to 100 square miles, according to the population and circumstances of the locality. If the village in which the station is placed be of sufficient size to require a special night patrol, a portion of the men are engaged in that duty. The patrols just mentioned, which proceed along the roads towards the other stations, meeting similar patrols sent from them, require probably a third of the party, and at the station-house itself a portion must always be present. These are the regular duties of the party, but the occasional duties required of them are constant

and numerous. All summonses and warrants are served and executed by them, and by them alone. Prisoners have to be escorted, or if captured in the division men have to accompany them, to the committing officer, and often the Judicial Courts. Then, for the maintenance of peace at festivals, marriage processions, &c. &c. the police are required, so that the men are hard worked. The officer in charge of a station sends in a daily report of the work each man has done, and of anything of importance which has occurred in his range. Immediate action lies almost always with this grade, and on their efficiency very much depends. It is under their eye the privates work, either well or ill; and it is they who are directly in contact with the people. Their management and resource are constantly on their trial. and their fitness or otherwise very soon becomes apparent. It is of great importance that men of intelligence and undoubted respectability should occupy the position of Head Constable. They are obliged to take the first steps in cases—before the Inspector can possibly be present, and these often tinge the whole progress of the investigation. Their character and general bearing influence very largely the tone of the force, it is very desirable therefore they should be able to meet and communuicate with the more respectable members of society on a footing of social equality.

But besides what we have described the police undertake other duties, as yet performed by the military, but which are more properly the province of a civil force. The treasures of the talooks (revenue divisions,) and the main treasury of the district are in their hands. They furnish guards in cantonments over Commissariat stores, and over jails and convicts at work. But in this latter their duty is strictly that of guarding. The internal economy of the jail, all connected with the management of the convicts there, as well as the laying out of their work and seeing they do it, lie with a Warder establishment, which for these purposes is maintained on a small scale, under the supervision of the Inspector General of Jails and his subordinates.

By this application of their services an immense number of petty military detachments have been done away with. The strength of the Madras Army has consequently been very materially reduced. And yet the available force in the main garrisons is probably little affected. Regiments being maintained complete at Head quarters are better under discipline, and more effective if required to act in their proper character. Thus

the regular troops may be limited to such as are required to hold the strictly strategical points in the country.

The men of the new police force are clothed in Khakee tunic and trousers of light material, with an ordinary native turband of red cloth. There cannot be a doubt of the advantage of a uniform. It quickly infuses in the men themselves something of an esprit-de-corps; and when acting in bodies, however small, it gives an appearance of unity which is not without its effect. The men are drilled, and taught the carbine and sword exercise. So there is a military tinge in the training, not intended to be carried so far as to render them dangerous en masse, but to fit them better to quell disturbances than the old untrained peon. The force in each district will be provided with arms, in a limited ratio to the number of men entertained. The weapon is a light carbine, but it will never be carried except on duties specially requiring it. The guards over jails and treasure carry on their duties similarly to the Regular Military; but the ordinary weapon of the police-man on his patrol is the English Truncheon. At night swords may be carried, but their constant use is not sanctioned. We have said that each district has its separate force under a Superintendent. The men are entertained to serve anywhere in the Madras Presidency; but it is obvious that an efficient police, must be in a great measure local, recruiting going on mainly in the district itself.

In estimating the force required for a district, its population and area are taken into consideration, and, to cover all the requirements of the force, one police-man to one thousand inhabitants, or to five or six square miles, will represent an average allotment. The men required for purely rural police purposes are not at such a high ratio. One to fifteen hundred, or two thousand generally suffices. Then for towns of large size—say above 1200 inhabitants—a special police at a heavier proportion is adopted; probably one to five or eight hundred persons. These are worked on the principle of the Metropolitan police namely, one-third on duty by day, and two-thirds by night. Separate allotments are made for Jail and Treasury Guards; and a Reserve is always maintained at Head quarters to meet sudden requirements at any point in the district. This specification of their duties, must not be supposed to limit particular men to a particular service. All are liable to any duty undertaken by the police; and in practice all are detailed indiscriminately. We have not organized any detective establishment. We hold every member of the force liable for all duties proper to a police officer. It is peculiarly demoralizing to the character of men, to be detailed on es-

pionage alone; and as a general rule our Inspectors and Head-constables are becoming quite competent to deal with crime in their respective ranges. But occasionally crimes of special difficulty occur, such as baffle the best efforts of ordinary minds. In a numerous force however, a number of individuals will always crop up, who are peculiarly gifted with detective qualifications; and when occasion requires their services are made specially available. They are detailed for such individual cases—but only temporarily—and at their conclusion return to the routine of their duty.

We aim at maintaining a system of accurate and minute Diaries, at every stage in the Force. We hope to establish that the village watcher shall daily report to the village inspector, the occurrences of each village in his range. This being recorded, is submitted to the station officer in charge of the section. From each station-house there is daily forwarded to the Head quarters of the district a roll of the employment of each man of the party, for the day; to which is attached the occurrence sheet, embodying the information from the villages, in addition to any obtained by the patrols, or any steps which may have been taken for the detection of crime by the regular constabulary. The Inspectors also report by diary their movements and operations of whatever character. To persons practised in police administration in this country, the exceeding difficulty of obtaining precision in this matter will be easily understood. We only profess to have it yet in its rudiments. All are only beginning to learn their profession. Few know what to observe; and still fewer have the facility of recording it. But towards this we are working. And, indeed the full development of the system is being pressed upon us, from the perusal of these documents being, in some districts, constantly required by the Judicial Officers. These reports are police records, and not of course matter of judicial evidence. But, practically the Courts and Magistracy are feeling their value as extra-judicial records of the features of the case as it occurred, and of each subsequent step taken in disposing of it.

We have sketched the constabulary, its constituents and allocation with its relation to the Magistracy. We have now to bring it into connection with the village police, and with the people. As before stated we deprived the village watchers of their natural officers—the *Men-Kavilgars;* and after failing to effect an improvement by placing them under the peons in the Thannadar system, we transferred their official allegiance to the Moonsiff, or Revenue Collector of the village. We absolved the village watcher from all responsibility for the restitution of

property, and thus removed the sole motive he had for vigilance. And, to crown all his black-mail privileges were officially acknowledged, and his office was made hereditary. That an Oriental, under these circumstances, should take to the personal activity which British Institutions expect from a Police officer could not be expected, and certainly has not been the result. The watcher threw aside his public duties for the private service of the joint landowners, and in this condition we find the village police, whom we are called upon to utilize. The only chance of doing so lies in placing their supervision in the hands of the influential landed proprietors of the locality. We cluster together the villages in an area of about ten square miles, and over them place a village Inspector. A distinct number of the village police are placed in his charge. He exercises general supervision over these prevents them from divesting themselves of their proper duties towards the villagers and sees that single individuals do not monopolize their services.

The village Inspector we endeavour to make our direct link with the people. The position is almost honorary, the pay being trifling; but we call upon the well disposed and influential portion of the community to assist here, in an organization which has for its object, mainly their own good. We make the appointment the result of election, and though every individual vote cannot be obtained, we generally manage to get the sense of the people on the respective candidates. Of course there are many close Boroughs, where some Aristocrat carries his nomination without opposition or demur; but in others the canvass is often brisk and well contested, and in all cases we keep back any Government influence which might sway a decision one way or the other. The village Inspector once appointed, it is generally safest to leave him to select his own watchmen. These have the cluster of villages divided amongst them, and have each evening to report to the village Inspector the state of their ranges. He again sends a written report to the officer in charge of the section to which he is attached. These reports are recorded in the station house, for the Inspector of the Division to examine, when he next visits it. At such time he compares the village Inspector's reports, with those of the Head Constable to the District Head quarters, to see that the existence of crime is not suppressed. He, as well as the officer in charge of the station frequently inspects the outlying villages; at once to acquire a thorough knowledge of the country and people, and to observe the working of the village police.

In commencing work in a district the Superintendent has necessarily to proceed with some caution. For, however sa-

tisfied he may be of the correctness and justness of the change he has to carry out, and however sure he may be of the assistance of the Magistracy; it is necessary that the innovation be freely put before the people and the old peons, that the distrust of the former and the resentment of the latter be not roused against him. In the present day the stereotyped mind of the native has been shaken and disturbed, to an extent never before known. The generation which remember us adapting ourselves to their ideas, instead of trying to shape them to ours, have not died out; and a feeling of expectancy of some great attack on their old ways, is lively and keen. It is not so much that any individual measure of Government can be shown an outrage on their belief or creed. But they see the tone of our rule is changed; and the spirit of our movements may lead us some day, they conceive, to more plain dealing. Accordingly there is found in introducing the new police, the usual amount of exaggeration and disbelief, and our first object was to make our mission understood. And naturally, as to those most interested, our attention was directed to the old peons. In the district from which we will draw our example, the peons were in very large numbers; and from the wealth of the population had a very pleasant time of it. They are in all districts under the immediate orders of the Tehsildar, that is, the native civil officer in charge of a talook, or division of the district. Being employed on the compounded duties of Revenue and Police, there were no specific men for specific duties, or systematic detailing even of numbers for a particular purpose. It naturally followed, that very many did no real Government work at all, and that the faintest approach to discipline was not to be found. Their monthly pay was three rupees and a half, and we now offered them six, which must have been an attraction—still they could scarcely anticipate with pleasure a system where the daily duty of every man is laid down, and a report required that it has been done. Accordingly it was found they were full of doubts and fears. They argued on the never failing basis of the native mind, that from time immemorial peons had never worn uniform—and why should they now? They strengthened this with the remark that a dark dress was unlucky. Again, they had heard of a topee, a hat, or some English headdress which they would be forced to wear. Further, that they were to be sent to China or Burmah, and that it was absurd drilling policemen merely for local work. It was replied, that the dress was a protection; every one could readily recognize his official position, and that it assisted his detective duties at night. That for men who were sometimes to carry fire-arms, it was

surely necessary they should know their use. And, as to their going across the water, there were disciplined sepoys for that, whom Government would certainly take in preference to the half drilled lot, they, the policemen were likely to be. The map of the district was spread out before them ; the number of men proposed to be put in each of the villages and towns was read out; the general principle of the scheme and its proposed working were explained; they were even asked as to the selection of the stations and the feasibility of the arrangement generally. This brought out the thing more thoroughly to them, and disarmed the change of half its terrors. It was necessary to take up talook after talook otherwise a dangerous interregnum would have occurred. In all the talooks numbers of the old peons joined. There was more or less coquetting everywhere, but by a little patience and by giving them time and full opportunity to talk off their objections, they saw they could not do better than fall into the ranks which were attracting candidates from the ordinary population, who threatened to swamp them if they did not make up their minds quickly. It was not time idly wasted, which had been devoted to gaining them over to our side. For, a widely diffused and numerous body like the peons had very considerable means of swaying public opinion. Their duties had necessarily brought them into intimate connexion with the people; and often employed as the mouth-piece of the higher authorities in the district they were in a position to give a bias either for or against the new scheme, which would have materially affected its early success. Besides, doubts would naturally be engendered regarding that employment which a whole establishment of officials would not enter; and an evil repute attach to a body whose every member derived his own maintenance by taking the bread out of another's mouth. Again, the people would be less disturbed by the new organization, when they saw their old acquaintances as the agents to carry it out.

All these were not slight considerations, nor is the point involved of narrow application to the particular case. Attention to details is not a less valuable portion of legislation in India than the enunciation of principles. With a people so easily moved and misguided as our Eastern subjects are, the mode in which a measure first comes before them, decides very often its career for many a day. We will meet with misapprehension in almost all our advances. But we should not make up our minds to disregard that misapprehension ; rather let us take the trouble patiently to remove it.

Having told off the men for a talook, which may be ready

to be taken charge of; the Superintendent proceeds to each station, one after another, and there installs the party. Previous to this, he has, through the Collector or his subordinates, announced his wish to meet the principal landowners in the neighbourhood, and he generally finds a large attendance of all classes. His object is to show them that a good police is a matter which concerns their comfort closely, and that its efficiency depends largely on the support and countenance extended to it by the well disposed. The intention of Government in the new system being explained, the details are entered into, and their advice is taken on many local points, in which obviously they are the safest guides. The willingness with which they state their views, and the shrewdness with which they defend them against the exceptions of others, are quite remarkable. And, when they are called upon to share in the work as well as the deliberation, that is to appoint the Village Inspector for their circle, the scene is most interesting and instructive. As large a number as possible of the residents in the circle is collected; and the duties and position of the Village Inspector are explained. They are then asked to nominate from amongst them some one whom they think suited for the post and who may be willing to accept it. They generally require a little leisure to talk it over, and retire to some shade where they sit in conclave and discuss the merits of the different parties. Having made up their minds, they present their nominee, with, not unfrequently, the reasons which have influenced their choice. They are then told that although they are not officially connected with the police their influence and assistance are looked for in the cause of good order, and to strengthen the hands of their representative. The village watchers are then brought forward in whose selection they take a part; after which they usually sit down to hear the Village Inspector instructed in his duty. Nothing can be more valuable to the Superintendent than these open receptions of all classes in his district. Thus passing from talook to talook, he learns the politics of every village, and gains an insight into the party-life of these little Pedlingtons which will prove of immense service to him, in the performance of his duties.

Having secured the interests of the principal individuals of note in each locality, we have them, to a considerable extent, pledged to our success; and by frequent open and frank communication and consultation with them we can bind them still more closely to our side. In cases of violent crime the police will generally have the sympathies of the public with them. But, until now, these have had no means of taking shape, nor

has there been any sustained endeavour to enlist them. This great point we have gained, and we hope, in time, so to use our means as to have, instead of a police acting per se, a body acting in concert with all the influence lent to it by public feeling.

As far as the system has gone, it has proved thoroughly workable, and has been much more easily introduced than had been anticipated. There has been no jarring between the police and the magistracy as had been predicted, and every day lessens the chance of this. The real strength of the police must mainly lie in the support it receives from the Magistrate. If it fail to gain his confidence, it will find itself powerless indeed. This mutual action is not necessarily a matter of any difficulty. The ends and aims of the two officials are identical; and while the Magistrate guides, advises, and if need be checks; the Superintendent has full scope for the exercise of his judgment and energy, in the daily working mass in his charge. The department has not been long enough at work to enable us to give any reliable data as to its efficiency in the prevention and detection of crime, but from what we know to have been done, we confidently anticipate a marked improvement on the old police will be visible, when the statistics over a fair period come to be made out. In many points, however, improvement in the administration of justice is beginning to show itself. We may for one thing feel certain that very little crime is now suppressed. whereas formerly, we believe we are not wrong in saying it was the rule, not the exception. It is found that the preliminary stages in cases, are now rapidly got over, whereas under the old regime it was exactly at these points the vexatious delays most occurred. The new police, when they arrest without warrant, must bring the prisoner before a Magistrate within twenty-four hours. With him is handed in a document called a charge sheet, showing the crime with which he is charged; the name of the complainant, the witnesses, and the police officer who arrested him; the hour he was brought to the station house, and how long he was detained there. The Magistrate on the same document enters his decision, makes any remark that may be called for on the conduct of the Police, and sends the paper to the Superintendent of the District. It is so even if the prisoner be committed to the Courts, and it forms an admirable check on the dilly-dallying which used to occur over the police stages of our criminal cases.

At the Courts is an Inspector, who takes charge of all cases coming from the Magistracy. He sees all the witnesses are present, that the papers are complete, and that every thing is ready to

be submitted to the Court, when the case is before the Court he remains to supply any deficiencies, and to receive any orders on its further investigation. Precisely as the evidence comes up more fresh and recent, so cases are more rapidly and satisfactorily disposed of. The enormous proportion of acquittals to convictions was most apparent in the decisions of the Courts; indeed exactly as cases progressed a step higher so was the greater chance of the escape of the accused. It should have been precisely the reverse, and it can only be accounted for on the supposition that every day's delay, weakens evidence.

In the persistent tracing out of crime a vast improvement is apparent. There is a life and purpose in the way in which the police set to work, which is due to careful supervision and guidance, and a wholesome spirit of competition and rivalry. The thorough departmental organization, the close watching of the Magistracy, and the comparative publicity of police proceedings, act as ready checks on that over exercise of authority, which an excess of zeal might lead to. No point is more earnestly dwelt upon by the Inspector General, and none more constantly impressed on his subordinates, than the absolute necessity of forbearance and discrimination in the action of the police. And, although their presence is everywhere more directly felt, we honestly believe that the people experience less actual interference than they did on the old system. There is no hole and corner work now. If the police do wrong, it is patent, and is promptly remedied.

But—if a desire to have a police party stationed in their village, may be held to show that the people find the police a protection and not an infliction, then, we can vouch for it, that this is the satisfactory result. There is no desire to shirk having the stations; on the contrary, applications for their establishment are common. And that these applications are sincerely made is proved by the fact that the inhabitants have in many cases built a station house for the party. One effect of the system of patrol which is carried out all over the district is, that small communicating parties are located at convenient distances on roads which pass through poorly populated portions of the country. An immediate result is increased traffic on the road, the police-station villages being convenient halting places where the bullocks and goods are safe from depredation. Having become halting places, small shops are opened, and the people collect from the neighbourhood.

The foregoing is a slight sketch of the work going on in the Madras Presidency. Because it is still on its trial—and in its earliest days of existence, we have written temperately as to its

results either present or anticipated. Its course in different localities is, and always will be, varied. But it is based on sound principles, is capable of wide application, and contains the elements of eventual success.

ART. IV.—1. *Reports on the Depredations committed by the Thug Gangs of Upper and Central India.* By Major W. H. SLEEMAN, *Commissioner for the Suppression of Thuggee and Dacoity.* Calcutta, 1840.

2. *Report on Budhuck alias Bagree Dacoits, and other Gang Robbers of Hereditary Profession, and on the measures adopted by the Government of India for their Suppression.* By Lieut. Col. W. H. SLEEMAN. Calcutta, 1849.

3. *Selections, Volumes I. and II., from the Records of the Bombay Government in the Police Branch of the Judicial Department.* Bombay, 1852-1853.

4. *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government in the Police Branch. Volume I. New Series. Reports and Returns relating to the Crimes of Thuggee and Dacoity; Correspondence relating to Professional Poisoners and to Act XXIX. of* 1850; *Papers on the subject of Confessions; with Reports on and List of Wandering Tribes,* compiled by Major C. R. W. HERVEY, *2nd Bombay European Regiment Light Infantry, Assistant General Superintendent Thuggee and Dacoity Department in the Bombay Presidency.* Bombay, 1858.

5. *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government. No. XXI. Reports relating to the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal for* 1856-1857 *and* 1857-1858. Calcutta, 1859.

6. *Correspondence regarding the Thuggee and Dacoity Suppression Department.*

7. *Our Indian Police.*

8. *Memorandum on the Scinde Police.*

9. *Report of the Commissioners for the Investigation of the alleged Cases of Torture at Madras.*

10. *Report on the Police of the Bombay Presidency for* 1858.

11. *The "Friend of India" from August to December* 1860.

12. *Draft of a Bill for the Regulation of Police within any part of the British Territories in India to which it may please the Governor General in Council to extend its provisions.*

13. *Debate in the Legislative Council of India on the first reading of the Proposed New Police Bill.*

AN eminent public character, alas! but now gone from among us, observed in his account of a celebrated passage in the history of our country—that that there were two opposite errors

into which those who studied the annals of history, were in constant danger of falling,—the error of judging the present by the past, and the error of judging the past by the present. "The former is the error of minds prone to reverence whatever 'is old, the latter of minds readily attracted by whatever is 'new." Preserve we, in a consideration of what is before us, the happy mean, partial although we may on the whole be discovered to be to the conservative extreme.

"The whole history of the Thuggee Department has only to be read," wrote an observant man still among our foremost administrators, "were testimony required to the tact and 'intelligence with which its delicate duties have been conduct-'ed." Exists there any one who would remove it from our Institutions, who will wade through that history? Does any one now think of reading those records—those accounts which moved our every sensibility, our pity and our horror, when first they wrung our hearts and horrified the world with the tale they unfolded,—that now lie in dusty neglect among our shelved archives? Are there many who now give even a passing thought to the man, aye, man in the noblest conception of the attributes of human being, who toiled wearied, and succeeded—but "never laid his head upon his pillow without praying that 'God would in His mercy grant that the powers bestowed 'upon him might be employed for useful purposes alone, and 'not abused to the injury of the innocent." "Providence has spared me," continued he, "to see done far more than I ever hoped to see." What was that? What did that benevolent but mortal being, dare to say had been achieved? Read his *ipsissima verba* —for we are indeed poring over those worm-eaten records,—may they inspire us with a just appreciation of the task we have undertaken, and convey to our humble endeavours an earnestness in the cause we would advocate "a cause of simplicity against 'craft—of security and life itself, against certain robbery and 'probable destruction."

"Not a body of the many hundreds of travellers who every year fell victims to these gangs of assassins, was found that did not prove a fruitful source of profit to the native police and of oppression to the innocent people of the surrounding villages; and if the suppression of this wholesale system of murder, which had been pursued for so many generations over the whole face of our Indian Empire, be estimated merely with reference to the relief thus afforded to the people from the oppression of the police exercised on that ground alone, the Government under whose auspices it had been effected, would be entitled to the gratitude of mankind. That it has been attended with no éclat, is true, because it has been effected with the quiet and unostentatious support and encouragement of philanthropic rulers, and by the labours of a few public servants whose successful exertions could add nothing to the reputation of any influential class and thereby

enlist their self-love in the cause. Upon the broad shield of that self-love how many are borne on through evil as well as through good report to wealth and honor, for enterprises which have resulted in no good to mankind, or to any portion of it, save that influential section whose self-love has been attended with ten thousand times more of suffering to the innocent, than this which has rooted out from among a hundred millions of people, an enormous evil which had for centuries oppressed them, and from which it was long supposed that no human efforts could relieve them!"

Thus wrote the late Sir William Henry Sleeman when at the head of the Thuggee Department, and it were almost an insult to his memory to essay to enlist finer language in a description of the institution over which he so anxiously presided, the blessings that attended whose efforts were so patent and so affecting. We will confine ourselves therefore to the images the records of it present to our admiration.

The late Honorable Court of Directors, had urged upon the Government of India that they "knew no reason why some effective 'measures should not be adopted by an able and zealous magis-'tracy with a sufficient police establishment, for the suppression of such frightful evils." The machinery put to work accordingly, soon the Government of India "was happy to express entire 'concurrence with the just eulogium passed by the Agent to 'the Governor General, on the zealous and meritorious exer-'tions" of its chosen chief, Captain Sleeman, and was satisfied that "aided by so active and intelligent an officer, nothing 'would be left undone to ensure the accomplishment of objects 'of such importance to the interests of humanity;" and presently when a spirit of economy prompted an opinion that sufficient had already been attained, with the full spirit of the philanthropy that has always distinguished the Government of India, it was promptly met in memorable words, the wisdom of which we would hold up to Indian rulers to the latest day antecedent to the great interregnum we all devoutly look forward to. For let all the world become Utopia, India will still be its Alsatia, until that day when the lamb shall indeed lie down by the wolf,—the Thug, the Dacoit—India's normal miscreants, who may now in one sense be said *hurler avec les loups,*—can leave unmolested their fellow human beings.

The high roads throughout India were infested. Scenes of horror such as seldom before had been described had been brought to light and substantiated by "evidence the most 'conclusive and undeniable,"—and, "to stop the prosecution of 'the measures adopted and still in progress for the destruction 'of such formidable criminals, would bring back the evils with 'redoubled violence and would enable them to prosecute their

'horrid avocations *with additional security arising from the know-'ledge that they had acquired by woeful experience, of the tactics 'that had been adopted to defeat them.*" It was consequently decreed to be "absolutely necessary to retain the invaluable 'services'' of the special Agency 'employed in so humane a work,' the protection of the general community.

"Thuggee had been an institution for ages," lately wrote an able public officer, "a gigantic crime, pervading the length and breadth of the land. Neither individuals nor Governments ever troubled themselves on the subject, and no Government but ours would have ever attempted, or have succeeded in suppressing the monstrous crime." "It is well to remember the fact," continued he, "that the victims were to be counted not by hundreds, but by tens of thousands. It was not like a battle or an epidemic in which a certain number of lives were lost, and the loss was forgotten in a long interval of peace and security,—but every year added to the victims of Thuggee—every year people passing from one town to another disappeared mysteriously, yet there was no clamour, no popular commotion, no effort made, though the existence of organised bands of murderers called 'Thugs' was matter of public notoriety. It is very remarkable because want of natural affection is certainly not a characteristic of the native; and yet husbands, fathers, and children, disappeared and there was no stir made. Marvellous apathy! shewn too, by the same people, who with no better excuse (in the opinion of some,) than a transparent lie about a greased cartridge, have raised a commotion which has occasioned unheard of misery, the loss of tens of thousands of lives, and of millions of treasure."

But to proceed to a more comprehensive testimony of what the Department has been about, what it has done and is still effecting.—*Omne verum utile dictu.*

"The Department has been so admirably established," wrote the officer lately appointed its chief in one of the reports before us, "its rules so well devised for its efficient working, ensuring when acted up to, complete security to the innocent in the pursuit and punishment of the guilty, its efficiency has steadily sustained such long and universal tests—and ever elicited and maintained such universal praise and acknowledgments even from Foreign European countries—its efforts have been so unceasing, and the general superintendence over every branch of it so vigilant, instant, and uniform, and its successes so remarkable from the earliest period of its formation by its originator Major General William Henry Sleeman, that I can on this subject only add my own testimony extending over an experience of 12 years, to its peculiar and entire fitness for the attainment of the great ends for which it was originally established. If the system according to which its operations have during so long a period been conducted, be strictly and with every jealousy acted upon, its operations may in my humble opinion, be safely extended to the suppression of every description of professional criminals."

"As a political machine perhaps its utility has not been considered;—but it may unquestionably be asserted, that the successful proceedings of the department, extended as they have been into the territory of every native power in British India, must have operated with very beneficial influence upon the minds of the population of the country, at the spectacle

of the unflinching and continued arrest and punishment, by a special and peculiar agency, without reference to jurisdiction, of the greatest and most dreaded criminals—whose existence throughout the land, and depredations and atrocities everywhere, had hitherto created such terror in almost every region, that while some chiefs considered it safe to harbour, and others more questionably to recognise them, no traveller deemed himself secure from falling a victim to villains whether Thugs, Poisoners, or Highwaymen, nor Sepoy returning from a Furlough to his distant native village, certain that he should escape them,—no peaceful householder was exempt from a nocturnal visitation from a gang of robbers, farmer sure of the harvest he had gathered on his threshing floor, nor zemindar or landholder safe from their exactions; no guard of sepoys over treasure whether in cantonment or in the field, without danger of being attacked by bandits, nor bride without some apprehension even in the midst of her marriage procession, whether it might not presently be dispersed and all ruthlessly despoiled of the ornaments they were bedecked with;—the wayfarer was not secure from being poisoned, robbed, or cheated of his money, nor policeman or patrol from being cudgelled or murdered outright; the village watchman, was in doubt whether his own security should not be his first duty—which it generally has been, and countryman returning from the neighbouring market in fear that he might be waylaid and plundered, or deprived of his purchase or his money by some dexterous knave;—the money changer coming home at dusk from his stall in the Bazaar, was not always permitted to reach it not deprived of his money bag; the Sahoocar or native Banker even within chained and barred doors, was still afraid that his premises might any night be invaded and his concealed closets and pits rifled of all his hoarded wealth, and no security felt any where while the marauders the Department has been employed in suppressing, ravaged every country with impunity—preyed in every town or village, infested every highway,—feared by all and checked by no one."

Under such a contemplation of the good effected by this Institution, what can be said of any proposition to do without it, or to *merge it,* as we believe has been suggested, into the new Police—to dilute into water a drop of *elixir vitæ* for motives scarcely so much of policy, of political expediency, or even of economy our present greatest exigency, as of that mania—*centralization* which, as has been said, trusts nobody, and under its influence nobody grows. —"The time has not yet come," recently wrote out the Hon'ble Court of Directors, "when the present arrange-'ments for the suppression of these classes of crimi-'nals can be dispensed with, and we feel it necessary 'to renew our injunctions that none of the effectual precautions 'originally adopted for the security of the criminals, *be suffered 'to be in the slightest degree relaxed*,"—and with deference enquired the officer from whom we have already so largely quoted, "is any one prepared to bring forward any other 'institution having such laudable and humane ends, that would 'be better suited to the requirements of the country?"

"Never" declared the eminent man by whom it was so long

and so anxiously watched over—with the solicitude in regard to his Assistants and the faults they might be led into, of a parent over his children declared "I will not attempt to excuse their er- 'rors or mine," wrote he to the highest Authority. "I merely 'endeavour to explain the causes in which they originate, and 'solicit for them a lenient consideration." "Never" certified 'Sir William Sleeman "in the history of crime, and of the 'measures for its repression, have there in any country in the 'world been such few arrests compared with convictions, and 'so much security afforded to the innocent in the pursuit of the 'guilty." Would that such could be said of the police of any country past or present! Would that an introspection of the history of the Police of India past or present, could afford us but the faintest hope of the same guarantee from the action of that *future* one we are about to establish!

Let us consider however what has been said of the present agency of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department—of its *speciality* beyond every other for the duties yet required of it. We feel that we had already almost said enough, and we may not, we would not, be irksome. But we have yet to deal with the main question,—has the time arrived in which the duties effected by this Department, may be entrusted to other ordinary agency?

We find Sir William Sleeman saying in one of the Reports before us;—"The old Thug associations which have now been 'effectually put down in all parts of India, would assuredly rise 'up again, and flourish under the assurance of religious sanction, 'and the strong and almost irresistible disposition of the loose 'characters of the lowest class of India who have no property, 'to associate under such assurances for the purpose of taking 'what they require from those who have it,—and new ones 'would be everywhere formed, *were the strength of the special 'police employed in the suppression, hastily reduced, or its vigi- 'lance relaxed.* The class of poisoners by profession so common 'and destructive to life in all parts of India, has now been 'brought under the cognizance of this police by Act III. of '1848 with a fair prospect of being under judicious manage- 'ment, effectually put down like the other classes of Thugs. 'Some few classes of robbers by hereditary professions remain 'untouched in all parts of India, while the more formidable 'classes can as yet be considered as only partially put down." And again;—"a benevolent Government like that of India 'which rules paternally, *and cannot rule otherwise in India*" (the Italics are our own,) 'will not permit an establishment which 'has done,' and is doing, so much good for the people under its

'sway, to be diminished in strength or efficiency, till the 'work intrusted to it shall have been completed, *which it cannot 'be for many years.*"

This was in 1848. From the other volume before us, however, printed in 1858 (Major Hervey's reports,) we find that of the "few smaller untouched classes," one had existed (discovered by himself,) *untouched indeed,* over the whole of Southern India, "so extremely formidable from their numbers and 'from the boldness and intelligence displayed in their depreda- 'tions" (we have a very full account of these Khaikaree robbers in the volumes before us,) that the late General Superintendent Colonel James Sleeman reported of them to the Government of India, that "in no class with which we were ac- 'quainted, had the crime of Dacoity been found more complete- 'ly systematised and adopted as an hereditary profession, and 'that in none would it be found more difficult of complete 'eradication." We are glad to perceive so much has already been effected against that enterprising people,—but we shall have to revert presently to their continued depredations in districts of which the Police is held up as an example, *but where the Thuggee Department has not any jurisdiction.* Other "untouched" classes were the *Bedowreahs* of the North West, the *Beriahs* and *Meenahs* who exist throughout Central India and may be found in the Dooab, the *Mhangs* and *Ramoosees* of Western India, the *Wuddurs* of the Canara Frontier, the *Takinkars* of the Deccan, the *Pardhees* and *Kolhotees* of Khandeish and Berar, the *Wusawehs* of Guzerat, the *Bhar robbers* of Bombay, the *Gehars*—a large class of child-stealers of the valley of the Nerbudda, but now we believe discovered, and a *genus omne* of others of esoteric habits (we find them all mentioned in the printed reports,) whose existence as professional depredators was unknown when Sir William Sleeman wrote the above, but who have been brought to light by the unflagging researches of the Department—of whom Major Hervey states, "they practised what all had at heart and none looked upon as criminal," —that "poverty urged them no more in their evil practices, than 'the desire to earn a livelihood propelled every man to renewed 'efforts in his vocation,"—and from a minute appended to one of his Reports, of a Durbar of Dacoits held by him. We understand the accomplished rogues who attended it, all in their national costumes, at once fell to scrambling, pell-mell, over the platters of *pawn soparee* intended to be served out to them,—he shewed that anything short of life-long incarceration, "was 'to them but a temporary calamity—temporarily affecting their 'liberty, not repressing their evil propensities."

Plundered parties," wrote he, "crowding my Court have reiterated the statements already on the records of the local Magistrates, of the sudden rushing into their houses in the dead of night, of fierce men with muffled faces or daubed with streaks of paint, holding lighted torches and armed with swords or bludgeons; of the remorseless rapine they committed; of terrified wives and daughters with lacerated ears and nostrils, injured wrists and ankles; of affrighted old men and women, and younger men with broken heads or sore from blows and buffets; of doors and windows broken down and closets and boxes laid open and gutted; rooms rifled; their household gods desecrated, their sanctities invaded, and themselves ruined, often past redemption, by ruthless scoundrels, whose excuse for such acts has been, that *such was their profession.* No succour at hand,—the village guardians concealing themselves, neighbours mute and in the deepest awe—they in terror had to succumb to every outrage and every indignity, uncared for and unhelped; till the noise of shouts and musket shots, the sounding of conches and drums, and the bombastic *entré* into the premises, of the village authorities *now* come to assist them, made them feel some assurance of the robbers being really gone and themselves left alive!"

"In the Bagulkote gang robbery, the owner of the house—a rich banker, but a feeble and aged man—being speared by a Dacoit—a young lad his grandson and heir, rushed forward to hold up the stricken man. 'Fifty Rupees over your share of the spoils if you kill him,' cried out the Naik of the gang to one of the bandits, and the lad too was slain on the spot. A nephew succeeded to the estate. Two of the Dacoits were hanged. The house was one day found in flames and was burnt to the ground. The nephew soon after died after a short illness. The husbandless survivors, forbidden by their laws to remarry and without any male heir, are now the sole representatives of the once flourishing firm."

"In the case of the Kullolee gang robbery, the plundered party declared that the robbers "essayed in vain to withdraw from the wrists of his son a pair of silver bracelets." A Dacoit thereupon suggested that his hands should be lopped off; another that his arms should be broken. A knife was produced when they prepared to do the deed, but again endeavoured to get the bracelets off by other means. "They dragged and pulled at them, and then tried by applying oil. Next they rubbed the arms over with rice husks, and at last succeeded in getting possession of the coveted ornaments, only after they had excoriated and lacerated the poor lad's hands." They treated similarly a little boy in the Butgeera Dacoity, and in the same way a young girl in a gang robbery in the Tanna Collectorate; and in a Dacoity at Hutnee, they were on the point of chopping off the feet of another young girl, in order to gain possession of a pair of silver chain anklets, but only desisted "an being implored by her mother to refrain.""

"For such acts of pillage too, it has been exemplified that *others than the guilty parties have suffered punishment.*"

"The suddenness of their attacks," wrote the Secretary to the Government of India in Colonel Sleeman's books, "enabled them to overpower resistance at the time, while their immediate dispersion after success effectually baffled all pursuit,—and the extent of country over which their depredations extended, and the rapidity of their movements, offered various impediments to any successful exertions on the part of local Magistrates to prevent their attacks, or to bring the offenders to punishment after the perpetration of their crimes," and to meet the difficulty it was resolved to vest the General Superintendent with sufficient powers to enable him "by a well directed system of research, to seek out the criminals in their

usual haunts, to lay open their proceedings and economy—to track their steps whenever they might set out on their expeditions to prevent if possible their success, or at any rate to pursue them wherever they might fly, and effectually to punish and suppress them." "We hope," said the Court of Directors to the Government of Bombay, "the measures adopted for the suppression of the crime of Dacoity, will be as effectual under the Bombay Presidency as they have proved in other parts of India where the same system has been pursued," and writing subsequently they said, the total discontinuance of the crime would be "one of the greatest boons" in the power of Government to confer upon the community.

To speak then of the necessity for maintaining this admirable Institution as an exceptional and a distinct one *apart from every other Police system,* would seem under such evidence to be supererogatory. But we feel it to be still left to us further to shew the folly of the presumption that to the new Police might be safely entrusted the duties that hitherto none but this special Department had been found competent to perform. Let us hope that it is under no pique of such a sense of its special fitness for such duties, that those labor who by proposing its extinction would forget what was due to the people among whom we have been placed;—who would forget that it was *their* security we should seek—*the* boon in our power to confer upon them so well illustrated by the late Court of Directors. Be it far from us, who live among nations whose constitution is, as observed by the lamented General Jacob, to be governed and be commanded, to enlist private feelings at a distasteful fact. Let ours be the ambition to govern well and to do our duty,—an honest striving to do our best—every one in his respective sphere,—all beholding and applauding, assisting and upholding each other's honest endeavours. These are perhaps commonplaces; but still we like to adopt them. "Thou art the man" was but common place after all;—but it was very affecting. In them often lie our greatest maxims. Let opponents consider what the excellent Sleeman wrote,—

"From one end of India to the other all have united their efforts to secure success to this great undertaking;—and so beneficial to the people of India has been the result, that there is, I believe, no part of their public life to which those who have had most to do in the work, look back with more pride and pleasure." A similar sentiment was that of the officer who now occupies his place at the head of the Department. "A long line of illustrious officers of the Indian services," lately wrote he, "some now in the highest position and power, have from time to time belonged to the Department, and I believe they would all be found to acknowledge that the greatest good they might claim to have been humble instruments in the cause of humanity, was effected by them while employed in the suppression of Thuggee and Dacoity." He pointed to "Judges who have sat on the trials of cases sent up by this Department, to members of higher Courts

who have reviewed them, to the highest Functionaries of Provinces, Members of Council and Governors, who have looked into and examined them, and, when younger in their career of usefulness, have even occupied such humble places as Assistants to the General Superintendent."

In speaking of the organization of the measures necessary to be taken against Dacoits, which ended indeed in the duty being made over to the Thuggee Department, we find Mr. Mansell, lately Commissioner at Nagpoor, writing;—"Much aid 'in respect to information, co-operation, and police force, could be 'given of course by Magistrates; but the substantive duty of 'investigation and apprehension, *can only be effectually and safe- 'ly undertaken* by ambulatory officers acting much in the way 'of the best part of the Thuggee Department, and seeing too 'with their own eyes and working with their own hand. * * * * 'In short the police investigation must be, I conceive, *entrusted 'to special hands*,—the trial of the commitments must devolve 'on special judicial qualifications; and the law must be altered, 'so as to embrace within its grasp a class of men who are 'scarcely less the common enemies of mankind and of social 'order, than the pirates of the ocean." In another place he aptly termed them "land pirates."

In a general Report written in 1856, we find the following to have been stated by Major Hervey, at that time the Assistant of the Department for the Bombay Territories.

"I may here add while on the subject in connection with the sufficiency of the means at my disposal for the suppression of crime, the extent to which Dacoity for instance was perpetrated by the enterprising robbers against whom particularly the operations of this Agency have been directed. I have stated that the total number of men of that class apprehended as Dacoits since 1849 amounted to 609. The number of Dacoities ascertained to have been committed by them amount to 1,151,—of which 703 have, on reference, as yet been authenticated. Of the above Dacoities *as many as* 1048 *took place within the Territories of the Bombay Presidency*. The property carried off by the Dacoits in the 703 authenticated instances, was to the extent of Rs. 546,659-2-10, of which a portion to the value of but Rs. 17,209-8-7 was recovered by the local Police—while the perpetrators of these Dacoities were discovered by them in but a tenth of the whole number of cases, although rewards from 50 to 500 Rs. had frequently been offered for their detection."

We have lately observed a tendency on the part of an influential Public Paper when considering the advantages to be derived from the proposed Police, to decry the necessity for the continued existence of the Thuggee and Dacoity Establishments. It would even advocate the intention of the Draft Act to absorb into the New Police all separate police or quasi-police bodies or establishments. We are impelled therefore on a subject of such intense interest to the people of India, to cull something more

from the reports before us. It is not our motive to weary. We wish only to convince those, who, it should seem to us from the insight permitted us into the question, have derived much of what they think or say on the subject, from an imperfect understanding of the relative merits of the case—New Police *versus* the Thuggee and Dacoity Department.

"Our Police system is an evil and so is your Department," lately wrote the officiating Commissioner at Jubbulpoor to the present General Superintendent. "Both depend much on the 'Executive Officers; but I am of opinion that both are necessary evils, and where Dacoities become of frequent occurrence, 'that it is necessary to employ some more powerful Agency 'than that of the regular Police."

The late Mr. J. A. Craigie, Sessions Judge at Jubbulpoor, addressed the same officer, observing that the Department had "relieved India from the atrocities of hereditary murderers 'whose crimes were quoted with horror in every country in 'the world, and whose sons were prevented from imbruing 'their hands in the blood of the present generation only by the 'retention of the Department as a part, *and a leading part,* 'of our Police system." He added, my own experience of 'the department over which you now preside, is, that it has 'effected (with, in its earlier stages especially, the most insufficient means,) the most notable results that the police in India 'have ever worked out; and if its success be not daily spoken 'of now, it is because it has suppressed the system which it 'was called into existence to contend against. *The department 'must be maintained or Thuggee will in a couple of years be as 'rife as of old.* That particular part of the duty having been 'successfully carried out, the suppression of professional dacoity 'was superadded, and our jails, before the mutiny, testified to 'the success which followed your efforts; and that the right 'men were in the right places there, has been manifested by 'the part they have taken since their liberation by the mutineers."

Again, the Resident at Hyderabad observed;—"I consider 'the Thuggee and Dacoity Department to have been altogether 'organized for an exceptional purpose, and because our ordinary 'Police and Criminal Courts, were found unequal to cope with 'the crimes it was intended it should deal with." His experience, he said, "of the working of the department during 12 years in Hyderabad Territory, was altogether in its favor." Colonel Joseph Graham, who for 17 years belonged to the department, remarked of it that it was "a system originated, 'organized, and successfully worked for many years by a mas-

'ter mind like the late General Sir William Sleeman,— a sys- 'tem as nearly perfect as any institution could be, and which 'had been extolled by Lord William Bentinck (who forwarded 'it,) and by every succeeding Governor General, and by the 'best and ablest men in and out of India,"—that it had been— "the saviour of human life, and the terror of the sons of violence, 'and had outlived or surmounted, all the calumny that had 'ever been cast upon it."

The present officer to whom is confided the administration of the Province of Sind, from whose letter we have already quoted, added the following additional testimony on the subject of the Department. Remarking that its "general working must de- 'pend upon the administrative ability of its European officers," he said;—"It is within my knowledge that the Dacoity Depart- 'ment in the Bombay Presidency, first brought to light the 'depredations of organised gangs in the Southern Mahratta 'Country and also on two occasions shewed that innocent persons 'had been convicted and punished by a Sessions Court while 'the real perpetrators of the outrages for which they had suf- 'fered were professional Dacoits. It is also within my recollec- 'tion that the Department at once brought forward some aged 'dacoits and some young members connected with them, who 'had commenced to rob in the immediate vicinity of the Head 'Quarters of the Department. So far as my experience of the 'Department has enabled me to form a judgment, I have always 'found it eminently efficient."

A Sessions Judge of whose ability there are many proofs, also said of the Department. "As to the results of your operations 'in the Southern Mahratta Country, I need only state, that 'gang robberies have almost disappeared from the Calendar of 'the Sessions Court. In the years 1846 and 1849 while I was 'Assistant Judge in this Zillah, scarcely a month passed during 'which there was not one or more such cases committed to the 'Sessions. I have now been for nearly a year as Sessions 'Judge, and there has not been one dacoity or gang robbery 'properly so called, for trial before me. It is evident that this 'is chiefly due to your operations by which the tribes of Wud- 'ders, Korwees, and Khaikarees who at one time infested the 'country, were originally 'demoralized' and dispersed."

The above convey high evidence of the value set upon the services of the Department, and would seem to us to be fair- ly put forth for consideration. But we have not quite done with the subject. Having endeavoured to grasp we desire to exhaust it, and to take our stand upon the result. It is plain we are ourselves a staunch advocate for the continuance of the

Institution. But we desire to show that we do not stand alone. We feel confident that we shall not do so when the time arrives for a final decision on the question, and we would therefore still follow up the speculations we have been led into in this article.

The *Friend of India* recently suggested, in noticing the success the "New Madras Constabulary" had lately met with in capturing a notorious band of Dacoits that had fled from Pondicherry into British Territory, that the first result of the introduction of the new Police into Bengal, should be the abolition of the Special Dacoity Commission and Establishments. We believe the zealous gentleman who is the Commissioner for Dacoity in Bengal, is very competent to answer such a proposal satisfactorily, much in the same manner and upon the same convincing grounds we have taken up in the defence of the existence of the Special Thuggee and Dacoity Department for all India. For, in the last published Reports before us relating to the suppression of Dacoity in Bengal, we perceive the following. "That the evil of Dacoity is not a light one, may be 'gathered from the Appendix F., which shows that during the 'year 1858, 499 cases of gang robbery occurred in the districts of Bengal and Behar, in which the almost incredible 'amount of Rs. 462,136-8-11 was plundered, the small sum of 'Rs. 7,290-2-9 was recovered by the Police, and of 2,901 'Dacoits brought to trial before District Magistrates—* were 'committed for trial to the Sessions Court, in which only 667 'convictions were obtained. These figures show the *utter inability* of the ordinary Courts to cope with the evil." And again;—"Dacoity can be suppressed as was Thuggee, and with 'ordinary confidence placed in my office and approvers, I have '*no doubt it will be:* but at present we are in a false position. 'Government must either virtually legalize the crime or the 'means of preventing it. *All ordinary laws and procedure have 'signally failed, and the public safety demands that extraordinary 'measures should be adopted.*" And with regard to the crime of Thuggee in Bengal, we extract the following remark;—"no "steps have been taken to bring the thugs, who are at large in great 'numbers in the Morung, under the operations of my office, and I 'have cause to fear that River Thuggee—though not prevalent—'still occurs." It may be well in connection with the above extracts, also to bring to notice the following paragraph in the same printed volume. "During the year (1858) 100 persons were 'arrested in Hooghly by the Dacoity Commissioner apparently 'for old offences. During the same period, the Magistrate

* By some omission we apprehend by the Printer, the number committed for trial has been left out in this passage of Mr. Ravenshaw's report.

'arrested 116 persons apparently for offences committed during the year. Of the former only 20 appear to have been 'released: of the latter 83 were acquitted: but it is not possible to compare the final convictions from the information given. 'The Lieut. Governor, however, notices this as a specimen of '*the superior efficiency of the mode of procedure followed in the 'Dacoity Commissioner's office, by which the unnecessary arrest 'of innocent persons is avoided.*" We would also draw attention to the account, in the same publication, *as a Dacoit Sirdar*, of one *Johnny Dick* alias Jonmamood, the natural son of a deceased Indigo-planter.

It is quite relevant to the subject to observe, that the operations for the suppression of Thuggee and Dacoity in Bengal, were, as an experiment, removed from the supervision of the General Superintendent, and placed under the direction of the Superintendent of Police, but that subsequently it was again found necessary to place them under a distinct officer, and the appointment of a "Commissioner for Dacoity in Bengal," was created accordingly. We remark *en passant*, that the Superintendent of Police of the time—a very energetic officer—for no one has excelled Mr. Dampier in that office, reported, in proposing to make use of the Assistants to the General Superintendent in Bengal in operating against and procuring information regarding local Dacoities, then, as still, very prevalent in that province, thus; "from their official habits, their knowledge of the people and general talents, he considered them 'most peculiarly fitted to aid in the detection of local gangs, 'and in the general improvement of the police,"—a sentiment that was concurred in by the Lieut. Governor. To a question, however, about keeping up any part of the Establishment in Bengal, a Judge of the Nizamut Adawlut in Bengal observed, "I am disposed to consider that it would be 'inexpedient not to do so, because I feel almost certain that the 'crime of Thuggee would revive." "In proof," he further observed, "of the readiness with which Thugs return to their 'former occupation, I need only bring to the recollection of 'the court, the case tried at Allipoor in 1842, in which the 'Chuprassee of the late Colonel Presgrave (born of a Thug 'family, but believed never to have acted with Thugs,) and an 'old female attendant on Mrs. Presgrave after many years of 'employment in that officer's family, had, on employment failing 'them, commenced or recommenced operations in Thuggee and 'strangled the unfortunate woman in whose house they were 'lodging at Allipoor." These remarks were submitted for the opinion of the General Superintendent himself,

who, in recapitulating the results of the operations of his officers in Bengal, results, he said, "effected by a combination of cir- 'cumstances so extraordinary that they could never be calculated 'upon were the crime to rise again, *and rise it certainly would 'were the officers who now superintended the means removed,"* 'further submitted;—"The knowledge that these means are 'available at any point where signs of the crime are discovered, 'with their occasional visits to different parts, is sufficient; 'and under the efficient superintendence of the officers of the 'Department no evil to the innocent is now to be apprehended. 'But if the employment of these means *were to be left to the 'Magistrates of districts and the ordinary Police,* they might do 'much evil, and could do no good. Some would have to be 'sent to each of the thirty-five districts, and, scattered among 'ten times as many Police Thannahs, the Magistrates would 'have no time to attend to them, and would know nothing of 'their character, and little of their doings." When it was referred for the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor of N. W. P. who had much experience in Bengal, the reply was that His Honor entirely concurred with this opinion, and would "much deprecate the hasty 'withdrawal of the establishment." Only very recently we understand, has the advantage of a single Agency for the suppression for instance of Thuggee by administering poisons, now so prevalent throughout India and particularly along the Grand Trunk Road, been once more admitted by the same Government, on the ground that there was but one remedy for organised crimes of the kind. The efforts of the Magistracy might within their respective jurisdictions result in the detection of the offenders in one or more isolated cases,—but they would not avail for the actual repression of the crime. A single Agency was the only one calculated to cope successfully with it. But to go on,—the Governor of Bengal himself, however, would seem to have demurred to these opinions. He would not dispute them, but he considered "that to keep up an establishment merely as a terror 'to possible criminals scarcely justified the expense." The result was that the Assistants were kept on, but were attached, as before shewn, to the Superintendent of Police,—which again resulted, as already noticed,—in their *being again separated from the Police,* and placed under a distinct "Dacoity Commissioner." The following was the decision of the highest authority. "The Governor General is impressed with the 'necessity of maintaining a vigilant agency throughout the British Provinces, as well as in native states, *as the only means* 'of effectually keeping down these bands of robbers and murderers, who, although at present broken and dispersed, would

'on any relaxation of the vigilance hitherto exercised in watch-'ing and pursuing them, *not fail to re-organize their bands and 'recommence their system of crime.*"

We have shown above the objection the late Sir William Sleeman had to the employment of the Agents of the Department being left to Magistrates or the ordinary Police. It was one which we believe he entertained to the last, long after he retired from the Department. It should seem to continue objectionable to do so. The means of detection they present are apt, we apprehend, to be too readily made use of by Police officers, for ordinary purposes—for the investigation of accidental cases of crime—which was not the object of the formation of the Department. The late Court of Directors expressly forbade it. And, as we believe it to be a part of the proposed plan for the abolition of the Department, to *merge it*—as it is called—into the new Police, we are able to instance, out of perhaps many similar cases, an occasion in which a very zealous and an able Assistant Magistrate (now no more,) of a distant province in the Bombay Territory, when specially appointed an Extra Assistant to the General Superintendent and furnished with the usual means for carrying on his special duties as such, in his local magisterial capacity constantly employed those means in general police duties. It soon followed as was to have been expected, that innocent men were subjected to false accusations. Under the tutorage of the local Police, we are told, conspiracies were formed to ruin them. They only owed their deliverance on one memorable occasion, we have learnt, to the care bestowed by an Assistant Judge upon the case, in unravelling the combination. An order was very properly issued throughout Bombay, prohibiting the employment of the special agency of the Department as Agents of Police. It is obvious that except under the greatest precautions it would be attended with the utmost danger to the community to attach such Agents, who require a peculiar handling, to local Police officers who have not that peculiar experience. A system as frightfully vicious as that of Jonathan Wild and his myrmidons might soon be the consequence. So impressed, however, have the generality of Police officers been that they might be safely used by any one, and for any purpose, that we remember a proposal by one of them to employ some agents of the Department, against *sea robbers!* So apt in the detection of "land pirates," why not put them to work against the pirates of the ocean? We have Major Hervey's authority for a party of Hindoostan Dacoits who had never seen the sea, being captured by an inland Police functionary, on a charge of their being "*Ship Burners*" and belonging to the celebrated Bunder Gang of Bombay!

Usefully employed however, in other than their special duties, we are assured the Agents of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department may often be: but it requires tact and discrimination to do so, a knowledge of the tools to be made use of—and then only under the direction of their own officers. In a review in a Home Periodical some few years ago, of the London metropolitan Police, we remember a great crime having been successfully tracked out from a clue to it gained by the *flaunt of a gown* round the corner of a street. The detective was a criminal of the same class. None but he would have understood the value of the peculiar manner in which the person who wore that gown, turned down another street! We need not say that the detectives of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department belong to the professional criminal classes against which its operations are specially directed. Such men in the keeping and employment of, or conjoined with, the ordinary police of the country, would prove but sharp edged tools in the hands of those unskilled in their use.

But the *Friend of India* added an enquiry—why has not the Thuggee and Dacoity Department been abolished in the Punjab where the District Officers and Police are sufficient to check Dacoity? We think we may venture to answer why;—"The 'Lieutenant Governor thinks that we cannot dispense with the 'existing Thuggee agency." "When the Punjab was first 'annexed, unquestionably the crime had become widely rife. 'Cases are now rarely reported. To have rid the country 'of this system of secret highway murder is no slight achieve- 'ment. It has been effected by that agency, and the Lieutenant 'Governor believes, that, sternly controlled, the same system 'may, under good officers, be safely continued." And in further token of the utility of the Department as a separate establishment wherever employed, we might add that it has come to our notice that a case of crime which because of its peculiar nature could not be dealt with by ordinary process, was lately—since the introduction into the Punjab of the new Police system,—handed over for investigation to the officer of the Thuggee Department at Lahore. A man was discovered to have personated a recruiting officer for Irregular Cavalry. From place to place he levied recruits. Having enlisted about 200 men, he marched them to Umballa where he was to present them to the *Sahib* by whom he made them believe he had been commissioned to entertain them. They had paid him various sums of money for the good offices he was performing for them—for he had even promoted some of them to Jemadars and Duffadars. Desiring them to prepare a *dolly* for presentation to

the European Officer, he left them saying he would go to announce to him their arrival, to do which *in proper style* he borrowed from one of them a horse and a pair of gold bangles. They were to await his return when he would convey them to his presence. They waited long—and at length discovered how they had been duped,—for he was nowhere to be found. The Thuggee Officer soon completed the case against the impudent criminal, and committed him for trial. The late investigations of the murderers of British subjects during the Mutiny, successfully conducted by the Assistant for the Department at Lucknow, and by another special Officer in the North Western Provinces *on the plan of the Thuggee Department*, are similar instances of the applicability of the special and exceptional Agency.

But more remains to be said. The *Friend of India* remarked of the "Madras Constabulary," its fitness for the duty of capturing Dacoits. It is also generally said that the proposed new Police is to be based on the *Madras system.* We like to see a proper account given of a general measure,—to call things by their proper names. It aids the understanding of a subject to do so. The lately newly organized Madras Police was formed, however, upon the model of the Police introduced some years ago *in the Bombay Presidency.*

Sir Charles Napier had adopted the Irish Constabulary, before tried by him in the Ionian Islands, as the model upon which he formed his own Sind Police. They performed the protective and detective duties of the province. Lord Ellenborough purposed to introduce the same system into the Upper Provinces of India, separated from every other branch of administration. The innovation was negatived by the upholders of the Burkundaz system, which preserved to Magistrates all authority over Police matters, and it was brought to an end on that Nobleman's departure from the country, after but a few months' trial. But the Sind system survived. It has formed the model, with slight alterations suited to local requirements, *of every subsequent Police organisation in India.* Sir Thomas Munro in the Madras Territory had in 7 years convicted 94 per cent. of Police employés. Of 100 principal division or district officers, there had not, in that period, been more than five or six who had not been convicted of peculation. There were not ten men who had kept themselves from evil. Of the Madras Police at a much later period a Commissioner in the Torture Enquiry wrote ;—" I have no hesitation in stating that 'the so-called Police of the Mofussil, is little better than delu- 'sion. It is a terror to well disposed and peaceable people,

'none whatever to thieves and rogues; and that if it was abo- 'lished *in toto*, the saving of expense to Government would be 'great, and property would be not a whit less secure than it 'is now." Another declared;—"the Police Establishment has 'become the bane and pest of society, the terror of the com- 'munity, and the origin of half the misery and discon- 'tent that exist among the subjects of Government. Corrup- 'tion and bribery reign paramount throughout the whole esta- 'blishment; violence, torture, and cruelty, are their chief 'instruments for detecting crime, implicating innocence, or ex- 'torting money, &c. &c." Time enough for effecting a change! The remedy proposed was a separation of the Police from the Revenue Agencies.* Madras looked about herself. She beheld what her sister Bombay had already for some years been about. Sir George Clerk, now once more the energetic "straight as an arrow" Governor of Bombay, had, when formerly in that position, established a thorough reform of the Bombay Police. A gubernatorial progress through Sind had convinced him of the efficiency of the Police of that province, and he formed that for Bombay, not so much in accordance with that of Sind, as with its principles. The memoir of the Bombay Police printed upon its formation in one of the volumes of selections from the Records of the Bombay Government before us, contains a clear and succinct exposition of the whole subject. The preface to that volume points out to Police officers, the necessity for inter-communication of information and intelligence with each other *—as much of the success of the Thuggee Department was owing to such an interchange between its officers.* It was required that Superintendents of Police, while acknowledging the Magistrates of their respective jurisdictions as the Chief Civil Authority, should in other respects act independently of them. They were not to be directed by them,—and on all Police subjects were allowed to correspond direct with Government, under flying seals through the Senior Magistrates, merely that the latter might have concurrent knowledge of what was in progress,—not that they were able to control them. It was upon a consideration of the excellent results attending the Bombay system, that the authorities at Home directed the adoption of a similar plan in the Madras Presidency. In all main details essentially

* We have wondered why the Bombay Government on a late occasion combined the duties of Commissioner of Police with those of the Revenue Commissioners! We remember a principle enunciated that "Revenue was Police." Establish a good system for the collection of Revenue, and a good Police system follows. But we thought the idea was exploded long ago. It is plain that the two agencies are elsewhere considered incompatible.

similar, "in principles of European command, unity of action 'throughout the country, and a complete separation between 'Revenue and Police duties," it cannot be said to have any other organization. Its principles are those that had already been some time in operation in Bombay, viz. "entire separation 'from all connection with the Revenue branch of the Adminis- 'tration, and also of the Judicial functions of the Magistracy of 'all grades, from the duties belonging to the preventive and de- 'tective Police; and thus drawing a clear line of demarca- 'tion between the functions of the Magistrate and those 'of the Chief Commissioner of Police; placing the superin- 'tendence of the Police of the entire Presidency, under 'the immediate and direct control of the Governor in Coun- 'cil, and the appointment of a Chief Commissioner in whom to 'be vested, in communication with the Chief Secretary to 'Government, the direction, discipline, and internal economy 'of the Police Force." As in Bombay so in Madras, when the new arrangements were completed, the police functions of the Magistrate were defined. We need not here go into the Police systems in the Punjab, the North West, Oudh, and in Bengal. All differed from each other. One grafted upon the original Sind mode grew unnaturally, and became the wild olive branch. In another the Sind system was travestied. In a third it certainly met the exigencies of the moment when it was suddenly raised *upon the Sind system.* It possesses, as does the Police of the North West, a protective element—if men, muskets, and powder, the three things of which the Indian Police World has been composed—leather or prunello—can accord protection: but it requires to a greater degree the other two essentials—the detective and preventive—although the preservative it has acquired by disarming the population. But *protection* it can—beyond what its own armed hosts present—scarcely be said to have accomplished, unless we have misunderstood what has transpired of the action of the Oudh Police in the late great *Ram Dyal Case* at Lucknow. As in the Punjab so in Oudh we believe a tendency was to be observed of a wish to revert to the *double* system of the North West and Bundlecund—*Military* under its distinct officers and *Civil* under Deputy Commissioners and Magistrates. "I cannot understand," wrote the Police Commissioner of the North West to a Dacoity officer, "why you should have sent me this report of a Dacoity." The latter had thought he did well to let him know of its occurrence. He did not know that it formed no part of the functions of the police to enquire into ordinary crime! In the last of the series again, (Bengal,) was the old system—

Burkundaz. All are now about to be reformed. Not at all too soon:—and the *Bombay Plan* is on the whole, that of the draft of the Act for the new Police now about to be discussed in Council.

Having thus shewn, we hope correctly, upon what the new Madras Police had really been constituted,—having we believe demonstrated, that it would be as hard to say of it that it was not based upon that of Bombay, as to declare that the new Provincial Police at Home, had not been grounded upon its older counterpart—the Metropolitan Police,—we would now, to follow-out our argument, advert to the action of its prototype the *Police of Bombay* with reference to that of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department in the same territory. In Bombay the Agency of that Department has been in full operation contemporaneously with the local Police. As an auxiliary to the efforts of the latter, its services have always been acknowledged. We have already adverted to the hope expressed by the Court of Directors that the measures for the suppression of Dacoity might be as effectual in Bombay as they had proved in other parts of India where the same system had been pursued. "There can be little doubt," at a subsequent period wrote the Secretary to the Bombay Government to the Assistant to the General Superintendent at Belgaum, "that this result (the 'marked decrease of Dacoity,) is due principally to your 'exertions." The sentiment has we believe often been repeated. In Madras territory however, *in which the Agency of the Thuggee Department does not exist*, we have reason to believe that the crime of Dacoity exists to a very great extent. We know that it was but recently stated to be more rife there, *than ever it was in Bengal during any period of our rule.* We have seen indeed a statement limited to an enquiry for three years, that out of 3,737 cases of gang robbery of occurrence in Madras Territory, there were 784 authenticated instances, the details of which closely resembled the crime of Dacoity as perpetrated in other parts of India:—in which 21 persons were murdered, 117 tortured, 713 wounded, and 337 suffered personal violence. The value of the property carried off amounted to Rs. 429,720-6-6½, of which but Rs. 20,249-8-9 had been recovered by the Police. As many as 14,975 persons were supposed to have been implicated. Only in an eighth part of the number of cases were any of the culprits apprehended:—but out of 669 persons sent up for trial, 19 only were convicted. This referred to a period not very long antecedent to the introduction of the new Police; and such a state of things shewed, if nothing else did, the necessity that existed for a

change in the police system in Madras Territory. But it at the same time shewed, its police being so much on the Bombay principle where the Thuggee Agency was so valuable, the expediency of introducing within it the same auxiliary Agency for the same good purpose. For we have not heard of any particular diminution of the crime in Madras. We know it to be infested by professional gang robbers. But *non tali auxilio*, we must suppose from what the *Friend of India* would advance of its efficiency, is the opinion observed at Madras. We cannot here pass over, however, something very congruous with the subject, whether with reference to the Madras or any other Territory in which the same rejection of good offices would be followed. We observe it to have been remarked by a person very high authority, of the action of the Thuggee Agency in that portion of Bombay Territory once under his charge, that he could safely say, he believed the decrease of gang robberies to be in a great degree owing to the measures of repression adopted by the Dacoity Department, and was very decidedly of opinion that any relaxation of those measures would be attended with an immediate increase of crime;—he added, "*that a vigilant local Police might restrain* '*local robbers, but that unless the local Police were excellent beyond* '*anything he knew in India,*' *it was quite incapable of efficiently* '*coping with organized professional gangs robbing at a distance* '*from their homes, such as were most of the communities against* '*which the operations of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department were* '*directed.*" Of this we believe a very recent example has been furnished in another large territory, where the evidence produced by the Thuggee Department of the existence therein of a certain class of professional robbers,—the same great confederacy that infests the districts of Madras,—was ignored by the officer in judicial and police charge thereof, on the ground that he had never heard of them during a career of upwards of 12 years!

We have now done with the subject. It cannot fail to command some interest. We do not deprecate new institutions in favor of old. For the new police has our most cordial support. The country wants it. Let it be at once introduced everywhere. But let us not forget our obligations to the great masses. Let us not subject them by the innovation by any specious novelty to a *recurrence* of the horrors from which they have so eminently been freed. Let the detective element of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department be preserved intact. So far from extinguishing that proved and trusted Institution, we would rather advocate, after all that we have been able to say of it, an extended scope being given to it. We would

bring the whole, wherever existing, together *under one head.* We would place one or two Assistants in every separate Police Province, one in every great native State. We would have the trials of its commitments, to devolve on a special judicial officer, and on special judicial qualifications. For experience has taught us that ordinary Sessions Courts have been unable to grapple with the most difficult cases turning upon the evidence of its approvers. We would certify to it the same free and independent sphere of action hitherto extended to it, and continue it, as heretofore, under the direct control of the Governor General in Council—*distinct from the Police of the country.* We would establish different grades of salaries among Assistants, to induce officers to remain in it,—and with a view to retain in it that peculiar experience to be acquired in no other branch of public employment, we would hold out to its officers higher expectations, if on that ground only, by adopting the recommendation of Mr. Ricketts in his Report upon the Revision of Civil Salaries and Establishments. We would lastly make it and use it as *the* Police of India for its special purposes. For there are many eminent persons who coincide with the opinion of the late Mr. Craigie, that "as spies, and as the most able detec-'tives in India which their training and duties should make 'them, they might well be directed in addition to their present 'duties, to hunt down the miscreants of the Rebellion still at 'large. They might well be employed to accompany troops 'for the purpose of discovering the position of an enemy, and 'they would be of infinite use in detecting the treachery of false 'friends. Such work would bring the efficiency of the department 'prominently forward once more. Officers would be stimulat-'ed, traitors brought to justice, murderers to the gallows,—and 'the falling prestige of our Police would be restored." But merge the department into the new Police, then let us be sure,—it is the warning voice of every one who has studied class crime in India,—that "*the recruiting of the now broken bands will 'again take place, and their reorganization will continue to per-'fect itself more or less rapidly and extensively, as the lapse of 'time allows matters again to fall into their natural and former 'state.*"

We conclude with one more extract from Sir William Sleeman's Book, although a former quotation was very much in the same language. As we revere his memory, so let his words have a place in our minds. "It would perhaps be difficult," said he, "to point out in the history of mankind, any other 'single measure which produced so much of good, or removed 'so much of evil among so great a family of nations, or so many

'millions of our fellow creatures, as that of the suppression of 'these bands of murderers by hereditary profession, which has 'been unostentatiously effected by the Government of India, 'chiefly through the gratuitous services of its political function- 'aries accredited among the native states. But this measure 'neither flattered the vain-glory of the people of any particular 'nation, nor enlisted on its side the self-love of any influen- 'tial class of powerful individuals; and has in consequence been 'attended with no éclat. It has, however, tended to secure 'to the Government the gratitude and affection of the people 'of India, and is a work of which that Government and the 'people of England may be justly proud."

No éclat has indeed attended the Department. Its duties have, as the general tone of the papers we have been reviewing certify, been performed conscientiously, energetically,—but with a sense—a depressing sense—that, perhaps seldom occupying any prominent place in the estimation of authorities, looked upon as extra-judicial, mentioned often with sarcasm, and as often disparaged,—it commanded no particular attention and had still to meet every detraction, misprision, and misrepresentation. Hence perhaps the reason why its extinction would seem to be so easy of accomplishment to those higher in position who would counsel it. "Sympathy," says a great writer, "is rarely strong where 'there is great inequality of condition." But we would not think so ungenerously of those by whom the subject is about to be discussed. While, however, we trust to their mature consideration of the subject we have endeavoured to ventilate, we would not be thought to be praying for their compassion. Our persuasion of the utility of the Department needs no appeal *ad misericordiam* in its behalf. It stands high enough in public estimation to chance the present hazard. Its officers and its agents have everything to be proud of. Their claims, we feel assured, cannot be neglected. Our sympathy is for the people any change would most affect. We have added our warning voice to the experience of the past. It may not be in vain that we have done so, not in vain that we have taken upon ourselves a grave responsibility at an important crisis. Be wise therefore, oh rulers! But if all has been in vain:—if *self-love* and the distasteful opinion of the speciality of this Thuggee and Dacoity Department for its particular duties over that of any other Police Establishment—past or present—and we will be bold enough to add—*future*,—be allowed to have their sway, and the Department be doomed—*its elements not introduced into the New Police*,—we may venture the prediction that the crimes it has put down and continues to suppress, will, sooner or later,

break out again. We shall have undone a good work. The Department will be regretted. The people of India will cry out for its re-establishment. Government will lament the evil hour in which it was counselled to forego it,—and

Extinctus amabitur idem.

'amount of educational destitution! Since there are, as we have 'already seen, in these two provinces, 6,600,000 or upwards of 'six and a half millions of the school-going age; and since of 'these, only 7¾ in a hundred, receive instruction of any kind; 'it must follow that only 511,000 or about half a million receive 'any kind of instruction—leaving 6,088,500, or about six millions 'of children, capable of receiving school instruction, wholly 'uneducated." But for a complete picture of the educational destitution in Bengal and Behar we refer our readers to an article in No. IV. of this *Review*, and to one published in the *Calcutta Christian Observer* of July 1858, both written by the Rev. Dr. Duff, a man, who perhaps of all others now living has done most to raise the standard of education, and to inaugurate a system of missionary education, which in its results is fraught with blessings to the teeming population of India.

Such then being the state of general education throughout the country—for though the report had been made nearly twenty years before but very little real improvement had taken place—it must be admitted that the opponents of a University had something like a fair show of ground for their opposition. And yet, for two reasons, we hold that Government was right in steadily pursuing the course it adopted. In the first place, the object of a University is not merely by granting degrees to assert the fact that education has made certain progress, and that some, be they few or many, have acquired a certain amount of knowledge and have been subjected to a certain amount of mental training. Besides, and in addition to this, its object is directly and indirectly to foster and cherish education generally, and endeavour to extend its beneficial influences through the various classes of the community. Let but the true idea of a University be carried out in its integrity and we can scarcely conceive of any better way in which money may be spent to diffuse the advantages of a sound and liberal education amongst even the lower orders of society; and provided the poorer classes be not entirely neglected, rather than that the whole of the money capable of being devoted to educational purposes should be spent upon them, it were better that a portion should be diverted to induce even though it were but a few to seek to enter the higher walks of learning,—assured as we are that the benefits thus conferred at first upon a few would sooner or later be diffused with usury amongst the many. It would have been a short-sighted and niggard policy for Government to have said:—"Whatever sum is appropriated for education, spend upon the village schools and

improve the patshallahs and so let the people reap the benefit." They took the higher and the broader ground—while you try to improve the lower neglect not the upper, open a way for those desirous of distinguishing themselves, and the honour they gain, while it is their reward, shall be a stimulus to induce others to follow in their steps. Were there none then fitted to present themselves for the examinations a University would give as the test of the possession of qualifications necessary for a degree, the direct influence for good which it would bring to bear upon education generally would of itself justify its establishment.

But in addition to this, and as a second reason justifying its establishment, we assert that in certain places education had made such progress as to warrant the belief that a body of men would be found capable of competing successfully for the distinctions a University is empowered to confer. While the general spread of education through the country had been of so limited an extent there had arisen here and there institutions—some, fostered by the Government—others supported by legacies left for that purpose—others established as a direct means of bringing missionary efforts to bear upon certain classes of the people, otherwise scarcely accessible to them,—in all of which institutions, while elementary instruction was not neglected, the studies in the higher classes were carried to such a degree as to justify the confident expectation that many of their students, if an opportunity were furnished to them, would be able to obtain literary honours. Many of the institutions that on the establishment of the University were affiliated to it, had been for many years in existence, quietly and without ostentation doing their work, accompanied with more or less of success. Amongst them there were for instance,

Connected with Government.

The Medical College established in	1835
Hooghly College	1836
Dacca College	1841
Kishnaghur College	1845

Unconnected with Government.

The Bishop's College established in	1822
Doveton College—growing out of the Parental Academy	1823
St. Paul's School	1845
Free Church Institution	1830
La Martiniere	1836
London Missionary Institution, Bhowanipur ...	1838
Serampore College	1818

Not that we mean to assert that in all or even in *any* of these institutions there had been from their commencement a high education imparted. This could not be expected. Everything must have a beginning. But however humble the beginning of some of them might have been—however varied the success some of them had been accompanied with—and through whatever alternation of hope and almost despair their managers had successively passed, yet they were all able to claim affiliation with the University on the ground that they possessed an educational staff capable of educating their students up to the standard of the B. A. Degree, and that the course of study for the two previous years at least had been of a sufficiently high standard to warrant the authorities in yielding the claim. So that on the grounds both of the stimulus it would give to general education and that it was not too premature a step to take, the establishment of Universities is justified.

We now proceed to detail the various steps taken in their first establishment. In the year 1854 the Government of India received the now famous educational despatch instructing and authorizing them to take the necessary steps for instituting Universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. In the paragraphs from 24 to 32 of that despatch a general outline of the views of the Court is given.

"The Hon'ble Court desire generally, that the Universities should be established, so as to "encourage a regular and liberal course of Education, by conferring Academical Degrees as evidence of attainments in the different branches of Art and Science, and by adding marks of honor for those who may desire to compete for honorary distinction;" they express an opinion, that "the form, government and functions" of the London University "are the best adapted to the wants of India," and "may be followed with advantage, although some variation will be necessary in points of detail;" they indicate the constitution of the governing body of the Universities, observing that "the Senates will have the management of the funds of the Universities, and frame regulations for your approval," (that is, for the approval of the Governor General in Council,) under which periodical examinations may be held in the different branches of Art and Science;" they point out, that "the function of the Universities will be to confer Degrees upon such persons as, *having been entered as candidates according to the Rules which may be fixed in this respect*," and "having produced certificates of good conduct and a regular course of study, from any of the *affiliated Institutions*" (as described,) shall pass *at the Universities* such an examination as "may be required of them;" and they desire that *the Examinations for Degrees may not include* "*any subjects connected with religious belief*," and that Schools conducted by all denominations of every religious persuasion "may be affiliated to the Universities, if they are found to afford the requisite course of study and can be depended upon for the certificates of conduct."

"Further, the Hon'ble Court desire, that the detailed Regulations for the Examination for Degrees may be framed "with a due regard for all classes of the affiliated Institutions," and they observe that "the standard

for common Degrees" must be "fixed with very great judgment," so that it should be "such as to command respect without discouraging the efforts of deserving students," while in the competition for Honors, care is to be taken to "maintain such a standard as will afford a guarantee for high ability and valuable attainments, *the subjects being so selected as to include the best portions of the different schemes of study pursued at the affiliated Institutions.*"

"Lastly, the Hon'ble Court suggest that Degrees should be given in Law and Civil Engineering, and special Degrees in other branches of useful learning; and that the study of the Vernacular and learned languages of India should be particularly encouraged."

Seventeen gentlemen were accordingly selected by Government to act as a Committee for the purpose of considering the whole plan, and drawing up a detailed scheme for the establishment and regulation of the institution. To these, eleven gentlemen were subsequently added making up a committee of twenty-eight, selected from different classes and representing as fairly as possible the different sections of the community, excepting perhaps the Mahomedans and those schools that were unconnected with Government and with Missionary bodies. Many of these private schools had arisen, and in some of them an advanced education had been for some time given. On the whole, however, the Committee was selected with singular impartiality—the missionary bodies, some of whom had taken a very high position in furthering education amongst the people, and who had done so too with the avowed intention of using education as a means of christianizing them, and whose schools had, notwithstanding, been attended by thousands of the natives, were even strongly represented, and we are glad to record the fact to the credit of the Indian Government (at whose head Lord Dalhousie then was) that upon that first committee, in addition to the Rev. Dr. Kay, Principal of the Bishop's College, there were four gentlemen who had identified their names most thoroughly with the progress of missions in India, the Rev. Messrs. Duff, Ewart, Ogilvie and Mullens. The letter of instructions sent to the Committee, dated Council Chamber, the 26th January 1855, and signed Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India, bears evident marks of the master mind then ruling India. "The Most Noble the Governor 'General in Council was desirous that steps should be imme'diately taken to prepare the scheme of an University to be 'established in Calcutta." The terms of the despatch precluded him from actually establishing a University "without further 'orders, but in anticipation of those orders, he considered it 'desirable that the details of a scheme in accordance with the 'outline sketched in the despatch should be settled with as

'little delay as possible." We mourn that the moving spirit is now so different; but it does one good to read such words in these degenerate days. It was desirable that in all important points of principle, uniformity between the three Universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay should be secured, and therefore the Committee were expected to keep in view that their report would have reference both to Madras and Bombay as well as to Calcutta. "Local circumstances would doubtless to some extent 'render modifications necessary, but it was essential that the 'legal status and authority of each University should be the 'same." Probably the Committee would deem it advisable to appoint a sub-committee to draw up a rough draft of a scheme, which could then be discussed by the whole. "His Lordship 'in Council would deprecate resort to written minutes by any 'Member of the Committee, and would recommend as a prefer- 'able arrangement that the scheme, when drawn by a small 'sub-committee of correspondence, should be discussed at a full 'meeting of the Committee (of which a majority may form a quo- 'rum) and settled according to the opinions of the majority of 'members present." His Lordship was very evidently in earnest. He did not want to have to wade through a lot of minutes. He wanted the report, and so, wrapped up in Mr. Beadon's courtly phrase, we read;—"Gentlemen, I want the report quickly; I cannot expect you to agree in every detail of it. Meet and discuss the matter amongst yourselves and let me have the result with as little delay as possible." They were to write to the different Local Governments from whom they would doubtless receive valuable suggestions which it would be their duty carefully to consider. Referring to a suggestion that had been made to His Lordship in Council that two degrees should be given in each subject, he leaves it to their decision "observing 'that any one degree of the very low standard, which seems to 'be contemplated by the Hon'ble Court, would be of little 'value." "With these observations, His Lordship in Council 'leaves the subject to the careful and anxious consideration of 'the Committee."

And the Committee gave it their anxious and careful consideration. They met and appointed five Sub-Committees; one for the purpose of preparing drafts of such Bill or Bills as may be necessary for the incorporation of the University, the others for preparing draft rules for Examinations for degrees in Arts, Medicine, Law and Civil Engineering. The Sub-Committees having met and prepared these draft rules, sent them to the Governments of the several Presidencies, Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North Western Provinces, for such observations

as they might desire to offer on the plans thus presented, as it were, in the rough. All the subordinate Governments replied, sending various opinions from many Local officers. And then the Sub-Committees, considering their former reports in connexion with these replies, drew up their second and final reports which were duly considered by the whole Committee on the 9th July 1856. "The result of the meeting of the Committee held 'on that date was, that the Reports of the Sub-Committees on 'Arts and Civil Engineering were adopted in their integrity; 'that the report of the Sub-Committee on Law was adopted, 'with the exception of a single rule proposed by the Sub-'Committee on the supposition of a contingency which did not 'seem to have arisen; and that the Report of the Medical Sub-'Committee was adopted, with certain modifications, with ad-'vertence to which it was referred to a Special Sub-Committee 'for revision."

Without stopping to give the details of the first reports and the consequent discussions, we proceed at once to give a brief and very condensed sketch of the final reports thus presented to and adopted by the Committee, and which were afterwards forwarded to Government and approved by it when the scheme was ultimately sanctioned.

The Sub-Committee of Arts, then consisting of the Hon'ble Mr. Grant, Messrs. Beadon, Young and Woodrow, Baboo Ram Gopaul Ghose, Pundit Ishwar Chundra Vidyaságár, the Rev. Dr. Duff and Dr. Kay, the Rev. Messrs. Mullens, Ogilvie and Ewart, and Dr. Mouat, taking the London University as their model, first took up the question of the titles that should be assigned to the several degrees. They decided upon holding an Entrance Examination which should be open to all lads who had attained their sixteenth year and who could produce certificates of good moral character. These were the only conditions requisite. It mattered not from what district the candidates might come or in what schools they had been educated. The Committee, we think wisely, cast aside the term given to the corresponding Examination in London; viz. matriculation, as being not sufficiently descriptive and as no useful end could be gained by preserving it—but they as wisely determined to retain the well-known and familiar titles of Bachelor and Master of Arts—the former though non-descriptive yet possessing so well and widely understood a conventional meaning that, as they truly say "it would be far more acceptable to the graduates and to the public in general than any other that could be substituted for it, and there seems no sufficient reason for denying to the Indian student a coveted verbal distinction of this nature, if the profi-

ciency by which he earns it be on the whole as high, and the examination by which that proficiency is tested be as strict, as those by which the same distinction is obtained in the Universities of the United Kingdom and other parts of the civilized world." To the latter title, that of Master, there could be no objection, for in addition to these reasons it was "eminently descriptive."

The question of title being fixed there next arose that of affiliation. It being settled that any one might present himself as a candidate for the Entrance Examination, the question came,—shall this be allowed to all candidates for degrees or shall we insist upon their passing a certain term say of two, three, four years or more in some recognized scholastic institutions—institutions recognized through their being affiliated to the University? While we differ from the Committee as to the decision to which they came, we cannot but admit the difficulty that beset them and the weight of the reasons they urge in support of their decision. They rightly regarded the object of the University, as not being merely "to ascertain in the candidate for literary honors 'the possession of a certain amount of knowledge, without reference to the question whether such knowledge had been attained 'by a laborious process of continued study, or by the injurious 'process of cramming, but that it would be a great error for the 'University not to employ its influence in establishing correct 'views of the nature of real education and in furthering the progress of such education as far as it possibly can." But the question yet remains, whether that object is best secured by depriving of all chance of literary honors, and of the employment which in this country generally follows and in some instances is only to be obtained as the result of their acquisition, the poor lad, who, devoting to study the hours he can spare from his daily toil, with a manliness and perseverance that Englishmen of all others should admire and encourage, plods on bravely and steadily; but who, notwithstanding his disadvantages, would be able, if permitted, successfully to compete for the coveted and enviable distinction. The Committee thought they were best promoting that object by not giving him a chance, but by confining the Examination for degrees to those and those only who have had the advantages of a regular and continued course of education; though we must do them the justice to say that they would permit any school to be affiliated whose curriculum of study is such as would enable their students, after four years' study, to pass respectably the Examination for the B. A. degree, and that in recommending this system "they have special regard to the present wants of India." "Hereafter," they say, "when the highest benefits of Edu-

'cation are more fully appreciated, when the country is filled with 'well instructed schools, and when the number of students voluntarily submitting to a long continued training is greatly increas'ed, it may be needless for the University to consider the general 'character of the Education given, and it may be deemed suffici'ent for it to test only one of the results of education, the amount 'of knowledge which candidates have attained. Meantime, they 'think that the system of affiliation will be productive of good."

The questions of titles and affiliation being thus settled the next and perhaps the more important questions of the nature of the Examinations, were considered. The Entrance Examination they determined to make as nearly as possible similar to the Matriculation Examination in London. But the different position that education occupied in England and in India, and the difference in the nature of the education given in the two countries, rendered it impossible slavishly to follow the London plan, and surrounded the question itself with a very considerable amount of difficulty. At all the public schools, and in all the larger private scholastic establishments in England, the education given may be generally described as classical and mathematical. The nature of the examination then to be prescribed in obtaining a degree is not difficult to guess. Of course the subjects would be those, nine out of every ten of which are taught in all well regulated and advanced institutions, private as well as public. But in India where the question affected so many millions speaking so many different languages, it was seen that to render the University a boon to all, the Examination must not be confined to a single branch of languages but must be of so wide a scope as to permit candidates a choice of languages for examination. There were the European and East Indian portions of the community taught in schools, conducted as nearly as possible, so far as the subject of languages is concerned, on the same plan as English schools. For them an examination in Latin and Greek might be given—while to require an examination in such subjects from natives would be practically to exclude them from all share in the benefit of the University. In England too "English is the only Ver'nacular and Latin, Greek, and Hebrew the only classical lan'guages, but in the Bengal Presidency alone here are (apart 'from numerous dialects and aboriginal barbarous tongues) four 'main Vernacular languages, namely Urdu, Hindi, Bengali and 'Burmese, and two classical languages of high philological 'value, namely, Arabic and Sanskrit, besides the Occidental 'classics; while English must be regarded in some cases as a 'classical, in others as a Vernacular language." The Sub-Com-

mittee therefore came to the conclusion that the plan which was liable to the least objection was to insist upon every candidate passing an examination in English and in one other language; and having respect to the different classes from which candidates would present themselves, the languages from which they were to select one should be the following—Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Burmese.

But in order that our readers may be able at one glance to compare the nature of the examinations held at Calcutta and in London, we subjoin in parallel columns the scheme for the examination at each place both for Entrance and for the degree of B. A.

Entrance or Matriculation Examination.

London.	Calcutta.
I.—Languages.	
The Greek and Latin Languages. One Greek and one Latin subject to be selected by the Senate from the works of Homer, and Xenophon, and from portions of the works of Virgil, Horace, Sallust, Cæsar, Livy, Cicero.	English—and also one of the following to be selected by the Candidate himself. Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Burmese.
The English Language. The Grammatical Structure of the Language.	The papers in each language shall include questions on Grammar and Idiom.
	Easy sentences in each of the languages in which the Candidate is examined shall be given for translation into the other.
II.—History and Geography.	
History of England to end of Seventeenth Century.	Outlines of General History as contained in Marshman's Brief Survey.
The papers in Classics shall contain questions in History and Geography.	Outlines of Indian History as contained in Murray's History.
	A general knowledge of Geography and a more detailed knowledge of the Geography of India.

III.—Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

Arithmetic and Algebra.	Arithmetic and Algebra.
Ordinary rules of Arithmetic.	The same with the exception of Arithmetical and Geometrical Progression.
Vulgar and Decimal Fractions.	
Extraction of Square Root.	
Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication and Division of Algebraical Quantities.	
Proportion.	
Arithmetical and Geometrical Progression.	
Simple Equations.	
Geometry.	Geometry.
The first book of Euclid.	The first three Books of Euclid.
Mechanics.	Mechanics.
Composition and Resolution of Statical Forces.	Composition and Resolution of Statical Forces.
Describe the Simple Mechines, &c.	Describe the Simple Machines, &c.
Define the Centre of Gravity.	Centre of Gravity.
General Laws of Motion.	
The Law of Motion of falling bodies.	
Hydrostatics, Hydraulics and Pneumatics.	
Elementary principles.	
Acoustics.	
Describe the Nature of Sound.	
Optics.	
State the laws of Reflection and Refraction.	
Explain the formation of images by Simple lenses.	

IV. Natural History.

None.	A general knowledge of the habits and characteristics of Vertebrated animals.
	General economy of vegetation and the simple or elementary organs of plants.

Fairly contrasting the two schemes then, and remembering that the Indian candidate would answer the questions in English, a language which to every nine out of ten of them would be a foreign one, we think it will be conceded that the Indian Entrance Examination is on the whole as difficult as that required from the candidate for Matriculation at London. The most marked difference is that observed under the head of Natural Philosophy where the London Examination appears far more difficult, but it must be borne in mind that the candidate is expressly told that a popular knowledge only of these subjects in Natural Philosophy will be required, such as may be obtained by attending a course of experimental Lectures—and as a fact we know that many pass in the first division whose knowledge of this portion of the examination is very elementary indeed. Taken altogether then the Indian Entrance Examination embraces as wide and extended a range of subjects as that included in the Matriculation Examination of the London University.

In connection with the Matriculation Examination at London an additional Examination for Honors is held in each of the four branches of Classics, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Natural History, and Chemistry. This examination is open to any candidate who has passed the previous Matriculation Examination. Any candidate who can pass either of these has more than qualified himself for the corresponding branch of examination for the B. A. degree. The Sub-Committee however were unanimous in thinking that such an Examination for Honors at Entrance was quite unnecessary. "They are 'of opinion that the standard of the Entrance Examination papers should be moderately high, so that they being placed by 'the Examiners in the first division should be evidence of considerable academical progress at the age of sixteen, the minimum 'age of admission, but that more than this is not required. And 'they think that a moderate amount of knowledge in each branch 'should be sufficient to give candidates a place in the Second 'Division and thus enable them to study for the Degrees."

The same difficulty as to languages was felt in deciding on the scheme for the B. A. examination as had already been met with in the Entrance Examination. At London, in addition to the Candidate being required to pass in English, Latin and Greek, he is required to undergo an examination in either French or German, at his option—but acting on the same general principles that had actuated them in deciding on the Entrance Course, the Sub-Committee thought it would be sufficient that the candidates should be required to pass in two languages, of which

English must be one. But of course the Examination must be much more severe, thorough and searching, than that required for the Entrance Examination. They "strongly recommend 'that every candidate should be required to possess a critical 'knowledge of his own Vernacular language, and that the ex-'amination should be so conducted as to put this knowledge 'strictly and thoroughly to the test." There being then the same relative difference between the examinations in languages for the B. A. as we have already noticed in the Entrance Examination, the course prescribed in the other subjects for the B. A. is as follows:—

LONDON.	CALCUTTA.
II.—HISTORY.	
History of Greece to the death of Alexander. Do. Rome to the death of Augustus. Do. England to the end of seventeenth century. The Classical papers shall be accompanied by questions in History and Geography.	The Principles of Historic Evidence as treated in Isaac Taylor's two works on the subject. History of England (including that of British India) to the end of 1815. Elphinstone's History of India. Ancient History, with special reference to the History of Greece to the death of Alexander, and to the History of Rome to the death of Augustus, and the History of the Jews. The Historical questions will include the Geography of the countries to which they refer.
III.—MATHEMATICS AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.	
Arithmetic and Algebra. In addition to the Matriculation Subjects, Algebraical Proportion and Variation. Permutations and Combinations. Arithmetical and Geometrical Progression,	Arithmetic and Algebra. The same as in London with the addition of the Binomial Theorem.

London.	Calcutta.
Simple and Compound Interest; Discount and Annuities for times of years.	
Simple and Quadratic Equations and questions producing them.	
The nature and use of Logarithms.	
Geometry.	Geometry.
The first six books of Euclid and the eleventh, to the 21st proposition.	The same course of Euclid.
Equation to the straight line and the Equation to the circle referred to rectangular co-ordinates.	Conic Sections.
Equations to the Conic sections referred to rectangular co-ordinates.	
Plane Trigonometry.	Plane Trigonometry.
Solution of all cases of Plane Triangles.	Same course.
Expression for Area of a triangle in terms of its sides.	
Mechanics.	Mechanics.
Composition and Resolution of Forces.	Same course.
Mechanical Powers.	
Centre of Gravity.	
General Laws of Motion.	
Motion of falling bodies in free space and down inclined planes.	
Hydrostatics, Hydraulics and Pneumatics.	

The same course in both.

London.	Calcutta.
Astronomy.	Astronomy.
Apparent motion of the heavens round the earth.	Elementary knowledge of the Solar system, including the phenomena of Eclipses.
—— —— —— sun through the fixed stars.	
Phenomena of Eclipses.	
Regression of the Planets.	

London.	Calcutta.
Proofs of the Copernican system.	
Optics.	Optics.
None.	Laws of Reflection and Refraction.
	Formation of images by simple lenses.

IV.—Physical Sciences.

Chemistry.	Chemistry.
None.	A general notion of the nature and condition of the atmosphere,—of water—Hydrogen—Alkalies, Salts, Metals—Combustion—Heat, &c.
Animal Physiology.	Animal Physiology.

Nearly the same course in each.

Physical Geography.	Physical Geography.
None.	As contained in Hughes' Work.

V.—Mental and Moral Sciences.

Logic.	Logic.
Introduction, 1st Book and to end of Chapter III. in 2nd Book of Whateley's Elements.	Whateley's Elements.
Moral Philosophy.	Moral Philosophy.
Paley's 1st, 3rd and 4th Books.	As contained in Abercrombie or Wayland.
Butler's three sermons on Human Nature.	
Mental Philosophy "	Mental Philosophy.
None.	As contained in Abercrombie or Dr. Payne.

As in the Entrance Examination, so in that for the B. A. degree, the Calcutta University has no cause to fear comparison with London. In History, the Examination in the former is much more severe than in the latter, the Committee rightly judging that "its great importance, the ignorance that has so extensively prevailed in India respecting its real nature, character and worth, as well as the great benefits which native students are likely to derive from a careful study of its best portion,

'rendered it advisable 'to give it a prominent place in the Ex-'amination.'"

A successful candidate for the B. A degree might then submit himself for an examination in Honors in either one or more of the following subjects:—

1. Languages.
2. History.
3. Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.
4. Natural History and the Physical Sciences.
5. The Mental and Moral Sciences.

His passing that examination successfully would entitle him at once to his degree of Master of Arts. And any man who did so succeed would have well earned his title to that literary distinction.

The degrees in Arts being those that the great majority of students would aspire to, we have been thus minute in specifying the examinations necessary to obtain them and in contrasting them with those given for the same purpose in the London Institution on the plan of which that at Calcutta has been to so great an extent modelled. In reference to the examination for degrees in Medicine, Law and Civil Engineering, suffice it to say that the first has been assimilated as nearly as possible to that in London, the second has been much modified, to suit the different circumstances of the countries, for the third there is no degree given in London—and the Committee had consequently nothing to guide them in forming a plan of examination excepting their own knowledge of the requirements of the case. Looking, then, at the whole matter impartially we have no hesitation in saying that the distinction conferred by a Calcutta degree is fully equal to that conferred by one given in London.

The different reports of the various Sub-Committees over, which we have thus rapidly glanced having been submitted to the general committee, were considered and adopted, on the 9th July, 1856. And on the 7th August, Sir James W. Colvile, President of the University Committee, submitted to Government "a report of the proceedings of the Committee from their appointment to the present time, and of the scheme, which after careful and mature deliberation they have resolved to recommend."

The Resolution of Government upon the report thus presented was recorded on the 12th December 1856. The Governor General in Council thus expresses his sense of the mode in which the arduous labours of the Committee had been performed. "The thanks of the Government are largely due to 'the Members of the Committee, for the careful and complete

'manner in which they have discharged their trust, amongst 'pressing avocations and claims upon their time, which, with many, 'can have left little room for additional labours. The work has been 'admirably performed, and the Governor General in Council has 'no hesitation in adopting, unreservedly, the scheme of the 'Committee, which with few exceptions, is strictly in accordance 'with the views expressed by the Hon'ble Court in their despatch 'of 19th July 1854 and by the Government of India in the letter 'appointing the Committee." On the 24th January 1857 Act II. of 1857 was passed, establishing and incorporating a University at Calcutta. The Preamble states that "Whereas, 'for the better encouragement of Her Majesty's subjects of all 'classes and denominations within the Presidency of Fort 'William in Bengal and other parts of India in the pursuit of a 'regular and liberal course of education it has been determined 'to establish an University at Calcutta for the purpose of ascer'taining, by means of Examination, the persons who have acquir'ed proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science and 'Art, and of rewarding them by Academical Degrees, as 'evidence of their respective attainments, and marks of honor 'proportioned thereunto; and whereas, for effectuating the pur'poses aforesaid, it is expedient that such University should be 'incorporated. It is enacted as follows, &c." And thus was the University established.

But while we regard with almost unmixed satisfaction the scheme of examination prepared by the original Committee, we are bound to express regret, at the changes which have been introduced by their successors and which have tended, we fear in no small degree, to lower the character of the University and thus materially to lessen its influence. It may be assumed as a matter of fact, that an Indian degree will not be, for at least many years to come, regarded as equivalent to a corresponding English degree, and this, although the examination necessary to secure the one may be in as many subjects, and the questions as severe, as those requisite for obtaining the other. There is the feeling in us, we had almost said, natural to us, to prefer anything English to its Indian correspondent. English Reviews, English Newspapers, English workmanship (whether truly or falsely is not the question) we believe to be better than Indian. And we cannot in our own minds prevent the instinctive comparison of Indian and English degrees, to the detriment of the former. Any one of us, there can be no doubt, if we cared two straws about the matter at all, would prefer having a B. A. degree from London rather than from Calcutta, or Madras or Bombay. We do not attempt to

justify the feeling. There it is—and we are bound to recognise it. If it be so, one obvious result is, that the authorities should be careful to extend the examination over such a range of subjects and so to frame the questions as to render the examination as severe a test in every respect as that presented by the London Examination. And we regret to find therefore that the tendency is to contract the range of subjects. If not to render the character of the questions more easy. There was evidently a sufficient reason why for the Examination held in April 1857 "special instructions should be issued to the Examiners, requesting them under the peculiar circumstances to be less stringent 'in their requirements, and to fix their papers at a somewhat 'lower standard than might on future occasions be advisable." The time elapsing between the promulgation of the subjects for Examination and the Examination itself was only three months. If, therefore, the candidate showed that he had a fair general knowledge of the subject, and could intelligently answer general questions connected with them, he might be allowed to pass. But still, even then, he was required to show the possession of a certain amount of knowledge of all the subjects to warrant the Examiner in passing him. Afterwards when the institution had got into full working trim, of course no allowance of this kind would be made; but a step much more fatal to its usefulness has been taken. The Senate has struck out from the Entrance course, the Examination in Mechanics and in Natural History. They have the example of their prototype, the London University, to urge in favour of the latter, but they could only have omitted the former to accommodate their standard to the existing state of education generally. Far better would it have been for education in India had the Senate kept rigidly to its originally prescribed plan. True, there is no degree conferred for passing the Entrance Examination, and that necessary before a degree can be obtained has not been reduced —but the very powerful reasons urged by the Senate for not reducing the standard for the B. A. degree tell with equal force against the very course they have pursued in reducing the standard for Entrance. The real question at issue was precisely the one which lay at the foundation of the suggestion made by the Senate of the Bombay University for reducing the standard of the B. A. degree. "They considered that in the present state 'of education in Western India, it would be injurious to College students to lead them to endeavour to meet the require- 'ments of so multifarious a standard, and they preferred to require of all, a sound knowledge of fundamental subjects, as 'Language, Mathematics, Selected periods of History, Logic and

'Moral Philosophy, with the addition of one other approved 'branch of knowledge to be selected by the candidate." We wish not for a better and more complete reply to this proposal of the Bombay Senate than that given by the Faculty of arts. "The Faculty are strongly opposed to any attempt to lower 'the standard for degrees to the present level of education in 'India. It appears to them that the duty of the Universities is 'to legislate more for the future than the present, and that in 'adopting the English title for their degrees, they are bound 'to fix such reasonable standard, as will place those who attain 'them, as nearly as possible, on a level with the corresponding 'graduates of the English Universities. That education is 'low in Western India, as it is also here, is matter for regret, 'but no valid reason for depreciating the value of the degrees 'by lowering them to meet the present acquirements of the na-'tive students. It rather appears to the Faculty to be the 'strongest argument against doing so. Were such the case, 'the Colleges and Schools throughout the country, would have 'no reason for advancing their students beyond the present 'very low position, whereas on the contrary, a higher standard 'by offering worthy objects of emulation, must necessarily 'advance education for many years to come. Few may obtain 'degrees, and none may attain to honors; still, in the end, the 'state of education in India must be much higher than it could 'possibly be, if, from the commencement, the Universities of 'India were to rest content with mediocrity." Mutatis mutandis, the same reasoning will hold good for not reducing the Standard for Entrance. The passing that examination successfully does not, it is true, confer any Degree, but it does confer academical distinction. In the original report adopted by the Committee and unreservedly approved by Government, they say "they could not fix it (the Standard for Entrance) 'lower, because tests for similar honours, though given in dif-'ferent countries, should be as far as possible, of equal value;" and again:—"They are of opinion that the standard of the En-'trance examination papers should be moderately high, so that 'the being placed by the examiners in the First Division should 'be evidence of considerable academical progress at the age of 'sixteen, the minimum age of admission." If those reasons were influential then, when the standard was first fixed, what reasons can be alleged for reducing it now? If it was thought necessary then that similar tests for similar honors should be applied, although in different countries, why should it be thought unnecessary now? Surely the Senate, who told the Bombay University that the low state of education was the strongest

argument against depreciating the value of Degrees by lowering them to meet the present acquirements of the native students, will not urge that low state of education as the reason for reducing the Standard for Entrance? And yet we know not to what other reason to assign the alteration. It was made in June 1858. For the Entrance Examination held in March of that year 464 candidates presented themselves of whom only 104 passed, and therefore no less than 360 failed. The failure of so many might very easily be accounted for. In the first examination held in the previous year, as we have already mentioned, because very little time had been given for preparation, special instructions were issued to the Examiners not to be so severe in testing the answers as they might appropriately be afterwards. This fact was bruited about, it was well-known amongst the students generally, and there can be but little doubt that the idea was entertained amongst them that the same lenient course would be again pursued, and hence many, very many, went up unprepared, and found out, only when too late, the mistake they had made. We think that is quite sufficient to account for the large number of failures, but the Senate called upon each examiner to submit a report upon the late Entrance and B. A. Examination with his opinion, formed upon such result, as to the propriety of making any, and what alteration in the Examination Standards and tests for future years. These reports were furnished, were considered by the Faculty of Arts, who recommended to the favourable consideration of the Syndicate that the alterations referred to should be made, and they were made accordingly. But in addition to the objection we have already urged on the ground that it lowers the value of the distinction obtained by passing the Entrance Examination, we object to it most strongly because it is *injurious* and *unnecessary*. It is injurious to the candidates themselves. The large majority of them as soon as they have passed the Entrance Examination seek to obtain situations. A few of the more wealthy or of those, who in the respective affiliated institutions are fortunate enough to obtain good scholarships, may hold on to try for their degree—but with the majority, their object is gained as soon as they have passed. They have the certificate of the University signed by the Registrar that they have successfully passed the Entrance Examination. And what more of literary distinction need they care for? Many of them who, if they could continue their studies to obtain their degree would gladly do so, necessity compels to seek remunerative employment. And while it is not right that any one should earn the distinction of having passed an Entrance Examination

too easily, it is a pity that any should be sent into the world without some little knowledge of that by which they may turn their mathematical attainments to some practical benefit. We know it might be said in reply that the Professors and teachers in the Colleges and Schools have the remedy in their own hands; let them in addition to the Entrance Course give their students a training in Mechanics. But we appeal confidently to those actually engaged in teaching as to the difficulty of getting those who are preparing for the Entrance Examination to attend to any other studies than those absolutely essential to pass. You may set your face like a flint against accommodating the subjects in your class merely to those adopted for Entrance, but if you are like a flint, the students will be like steel—and although they may be wise enough to refrain from coming into actual collision, yet the immediate object they set before their eyes is so close that they cannot see the advantage of anything not intimately connected with it—and while their strong desire to attain that object calls from them a concentration of energy and an application of purpose that you scarcely expected them capable of, yet it, on the other hand, or rather as a consequence, prevents their pursuing those studies that do not tell towards the gaining of that object. And after repeated trials you give the matter up in despair. And thus the student is ultimately injured merely for the sake of the present advantage of passing. But we say likewise that the alteration we are condemning is unnecessary. If there were no means of pursuing the study of mechanics so as to acquire a sound knowledge of the general principles of the science without being compelled to go through a very extended course of study, then we should justify the Senate in the course they have adopted in striking it out of the Entrance Examination. But no such plea can be urged. Books are now compiled in which the main principles are taught—and illustrated by simple examples capable of being wrought by any who have mastered simple equations and the first book of Euclid. We need only refer to Tate's small book, or better still, to Newth's First Book of Natural Philosophy, the latter having been written expressly to meet the wants of those who were preparing to take a similar examination in the London University. The book is not a large one and a class preparing for the Entrance Examination ought to be able to get it up well in the course of a year or eighteen months,—that is by taking regular classes in it, say, twice a week through that period. Most strongly, from our firm persuasion of the benefit resulting from it, would we urge upon the University authorities to re-introduce into the Entrance course the subject of mechanics, even if they only gave the chapters in

Newth's Book on Statics and Dynamics. That candidates prepared for the Examination will be found is evident even from the result of the disastrous year of 1858. The subject had not then been struck out and 104 passed. But even if its re-introduction does keep back many from making the trial, better far that a few only with a good general education should pass than that there should be a host of undergraduates having no notion whatever of that which every English Schoolboy of 14 knows tolerably well.

But equally important and more telling alterations have been made in reference to the examinations for conferring degrees, and alterations that will, we fear, be more disastrous in their effects than those to which we have already referred. In the discussions attendant upon the first reports of the Sub-Committees the question naturally arose, what should be required of those candidates who sought to obtain a professional degree in Civil Engineering, Medicine or Law? Should they be required previously to taking the professional degree to take the B. A. degree or only to pass the Entrance Examinations? Without very much discussion it was decided that for the degree of Licentiate of Medicine and Surgery (L. M. S.) Candidates must have passed the Entrance Examination. For the degree of Master of Civil Engineering, Candidates must have taken the B. A. degree. But it was only after considerable discussion that it was decided that candidates for the B. L. degree must necessarily obtain the B. A. degree previously. On what principle it was that the Committee decided to admit a candidate to the examination for a degree in Medicine and not to admit one to that for a degree in Law, without haying previously obtained his B. A. degree, we know not. That a doctor ought to have as good a general education as a lawyer—that is independently of his mere professional education—needs not to be discussed. And we cannot but consider it as a matter of regret that the Committee did not from the very first lay it down as a general rule that no professional degree could be obtained without the B. A. Examination having been first passed. The standard is not so high but that every Licentiate of Medicine or Bachelor of Laws ought to be able to attain to it. Whether under existing circumstances the Medical and Legal authorities should require that every one entitled to practise medicine or to plead in courts should first obtain his degree from the University is another question and one with which we contend the University authorities had nothing to do. Their duty was to do what was best for the promotion of learning and intelligence, and we cannot but feel that this would have been better ac-

complished had they made the B. A. degree a *sine qua non* for obtaining any professional degree. The whole question was most ably discussed at the time, by one, who, since he wrote the minute, has, by his clear foresight of coming evils and the strong common sense evinced in his efforts to avert and to counteract them, earned for himself the lasting gratitude of Europeans in India, but who has prematurely sunk under the weight of the burden that devolved on him—we mean Lord Elphinstone, the then Governor of Bombay—and although the extract is a long one yet the various points involved are so well handled that we cannot do better than put the whole matter before our readers in his Lordship's own words :—

" I urged, with some earnestness, that a preliminary Degree of B. A. should be required of all who may wish to enter for professional Degrees. I adhere entirely to this belief, and attach to it the greatest importance. The adoption or rejection of such a course will determine the whole character of the University on its purely practical side. I beg to urge most strongly, that a high general preliminary standard be exacted, without exception, of all candidates for University Degrees in every profession.

The Sub-Committee of Civil Engineering have recommended, I perceive, that a Degree of B. A. should be required of candidates for professional Degrees in their Faculty ; but they suggest a relaxation of this rule in favour of students in the Government Colleges, which I must consider inconsistent and unwise. The Sub-Committee of Law have recommended that a Degree of B. A. should be required of candidates for Degrees in Law, but they likewise bring forward an alternative suggestion, which in my opinion cannot fail to have an injurious effect. The Sub-Committee in Medicine admit that it would be most desirable to receive only such candidates as have qualified in Arts, but they only bring themselves to expect this consummation hereafter " in the future progress of Education in India."

I see no reason why it should not begin to be enforced from the date on which the University may begin to confer its Degrees of B. A.

The Government of India can have no desire to suggest, that mere professional expertness is all that should be required of a professional Graduate. Practical shrewdness, aptitude for the details of business, special knowledge of any kind, as a Lawyer, Doctor, Engineer, are excellent things, and will find their own rewards ; but these are not the qualities on which, through the University, it is the great object of our Government to set the seal of its approval. If intelligent men be brought to the thresholds of the professions and admitted to the benefits of instruction, there can be no doubt as to their professional advancement. Even without Degrees, the Colleges will gradually supply as much practical skill of as high a kind as the community can afford, or will consent to remunerate. Even with Degrees, they will not long supply more, and although the creation of a class of skilful native practitioners will be a great benefit and a great triumph, still there is a higher view than this of the present question—a view which must not be postponed to this ; for assuredly the future of these very professions, and even of native society itself, will depend less upon the special skill and dexterity of those who are to be the advisers of all classes in their common dealings and pursuits than upon the liberality

of their general views, the purity of their characters, and the soundness of those principles of thought and action which will give a colour to their lives and example. In a letter which has been placed at my disposal, Sir William Yardley has forcibly pointed out the danger of mere legal training without that high tone of professional morality which, in England and Scotland, is found to be the safeguard of men's most intimate confidences; and Mr. Howard, to whose able Report upon Law Degrees I shall presently have occasion to refer, expressly states that "it is in itself positively injurious to the mind to commence a study that requires so much precision of thought, except upon a broad previous foundation; the tendency of the study of any system of Law is undoubtedly to narrow an uncultivated mind." I believe that a similar objection applies to the other two branches for which professional Degrees are to be granted, and that in those whose moral faculties have not been carefully cultivated, or who are not under the influence of strong religious conviction, their studies have a materialist tendency, which it is important to counteract.

I dwell upon this subject, because I do not think that its importance can be over-rated. There is, in India, a very small class of persons who can hope to live otherwise than by their own exertions. Of those who live by their labour, the most influential, at present, are the bankers, the merchants, and the higher servants of the State. It is not difficult to believe, that in India the two former pursuits are unfavorable to study and to moral discipline, while an Officer of Government cannot usually command as large a share of private confidence as a person of equal ability in an independent position. The leading members of the liberal professions, therefore, will probably form a kind of intellectual aristocracy by themselves; they will exert a great moral influence, and will communicate their own opinions and habits to their fellow-countrymen. If so, it must be an object of the highest importance to elevate as much as possible the standard of principle and character among those professional Graduates on whom we are about to confer the only titular distinctions which we have to bestow, and who will be regarded in some degree as exponents and representatives of European ideas and civilization. For other defects among them, there may be other remedies, but the evil of inadequate general Education can only be averted by Government, and can be fully averted only in the very outset.

It is notorious that in England imperfect legislation on professional matters has been a source of infinite mischief and demoralization. Until within the last twenty years, the professional Colleges and Companies alone conferred licences to practice in Medicine; the two older Universities alone awarded Medical Degrees. The former bodies very naturally confined their Examinations to mere special skill, and the proportion of University Graduates to general practitioners was never so great as to raise the character of the entire profession. In Law, the anomaly was, if possible, more striking. The University conferred Degrees which conveyed no right to practice, and the Inns of Court admitted to practice without making inquiry as to qualifications. In Engineering, I believe, no one need obtain even now any diploma to practise his profession, and no University is empowered to confer a Degree in connection with it.

It seems quite obvious, therefore, that the Indian Government must not, in this case, be guided by "home precedents," but must act for itself, using the experience of England rather as a warning than as a guide.

For these reasons, it is with regret that I observe in some gentlemen of experience here, and even in the Reports of the Sub-Committees, a tendency to sanction the practice of transferring boys immediately from

schools to professional study, without any intermediate training of a collegiate nature, or with only a very intermediate training.

I do not understand how a school-boy can really be fit to enter at once upon a professional career. He has hitherto been strictly in a state of pupilage, his conduct has been regulated by an authority which he was not to question, and even his knowledge has been resting upon rules enforced by authority. He has not been thoroughly proved, either as to moral purpose or mental energy; he has never been thrown upon his own resources. This is what happens to him at College. Principles begin to take the place of authority, and rules are superseded by reasons. On this account, the few years of College life are singularly important in the formation of character, and especially valuable to every one who is to lead an active life.

But even to the mere student their value is exceedingly great. Almost for the first time he feels responsible for his own progress, and works according to his own plan. The facts and formulæ of his school-boy days are now construed to his mind in thought. He begins to mature his knowledge. Two or more years are devoted almost exclusively to "permanent studies,"—that body of approved Science and Literature in regard to which all men have long been of one mind. It is only in the latter part of his course, after long and steady discipline, that he is finally brought face to face with "the progressive studies," the Literature and Science of his own day, which thenceforward will chiefly engage, if not engross, his attention; and it is only after this careful training that a young man is regarded as qualified to take part in the affairs of the world. Surely any less careful training should not be held to qualify for entrance upon a professional career.

I am very anxious that this should be admitted, and that it should be admitted *in time*. It is easy now to prevent a great mischief, which hereafter it will be very difficult to correct. Indeed, the few objections which I have heard people urge against the high general Education for which I contend, appear to me to be founded upon a misconception.

It is urged, for instance, that if this preliminary test be exacted, the number of candidates for Degrees will be excessively small. Such a statement, if demonstrated, might be a very good argument for delaying the foundation of a University, but can never be accepted as a reason for deteriorating the quality of its Degrees. I trust, however, that the statement itself is erroneous.

Again, it is urged, that by exacting such a test, you limit very much the numbers available for professional employment in the Public Service. This objection supposes that none are to be employed but those who have taken professional Degrees. I do not advocate such a regulation; on the contrary, I think it would be premature and injurious. The professional Colleges should not close their doors against all but Under-Graduates of the University. The Public Service has need of all the talent and skill it can command from every quarter. No present change need be made in these respects, except as regards the highest grade of public Offices. If it should hereafter be found, that the number of professional Graduates who desire to obtain public employment is sufficient to meet the requirements of the Public Service, such a state of things will of itself prove that the ground of this objection has been removed.

The only other difficulty which has been noticed to me relates to the additional expense of taking a professional Degree, if a general Degree is first to be taken. I do not attach much weight to this objection. The cost of Education in this country is uncommonly, if not excessively, small. The number of Scholarships and Exhibitions will apparently be

uncommonly great, and if a young man may enter as a University student at sixteen, take his Degree of B. A. at nineteen, and obtain his professional Degree at twenty-two or twenty-three, I do not think that he will have any ground of complaint, or that the community would be benefited by his earlier emancipation."

The Original Committee evidently agreed with the sound views expressed by his Lordship excepting in the case of candidates for the Medical degree, but the strong party who at the time tried to admit Candidates for a degree in Laws without having first taken their degree in Arts have at last succeeded in gaining their object. Every candidate for the B. A. degree must now take two examinations—in itself a great improvement on the old plan—the first, necessarily more severe than the Entrance Examination and much less so than the second Examination. And the rule now is that every candidate for the degree of Licentiate of Laws or Licentiate of Civil Engineering—(each of them by the way *new* degrees unknown to English Universities) need only take the *first* Examination for the B. A. degree. We look upon this regulation with unmixed regret. Had the old rule remained in force there would have been, in a comparatively short time, a number of men capable of successfully competing for the B. L. degree, but now we venture to predict that many many years will pass away before any number will be found who will care to go beyond the uncouth and very inferior degree of L. L. Better far had the University maintained its original standard and insisted upon the candidates attaining to it, rather than lower itself and injure them by accommodating its standard to the measure of their present attainments. We write strongly upon the subject because in addition to the injury actually done, there is a very obvious tendency to make the acquisition of a degree more and more easy—and there is no slight ground for the fear that the authorities will forget that the great object of the University is to promote a sound, intelligent, and liberal scheme of education, which they most assuredly will not do by admitting those who are confessedly incapable of taking the ordinary B. A. degree to the examinations for the professional degrees and by inventing new degrees for the express purpose of meeting their case.

The results of the Examinations that have been held may be given in very few words. From the published minutes of the Senate we extract the following tables—including in them the results of the last examinations held, the minutes for 1860 not having been yet published.

Result of the B. A. Examination for each year since the commencement of the University.

Year.	No. of Candidates.	Average Age.	Average proportion educated at Govt. Schools.	Religion.			No. Passed.		Average proportion of passed to total No. of Candidates.
				Hindu.	Mahomedan.	Christians.	1st Division.	2nd Division.	
1858	13	22	84.61	10	...	1	...	2	15.38
1859	20	23	75	17	...	3	3	7	50
1860	65	...	...	55	4	6	6	7	20

Result of the Entrance Examination for each year since the commencement of the University.

Year.	No. of Candidates.	Average Age.	Average proportion educated at Govt. Schools.	Religion.			No. Passed.		Average proportion of passed to total No. of Candidates.
				Hindu.	Mahomedan.	Christians.	1st Division.	2nd Division.	
1857	244	...	74.18	202	12	30	115	47	66.39
1858	464	17.82	74.35	416	11	37	29	82	23.92
1859 (Mar.)	706	18.4	78.75	653	18	35	107	233	48.15
Do. (Dec.)	705	17.96	69.50	626	27	52	65	178	34.46

Result of the B. L. Examination for each year since the commencement of the University.

Year.	No. of Candidates.	Average Age.	Average proportion educatedat Govt. Schools.	Religion.			No. Passed.		Average proportion of passed to total No. of Candidates.
				Hindu.	Mahomedan.	Christians.	1st Division.	2nd Division.	
1858	19	...	19	18	..	1	...	11	57.88
1859	20	...	20	20	...	...	...	3	15
1860	22	...	100	20	...	2	...	10	45.45

Result of the L. M. (First Examination) for each year since the commencement of the University.

Year.	No. of Candidates.	Average Age.	Average proportion educated at Govt. Schools.	Religion.			No. Passed.		Average proportion of passed to total No. of Candidates.
				Hindu.	Mahomedan.	Christians.	1st Division.	2nd Division.	
1857	12	20	12	8	...	4	6	6	100
1858	40	22	40	34	...	6	9	15	60
1859	31	21	31	25	...	6	6	6	38.70
1860	31	...	100	26	...	5	4	9	41.93

From which it will be seen that 856 students of an average age of 18.06 years have passed the Entrance Examination. 25 of an average age of 22½ have taken the B. A. degree, 61 of the average age of 21 have taken the first Examination for the L. M. S. degree, and 24 have taken the legal portion of the B. L. degree.

Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to enable us to form an accurate judgment of the effect which the establishment of the University will have upon existing scholastic institutions. But the results already apparent are such as to help us in the formation of a judgment approximating at least to accuracy. Dividing the existing schools into the two classes—those capable of carrying on their students to the Examination for the B. A. degree—and those not professing to carry them farther than that for the Entrance Examination—or in other words into the greater and smaller schools, the influence exerted upon the latter is one of almost unmixed good. A wholesome healthy stimulus is given which before they were, and could scarcely but have been, without. A definite object and definite course of study is set before the students' minds, which course must be mastered before the object is gained. And those who look forward to the Examination must concentrate their attention upon a not very extended course of reading, it is true, but a course of sufficient scope to warrant the opinion that any one who has gone through it, has had a fair ordinary school education. We have good reason for believing that in these lesser schools, not only has the standard of education been raised, but a degree of attention to the work is given both by teachers and students which it would have been judged impossible to obtain from them a few years ago. And for the present the chief benefit of the University must be looked for in schools of this character. They may send as many students as they like to the Entrance Examination, and we have been surprised on looking through the lists to find how many candidates have gone up and passed from schools established in such out of the way places that their names had never been heard of before. And we would urge it as an additional reason why the Senate should not lower the standard for the Entrance Examination. These schools will in a short time attain to the standard even though it should be restored to what it was at first—nay, even if it were raised beyond it. And since their students will not in nine cases out of ten go on for a degree, but will immediately on passing the Entrance Examination seek for a situation, it will be destructive of the very object for which the University was instituted to make that Examination too easy. In the higher schools the influence of the University has not been unmixed with evil. It has perhaps to some extent produced a greater concentration of purpose, and checked what certainly is a great evil and a vicious habit to which so many young lads are prone, the propensity to careless and desultory reading—but in many instances it has sensibly lowered the standard of

education. The lads preparing for Matriculation will not throw any interest into the study of subjects that are not necessary for success in it. And if the teacher persists in retaining the subject on his list, the class is languidly attended to until at last he is obliged to give way, or the student has an excuse for fancying that he is labouring under a real grievance inflicted on him by his teacher unnecessarily. This may be only a present disadvantage. In course of time it may cure itself—but the Senate have it in their power to hasten that time considerably by restoring the subjects they have expunged. The study of Greek too has in those European and East Indian schools where it was before pursued, been almost if not quite destroyed—though we are not prepared to say that the Senate have acted unwisely in requiring a tolerably fair knowledge either of Latin or Greek, rather than a mere smattering of both. But with the exception of the one thing to which we have referred before at length, the tendency to lower the standard of Examination and to render the obtaining literary distinctions a more and more easy matter, the Authorities of the University have done well—they have earned the thanks of all who are labouring for the good of India, and although it must be many years before the full and proper influence of the University is felt, and its institution must now be looked upon more or less as an experiment, the success which has already attended it shows that it has not been established prematurely, and that it is destined with the blessing of God to give a mighty impetus to the promotion of a regular and liberal course of education in India.

We have purposely omitted all reference to the Universities of Madras and Bombay. Our object has been to deal simply with that of Calcutta. We have endeavoured to trace the various steps taken for its establishment—and to put before our readers the results that are already apparent from it. Its progress will be watched with interest, and every well-wisher of the education of the millions of Bengal will pray that wisdom and prudence may be given to its leaders that its future course may be one of continued and increasing success.

ART. VI.—*The "Friend of India." Volume XXVI.* Serampore. 1860.

It is quite clear that India must be governed somewhere. More or less as a whole it must be governed, and the question is—where? There may be more or less local power in each Province, probably in some respects much more so than at present, that is but a question of degree. We are not now discussing that; but some central power there must be. It does not do to let things drift. We have had enough of that in former days. We know where that leads. Even if it were on other grounds desirable to let each Province altogether govern itself in its own way, and to follow to the utmost its own bent, the Financial, Military, and Political affairs of the whole empire are so mixed up together that a total separation is impossible. After all, Finance is the cardinal question on which everything else depends, and it is totally impossible to combine unity of Finance with severalty of administration. The thing is not to be done. No Financial scheme will work if the power which devises the Finance system does not really in some shape rule the powers which work it out. Any theory can be nullified in practice. If the Central Government does not carry the local Governments with it, there will be no successful issue to its plans.

We assume then that there must be some central power.

When we come to enquire where that power has hitherto been exercised, we not only find that there has not been any efficient centralisation, but we discover that not even in theory is there any such power. There is, it is true, abundance of check, and double check. In fact all action is checked by Governments both in India and in England. But when we ask which is the active central power, it turns out that no one can tell us that. We ask under whom do the subordinate Governments act? We can only ascertain that there is no rule whatever. Who deals with a question beyond the powers of the local Government of Madras or Bombay? Is it the Supreme Government in Calcutta? or is it Her Majesty's Government in Westminster? The Government of Bombay thinks fit to refer a question to Calcutta, and it is discussed in Calcutta. The Government of Madras thinks fit to ignore the Calcutta Government, and to refer the same question direct to England. There are a great many things which the local Governments can-*not* do, but beyond that we can learn nothing. The Government in Calcutta may or may not

interfere. The Home Government may or may not be referred to—and India still drifts. If any one should doubt this let him examine facts as they exist in practice. It will hardly be contended that India is at present actively governed from the India House, though we believe that quite as much of the business of a Central Government is done there as in Calcutta. It is understood, we shall be told, that the Home Government exercises only an ultimate control. It is popularly supposed that the Government of India is at Calcutta. It has a permissive power of interference in all things. But in practice does it exercise that power? Not only do the subordinate Governments at their discretion refer many questions direct to the India House, but, its own peculiar duties apart, the Calcutta Government in reality very much abstains from attempting to deal with the many questions of internal Government.

For, before grappling with the question whether the Government of India is to be in London or in Calcutta, we must premise that without doubt there must always be, to some extent, a double Government. There must reside in the Governor General in India an emergent power of assuming the command when great necessities arise, in fact of making himself Dictator when the safety of the Republic requires it. There must also be vested in a central local Government certain peculiar functions and departments which now belong to it. The political relations with the greater native states, the immediate management of the Army and Navy, the Post office and Telegraph, and some other peculiar departments; and the detached isolated districts which cannot be brought under any one of the local Governments, must no doubt be managed by a Central Government. On the other hand a power of control must under any circumstances vest in the Government at Home so far as it thinks fit to exercise such a power. The question which we now discuss is—whether such central superintendence in ordinary internal affairs as it is judged fit to exercise, in a greater or less degree, over the local Governments, is to be exercised primarily, and as a rule in England or in India. It is of infinite importance and indeed absolutely necessary that this should be settled one way or other.

We claim to assume that it is neither preposterous nor impossible that in the sense which we have explained the Central Government should be in England. The question is at least open to argument. Look to the India House records. The Central Government was avowedly in England when the distance was

in practice just six times what it now is, and, till a comparatively recent period. Up to 1834 no one supposed the power of control in the Calcutta Government to be anything but extraordinary and emergent; and since that period the power has been as we have said but partially. Direct Government from Leadenhall Street has been common not only in great, but also in very many petty questions. For the future the completion some day or other of the sub-marine cable will render London for telegraphic purposes almost as near to all parts of India as Calcutta. The communication by Post is now rapidly approaching, and might very easily be fixed at 20 days, and that is in fact almost as near as it is desirable to bring the central to the local Governments as respects matters not peculiarly emergent. At this moment the average post time between Calcutta and the distant Presidencies is fully 10 days. Is there then in this such a difference as to make all further argument superfluous? We think not.

There remains, as a preliminary argument, the Indian atmosphere, Indian associations, and Indian information which may be supposed to render a Government in India more efficient. But it may be very much doubted whether that advantage is obtained in Calcutta. Now Calcutta is one of the great commercial cities of India. This is a point of the greatest consequence no doubt. But it must always be remembered that Calcutta is not India. It is in fact situated in a peculiarly isolated part of India, and among a people who are far from representing the normal type of Indians. The Bengalees are in very many respects quite a peculiar race, probably formed by a large intermixture with some aboriginal people. Physically and morally the Bengalee is in many ways unlike an ordinary Indian. Throughout India from the north to the south, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, in Hindoostan, Madras, and Bombay, an extreme similarity prevails. In Bengal only is there a marked difference. Geographically too Bengal is a sort of wing thrown out on one side. Calcutta is but the Capital of Bengal. Natives from other parts of India do not at all resort there; and it may be doubted whether the disposition of Calcutta authorities to look on the abnormal Bengalees as types of native feeling, and to yield to the influence of a spurious fiction of Bengalee public opinion and to a too local European press, is beneficial. Still more important is it that Calcutta is not a Capital to the European officers of Government; for the Governor General and Central Government must after all chiefly derive their information at second hand from European officers. Madras and Bombay officers scarcely ever by

any chance visit Calcutta, and as soon as the railways from Allahabad to Bombay, and from Lahore to Mooltan are completed, officers from the North Western Provinces, and the Punjab will be equally unknown there. They will come and go by Bombay and Kurrachee, and Calcutta will be to Europeans as exclusively Bengalee as it is to natives. It is certain that London and not Calcutta now is, and that as facilities for communication increase, it much more will be the centre in which congregate European officers on furlough and business from all parts of India. Even now, natives too, from distant parts, begin to resort to London, and it is we think in many ways desirable that they should be encouraged to do so. They will learn much even by sad experience, and return wiser although it may be poorer men than they came.

We cannot over-estimate the evil which results from the want of official and social communication between Calcutta and the Provinces. That is one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest obstacle to the success of the present system. It is hardly possible to conceive the amount of local jealousy and heart-burning which exists, but it is enough to render any efficient Government very difficult. No officer high or low in Madras or Bombay looks to the Supreme Government in Calcutta as the proper and legitimate Head of the Empire, but only as a kind of usurped tyranny. Every man fancies that on every occasion it is the preconcerted and deep laid design of the Calcutta Government and of every one connected with it, to do injustice and injury to every one and every thing connected with those local Presidencies. It is only on the spot, that it is possible to realize the extent to which this feeling exists, but it a very lamentable fact: we attribute it principally to:—

1st. The want of a definition of subordination already mentioned. All control which is not certain and defined is irksome.

2nd. To the traditions of former independence.

3rd and chiefly. To ignorance caused by want of communication. We are satisfied that nine-tenths of the grievances under which Madras and Bombay men labor are pure misapprehensions. They themselves create the giants which oppress them. They have never been in Bengal. They know nothing of the system there. Every thing which is irksome is attributed to Bengal ideas. An order may be as new and possibly as disagreeable in Bengal as in Madras, but no Madrassee feels that. It is new and disagreeable to him, and the natural and normal solution of all such grievances is to say "here is another Bengal idea forced down our throats." A military arrangement may be made in the most innocent good faith, a regiment is or-

dered to a particular station or an officer selected for a Brigadiership, but of course the regiment was sent to a bad station, because it is a Madras Regiment, and the better officer was passed over because he is a Madrassee. Misconception is carried to a point which would be absurd if it were not so vitally injurious. Nor is it to be supposed that the mere admission into the Supreme Government of one man from each of the distant Presidencies would cure the evil. It is far too deep-seated for that. The man who ceases to share to the full extent in local grievances and delusions, is looked upon as an apostate and renegade corrupted in Calcutta. He may honestly support the interests of his Presidency, but he inevitably gets over the misconceptions resulting from ignorance, and then he loses the confidence of his own people. Madras and Bombay are always fully represented in the Legislative Council, but the control of the Legislature is not on that account one whit more popular in Madras and Bombay than that of the Supreme Executive Government.

There is another difficulty as regards the Calcutta Legislature which has not yet been faced. In one matter, a very small matter it is true but still one which sufficiently involves the principle, the Calcutta Legislature has asserted its independence of the orders of the Home Government. The question has also been raised whether the Legislature is to exercise the power of controlling the Political and Financial action of the Government. Legally it may perhaps possess that power, and the extent to which it may or may not be exercised, depends upon the individual discretion of the members. Is it then possible to arrange for the maintenance of a Supreme Central Legislature at Calcutta without danger of collision with an Executive Government necessarily despotic and a Home Government necessarily Supreme?

Without then putting forth as wholly conclusive all the above arguments we contend that there is no monstrous antecedent impossibility in the idea that India might, extraordinary emergencies apart, be governed in England. Supposing that there is always on the spot a statesman of the rank of a Governor General armed with the power of a Dictator in case the necessity arises, ordinary affairs might very well be conducted at a distance of 20, or it may be 15 days' post, the more so if an increased latitude of action is given to the local Governments.

Given then the possibility we come simply to consider whether the best Government can be obtained in England or in Calcutta, and here we return to the point from which we broke off a little way back, for it is as we have said principally a question of men. Can we get the more efficient administrators in London or in Calcutta?

The Indian service is very peculiar. The comparative fewness of the number from which selection must be made to all appointments, and the frequency of change, are evils necessary to a foreign and tropical service. But apart from this it presents some very peculiar features. Whatever may be thought of the mode in which appointments to it have been made, it can hardly be disputed that the system produces a very striking efficiency up to a certain point.

It has been remarked that up to the age of 30, and perhaps a little later, Indian servants are in administrative efficiency, and in some sort it may be said in intellectual expansion, far ahead of their contemporaries in England. They are easily habituated to the transaction of affairs much beyond those of junior sub-employés in most countries, and being placed under circumstances which deprive them of most of the temptations of other young men they make their official employment their only resource and interest. From this results an extraordinary and early development. It may fairly be said of men of 30 in the Indian service that they present an unparalleled instance of general efficiency and frequent brilliancy. Take the men of the grade of Magistrate and Collector or Deputy Commissioner in Northern India, and it will be found that they are probably unequalled by men of the same age anywhere in the world. But from this period forward the advantage diminishes. So far they have advanced by individual practice and experience grafted on youthful energy; but beyond this point the want of attrition and communication of ideas with others, and of variety and width of social and general intercourse, begins to tell. Having got so far they seem to get little further.

They still a good deal ripen and become efficient and even remarkable men in considerable offices—Commissioners and members of Boards and administrators of small Provinces. So far still they do not fall behind their contemporaries of any other service. But as they advance still further in life the scale turns against them. Their situation is isolated, their experience and knowledge is limited to the same circle of ideas, they fall behind and become used up. It is to this that we attribute the very striking want of energy in old Indians. Nothing at first sight seems more strange than the peculiar want of great men among those who have begun so well. We see, in instances without end, men who have been most brilliant in their youth, and who in their middle age have filled great places, and determined the fortunes of millions, sinking into retired Indians who seem incapable of making one sign in the world.

Partly by long grinding in the same groove, partly from the

want of attrition and variety they have ceased to produce fruit. They are like trees which require digging about the roots.

The fact is that the service is in a transition state. It now halts between the system which produced the great men of old and one more modern. In former days the Indian Nabob was a great chap in his own way. He fixed himself in India and lived there. He thoroughly and completely understood the natives, and they understood him. In fact he added to native knowledge European energy of personal character, and that was enough to make him in India a ruler of men. The system too was in those days simple. We had not attained to refinement of administration and complication of laws, and on the same principle that the philosophers and great men among the ancients working in the unused virgin fields of human knowledge, and gathering nuggets from the yet undisturbed gold fields, attained a masculine pre-eminence which the moderns, (not necessarily inferior in intellect) cannot hope for, so those old Indian administrators attained a greatness which seldom falls to the lot of their successors. The old system has passed away. We know not the natives and the country as of yore. The machine has become infinitely more cumbrous. We must now call in the aid of European knowledge, and modern refinement. England has become more near to India, it is more frequently visited, and presently we may hope that European life will be added to Indian experience. Meantime however things have not advanced so far. Indian servants visit Europe often enough to lose their relish for the country of their adoption, and yet not enough to become Englishmen. They go to England it is true, but they are still usually strangers in the land. They may have relations and acquaintances, but the intimate friends of early manhood they have not, those are all in India. Devoted to that service from boyhood they have no root in England. The periods of their visits too are short, and the terms are hard to men who have before them the absolute necessity of making out, ere their powers fail, a very long period of service in India. When they go home they do not live the ordinary life of Englishmen. They are in every way like schoolboys on holiday. They rush about to popular sights, they DO every thing in the approved style; they see a great deal and enjoy themselves much. But after all they return to India rather longing to become Englishmen than in fact English. They are no longer such single-minded Indian officials as they were, and yet they have not become European statesmen.

Another peculiarity of the Indian service is this, that men are too local and isolated. They are too much confined to

particular Provinces, to particular Departments, and to peculiar grooves of thought and action. They do not rub enough together. There is nothing of that manipulation of a question by open and unreserved oral debate which so works out prejudice and fallacy in England, and officers employed in different parts of India have scarcely any intercommunication of ideas in any shape.

Every man is a little monarch in his own district or office. It is to this that we would attribute the peculiar character of opinionativeness which is so characteristic of Indian officials. It was, we think, Lord Ellenborough who well remarked that he had met with a vast number of men in India brimful of knowledge and plans of every kind in every department, and profuse of the most admirable suggestions; he was only puzzled by this that he never yet had the good fortune to meet any two of them who agreed about any thing. Every man you meet has his own plans for setting every thing right, but he always commences by proving indisputably that every one else's plans are totally wrong.

The want of intercommunication between the public servants in the different Presidencies and Governments has done very much to aggravate this evil. It is wonderful how entire is the line of separation; and on such questions as the Land Revenue Administration it is as if the men of different Presidencies were of a different religion, so wedded are they to their own theories and so intolerant of others. The whole arrangement of the Indian administration is local not departmental. We may get men who have an extraordinary knowledge of all departments in Bengal or the North Western Provinces or Madras or Bombay, but men who are thoroughly up in any one department in all India, and who can work it without local prejudice and views, are rare.

Here then lies the great difficulty of the attempt to form in India a Central Government composed of Ministers of Departments.

Where is the man who equally comprehends the Company's and the Queen's Judicial systems and can arrange their amalgamation with an equal hand and general consent? Where is the Indian administrator to whom it would have been agreed to entrust our Revenue and Finance? Should we have a Bengalee who would give mortal offence to Madras and Bombay, or a Madrasee who would instantly order the destruction of all settlements, and the universal introduction of Ryotwarry management? Where is the Military officer really capable of instituting and administering a great Imperial military system,

who would not be looked upon with jealousy in the other Presidencies? It is not so much from the scarcity of great men but chiefly from the local associations of those whom we have; it certainly does so happen that men who would command general confidence and assent as the individual administrators of the great departments, have been very rarely found in India.

Such a man as Mr. Wilson imported from England might no doubt under present circumstances do much, but his was a very special and exceptional case. If the members of the Supreme Council were always thus imported how often should we get such a man? In how many instances would the appointment be jobbed? In how many would the nominee disappoint reasonable expectation? In how many would be turn out crochetty and headstrong? In how many departments is not experience of the country absolutely indispensable? After all the prize is not of the first value to men rising to high places in England, and as the Government is at present constituted, the number of places being necessarily small, we should be very sorry to trust to appointments from England to fill the great Indian Departments in India.

The truth seems to be that if we would administer India in India we must not only entrust almost all active and initiative power to the local Governments, but we must strengthen the Supreme Government. It will not suffice merely to call the councillors ministers. It would probably be found necessary to have for each department not one man but a Committee or Board. It is universally agreed that the Supreme Government acting as a single Board cannot possibly administer all India. When we have separate departments it will still be necessary that the different Provinces should be represented in *each* department, and it will probably be desirable that each department should be strengthened by one man with a fresh English mind.

It comes then to this that to establish a complete Central Government *in India* we must add to the present establishment many additional members, and incur a very large additional expenditure at the enormous price which considerable statesmanship bears in the climate and exile of India. And after all the efficiency and success of such a government would be extremely doubtful.

Next let us look to the Home Government—what materials are there for forming an efficient administration there? The Secretary of State is, and under our Political system always must be, more frequently changed than a Governor General,

It is hardly possible that he should individually administer the Government without assistance. The assistance which he now has in the Council does not seem to have rendered the Government actively efficient. The truth seems to be that the same causes which have caused great and good men (for such many of them undoubtedly are) to decline in comparative efficiency as they reach the higher posts in India, have rendered them unequal to very active functions, still later in life after they have run their course and retired to pensions and ease. Who would have difficulty in pointing out among the Indian Council men known to possess talents of the very highest order, knowledge most extensive and minute, and every experience in the art of governing, and who yet in no way make themselves felt —such seems to be the inevitable law of Indian greatness. We cannot then look to retired old Indians for an active administration. Still less can we suppose that India would be administered to advantage by the aid of the permanent staff of the India House—men wholly ignorant of the country and who without any practical experience of any kind would form a kind of exaggeration of Bureaucracy.

Our plan would be this. Transfer the ordinary internal Government of India in its details to the local Governments, and in its Central administration of Departments to a Government in London. With this Central Government transfer also to London the machinery available in India. In fact let the Secretary of State be assisted by the men in the prime of active service in India whose efficiency is yet undiminished, and who only require some thing of English experience and European attrition to enable them to advance much higher in efficiency, and to attain that intellectual rank in their motive age of which they have given promise in their youth. We might thus obtain a double advantage. We should greatly improve the Indian service, and at the same time provide an efficient Government in England. We would by no means withdraw these men from the Indian service. We would but make the Government in London one of the ordinary fields for the employment of Indian servants. Nor would we give Indian salaries. We would collect in a new India House in London efficient servants from all parts of India, and there in an English atmosphere and in contact with Englishmen we would round their corners, rule off their asperities, weld them together into one service, and make from them an efficient combined administration at a comparatively very moderate cost. They would in the course of promotion from time to time return to India and take with them an enlarged knowledge, sym-

pathies less local, and views more wide. It might be arranged that appointments in London should be held for a limited term of say (6) six years with a power of reappointment; and as the salaries will be adapted to an English scale so in regard to time counting for pension and such details it might be provided that 2 years served in England should count for one in India. It would probably be every way advantageous that there should be associated with these men a certain number of purely English officials. Perhaps these might be members of the administration of the day sitting in the House of Commons and representing there the Indian Government like the members of the Board of Admiralty. We must now try to give the relative limits of local and Central Administration. It is generally supposed that the local Governments can do nothing without the permission of the Supreme Government. This is not exactly correct. They can in fact do anything except make Laws and spend money. There is no rule limiting their power in other respects, and in practice there is little disposition to interfere with them. They may adopt without question administrative measures enormously affecting the income.

It is only when the money is gathered in that it is beyond their control. Once collected they certainly cannot incur new expenditure without permission, and it is perfectly clear that under the present system in the absence of any local finance it would be quite impossible that it should be otherwise. No local Government has any financial responsibility of any kind, nor is in any way bound to make both ends meet. Its wants are supplied from the imperial exchequer, and there is no pressing motive to economy. Add to this the peculiar localness (if we may coin a word) and opinionativeness of public men in India, and it will be understood how much check is required. There is an extraordinary disposition to local partizanship. Every man looks at things through his own local spectacles, and honestly seeks the advantage of his own people rather than the general interests of the Empire. The best men too carry their opinions to extremes. Nothing is more melancholy than to observe how much after a hundred years experience we must be still at sea on the greatest questions if we may judge by the extreme diversity of opinion, and the deplorable way in which at different times and places our policy seems to oscillate from one extreme to another. We have gone among the people in their fields, their villages, and their courts in many far distant parts of India, and we are much convinced that throughout the greater part of the continent the country is in essentials one, and that the same principles are applicable throughout. Yet we

have in one part of India the universal establishment of a village system whether it before existed or not; in another the uncompromising destruction of those same communities in farm of a Ryotwarry tenure going on at the present day. Nay more we have, in the same part of India, the Government one year absolutely ousting the superior holders in order to discover or create village communities, and in the very next year following an exactly opposite policy.

We have already observed that after all money is every thing and it certainly does happen that very few things can be done without money, and hence the local Governments are at present in practice tied down in their executive action in an extraordinary degree by the want of money.

This tightness of bondage cannot be relaxed as things now stand, and in some administrative matters a little more central control and supervision would undoubtedly give a greater consistency and cohesion to the empire.

But it is in the strictness of very profuse and detailed laws leaving no power of local regulation that the check of the central Government is at least as much felt as in matters of Finance. It is certainly the case that a local Government desirous to experiment and improve is checked at every turn by legal difficulties, and that it cannot surmount these till it has made out a very strong case for a very critical central Legislature.

This evil is undoubtedly enormous. It is the old story of not going into the water till we are able to swim. No experiment can be made till its success is assured before hand. Now we are far from decrying the establishment of Laws clear, intelligible and fixed. It is the excessive minuteness of regulations established as imperial enactments before the country is ripe for them which has caused the evil.

This question of Regulation and Non-Regulation is often very imperfectly understood by those who use the terms. We will here try to explain it. No part of India is absolutely free from the action of the Legislative Council. Acts of universal application as they are passed are put in force throughout India. But the difference between the Punjab and one of the Presidencies is this, that previous to the introduction of a central Legislature, the local Governments had been in the habit of recording their local rules under the not inapt name of 'regulations.' Many of these were meant to take the place of local Laws, but many more were by no means of that character. They were in fact executive rules for the guidance of the executive officers of Government on various matters of very petty detail. When a Legislature was established the great mistake was made of con-

sidering all these previous local regulations to be laws, and stereotyping them as such. Since that time not only have the Governments of Provinces received the Laws which have been made, as avoidly Imperial enactments, but the whole of the minute regulations of their predecessors have been stereotyped and placed beyond their power to alter. The present Legislative Council too, while it has done considerable good in some things, has shewn a not unnatural disposition to stretch its functions and its power, and has been little disposed to leave anything to the discretion of the local Governments.

In the Punjab on the other hand we commenced with a clear field. The local regulations of Bengal, Madras or Bombay could in no way be construed to have the force of laws in the Punjab. In the absence then of British Laws the state of things is this. The British Government has acquired a new country. Is there to be absolute anarchy till the Legislative Council has time to construct a complete code of laws for that country? Certainly not. The Government recognises the native customs of the country, and introduces in the first instance such portions of its own laws as it thinks fit, but not the whole. For the rest it simply succeeds to the despotic power exercised by the former ruler, and it uses that power to make from time to time local rules at its discretion without in the first instance fettering itself by making all those rules law, through the action of the Legislative Council. This we are quite convinced is the foundation of the legitimate power of Government in Non-Regulation Provinces: from this point forward, Law, restraining and narrowing the despotic power, may properly and naturally be gradually introduced. As the Central Legislature acquires on each particular subject sufficient materials for legislating with confidence for the whole Empire it passes laws as applicable to the Punjab as to Bengal. But the Punjab has this great advantage that, till those laws are made, the Governor's hands are not absolutely tied as they are in other parts of India.

This then is in great measure the secret of the success of what is known as the Punjab system. It is not the absence of rule but the power of local administration. Individual officers are as strictly controlled in the Punjab as elsewhere. Indeed not even in the Regulation Provinces are the district officers under stricter rule and a more iron discipline than in the Punjab. Although the rules may differ from the Regulations yet rules there are rigorous and minute. It is not mere license to every man to do as he likes, and to administer justice according to equity and common sense. Much is no doubt due to Sir John Lawrence. He is no ordinary great man. Perhaps we have had so many

Heroes, and Hero worship has become so much an object of suspicion to thinking men, that some people may be somewhat inclined to fail in sufficient justice to a real Hero. They may be assured that the man who made the British Punjab first, and reconquered Hindoostan by its aid afterwards, is not one of the ordinary Heroes. In a fine service abounding with great men, past and present, he is still without a peer, and it is another instance of the want of our Indian system that he is only appreciated by his countrymen when after a long course of service his health is for the present exhausted. If we had John Lawrences in the prime of their health to administer Departments, departmental Government in India would be easy enough. But we are digressing. We were about to say that although so much is due to Sir John Lawrence individually there also really is a great deal in the Non-Regulation system. Tied by the old regulations even Lawrence could have done little. The state of things in the Punjab was this. In executive and financial matters the ruler of the Punjab by no means exercised a wider latitude than the Governors of Provinces, but on the contrary was in many ways a good deal more restricted; and the attention of the Supreme Government having been efficiently directed to the Punjab under the able rule of Lord Dalhousie, the influence of the Central Government was probably beneficial. When Sir Henry Lawrence was head of the administration it is well known that his views were in many things opposed to those of his brother. He also was no ordinary great man. He had comprehensive ideas, a noble genius, a rare power of commanding and conciliating men, comprehensive ideas, and unbounded benevolence. The Supreme Government interfered to give due weight to the views of the younger brother. Again, in the earlier days of his rule Sir John Lawrence was probably a severe administrator. He might have exacted a very full measure from natives and Europeans. Here again the influence of the Supreme Government was beneficial. But on the other hand the grand advantage in the Punjab was that the Chief Commissioner was enabled to modify and improve at his discretion the system in which he had been educated, without being checked at every turn by minute Law beyond his power to alter. The Punjab system throughout is but a modification of that which preceded it in the N. W. Provinces, and in that modification has consisted the improvement. The regulated and supervised freedom of action and experiment in the hands of the local Government is everything. It must be confessed that we still know India very imperfectly. We can but advance by constant experiment, and in this respect it cannot be doubted that the

advantages of local latitude far exceed those of centralization. What we should do is to localize practice, but to concentrate experience and administrative generalization. We should not check experiment, but we should generalize the successful results of experiment. In fact the great function of the Central Government should be to extend whatever has distinctly succeeded in one Province to other Provinces, and to check only the tendency to carry opinions to extreme, not to check all the action which may tend to success. Hitherto it has been just the reverse. All action has been checked, and no occasional success has been generalized.

One word as to the Legislative Council. We have already more than once alluded to it. It has not been useless. It has done much good work. It has been in fact the best Law-making body we have yet had, and has not only concocted, but has passed and brought into active operation a very good code of Civil Procedure. But a real code of Civil Law it is not equal to constructing, and already the Penal Procedure code has stuck fast over some very delicate questions which the Council with difficulty grapples. The questions which have arisen regarding the independence and Political power of the Council threaten its existence. There has grown up in it a not unnatural disposition on the part of individual members to look to popular applause which may be very inconvenient if the Council continues to be in Law what it may at any time aspire to be in fact a real Legislature and more than a Law Commission. Seeing that the members are limited in number, that they are professed men of business and that their only power and business is Legislation, their disposition to exercise that function in a too minute and critical spirit is not surprising. They certainly do leave too little latitude to the local Governments. Altogether their own impression is that the Council has already performed its part.

Here then is our scheme. The Supreme Executive and Legislative Councils in Calcutta to be virtually transferred to London. The Governor General to remain with an establishment corresponding to that which he now has, the rank and salary of the Secretaries being about the same as now. The Home and Financial and Public Works Secretaries might probably be replaced by one Chief Civil Secretary. There would be a Foreign or Political, a Military and a Civil Secretary as well as the present Heads of Special Departments. The Governor General to retain the present functions directly exercised by the Supreme Government subject to any modifications which may be deemed desirable. He would have the political relations, the

army and the special departments, and he would be armed with the power to assume an avowed dictatorship in the event of emergency, but would not ordinarily interfere with the internal civil management of the local Governments.

The Imperial Finance we would thus arrange.

The sea customs and opium revenue (the latter is practically an export duty) and the tributes from native states we would place in the hands of the Governor General as Imperial resources. It would rest with him to provide for the Home Government the interest of the debt, and probably the whole of the regular army including those of Madras and Bombay. The management of the European army might very well be centralized, and we may trust that the regular native army will hereafter be very small indeed. To provide what is required for these Imperial expenses in excess of the Imperial Revenues we would assess each local Government in a sum fixed in proportion to the area, population, and wealth of its territory, and that sum paid the Governor General would not interfere further in local finance.

The local Governments would manage their own affairs in subordination to the Central Government in London. Each would have its own Finance, each would be bound to levy taxes sufficient to meet its own requirements. After paying its tribute to the Central Government it would have to provide for its own administration, police and all other expenses, and Financial responsibility being thus imposed on it, the restrictions with regard to financial details would be withdrawn. It would of course make all necessary reports to the Central Government in England under rules which would avoid the enormous paper system hitherto prevailing. It would send in its budget at the beginning of each year, and at the end of each it would shew exactly the state of its ways and means and how far its expectations have been fulfilled or disappointed. It would either shew an actual surplus at the disposal of the Home Government or it would openly avow a deficit and propound for meeting it.

Then as to Legislation we would make the rule this.

All Regulations made by local Governments it should be in the power of the local Governments to alter, and a rapid commission would run over the Acts passed since 1834, and settle which are to be classed with the local regulations and which are to take permanent place as Imperial Acts. It would remain in the power of the local Governments to make all local rules and regulations not inconsistent with the Imperial Acts from time to time established. Any addition or alteration of these latter would rest with the Imperial Indian Legislative which we would place at home.

The Councils of the local Governments we would abolish. The heads of departments are the natural councillors of the Governor. These already exist, and it would only be necessary to dispense with the present councillors at Madras and Bombay whose sole business is to advise. But as we would by no means dispense with public regulations for the guidance of local officers, and it would be desirable that such rules should be fully discussed, alhough we would not go the length of establishing any thing like a real local Legislature, we would certainly give to each Governor a large open consultative council in which he should be bound to make all rules and regulations, after giving opportunity for public discussion. Of this Council all the heads of Departments and Chief Secretaries to Government would be ex-officio members, and we would add to it a considerable proportion of independent members, both European merchants and settlers, and a good many of the best natives of the province. We would try to induce natives of real influence and knowledge, (and who might be regarded as an index to the public feeling of the province) to take an active part in the proceedings of this Council. The Governor would always have the power to overrule the Council, but he would probably seldom do so.

In this way then an abundantly sufficient latitudewould certainly be given to the local Governments, but we should look to an efficient Government in England to keep all the local Governments well in hand and to work them for active good. As we have said, it would principally rest with the Home Government to select for generalization the most successful results of each local administration. We should not require in the centre too much individual activity but rather a thorough sifting and discussion, and a deliberate well considerate and positive decision of great questions. Perhaps the number of men employed would not be very much less than the establishment now existing at the India House. But it will be remembered that we have saved the whole of the Councils in India, Supreme and Local, and some of the Secretaries. And say £2,000 a year in England would command the best Officers, in the Indian service. It might be allowed to each local Governor to nominate a councillor subject to the approval of the Secretary of State and to the minister to select one from each Government, and an equal number from among his political followers; these together to form the Home Administraton. All the Indian councillors would be appointed for 5 years, the English politicians during pleasure. These councillors or whatever they might be called would be active func-

tionaries and supercede the permanent Heads of Departments. Each would have a portfolio of his own and they would again be grouped together into committees for the discussion of all important questions. The whole sitting together under the Presidency of the Secretary of State would form the Central Legislature, subject only to the commands of Her Majesty conveyed by the Secretary of State. The Secretaries to Committees and most of the higher officers of the establishment would be selected from the Indian Services. A committee aided by one or two efficient jurists would form a law commission for the digestion and codification of laws, and thus as codes are formed and local laws accepted and adapted for general use, they would be passed as imperial laws, and would so far gradually limit the power of local regulation.

In connection with the Government at Home it would probably be desirable to establish a Supreme Court of Justice peculiarly fitted to deal with Indian appeals.

How far this scheme may be fitted to solve the difficult question of Indian Government others must judge. We will say no more.

ART. VII.—1. *Annual Reports of Pegu Administration: from* 1856 to 1860.

2. *Mission to the Court of Ava.* By LIEUTENANT COLONEL H. YULE.

THERE is hardly any portion of our Eastern Empire, which, whether we regard the genius and temper of its people and the peculiarities of their religion, or the natural characteristics of their country, affords better material for the composition of an amusing and instructive work than the Provinces of British Burmah. Such a book however has yet to be written. We have, it is true, able disquisitions on special subjects connected with the country, such as Dr. Mason's Fauna and Flora,—Dr. Bigandet's Treatise on the Gaudama of the Burmese and others that might be named, but a competent writer who will do for Burmah what Sir J. Bowring has done for Siam or Sir E. Tennent for Ceylon is still a desideratus.

Colonel Yule's book, which we have placed at the head of this article, being the narrative of the Mission to Amerapoora in 1855, relates chiefly to the territories now under the King of Ava. The reader will not therefore find in it much detailed information regarding British Burmah as it now is. But the work, abounding in anecdote, narrative, fact, and description, and beautifully elucidated by maps, by wood-cuts, and coloured illustrations, is most interesting to the general student of Asiatic history, ethnology, and geography. In as much as the work affords much fundamental informaton regarding Burmah and the Burmese, and is calculated to raise a kindly interest in the country and people, it ought to be in the hands of every British Officer, employed in the administration of Pegu.

In order to give some idea of the literary calibre of the work, we shall cite three passages, which appear to be full of beauty and interest and to be marked by sound knowledge and graphic power. But in fact the whole work abounds with interesting passage and our citations comprise only a very few of the selections which might be made.

The following passage descriptive of a sunset view of the city of Amerapoora deserves a high place.

"But the view from the platform would have repaid a much more fatiguing ascent than this. The scene was one to be registered in the memory with some half-dozen others which cannot be forgotten. Nothing on the Rhine could be compared to it. At the point where the temple stood, the Irawadi forms a great elbow, almost indeed a right angle, coming down to us from the north, but here diverted to the west. Northward

the wide river stretched, embracing innumerable islands, till seemingly hemmed in and lost among the mountains. Behind us, curving rapidly round the point on which we stood, it passed away to the westward, and was lost in the blaze of a dazzling sunset. North-westward ran the little barren, broken ridges of Sagain, every point and spur of which was marked by some monastic building or pagoda. Nearly opposite to us lay Amerapoora, with just enough haze upon its temples and towers to lend them all the magic of an Italian city. A great belt-shaped spire, rising faintly white in the middle of the town, might well pass for a great Duomo. You could not discern that the domes and spires were those of dead heathen masses of brick-work, and that the body of the city was bamboo and thatch. It might have been Venice, it looked so beautiful. Behind it rose range after range of mountains robed in blue enchantment. Between our station and the river was only a narrow strip of intense green foliage, mingled with white temples, spires, and cottage roofs. The great elbow of the river below us, mirroring the shadows of the wood on its banks, and the glowing clouds above, had been like a lake, were it not that the downward drift of the war-boats, as they crossed and re-crossed, marked so distinctly the rapidity of the kingly stream. The high bank of the river, opposite Sagain eastward, was seen to be a long belt of island covered with glorious foliage (and there are no trees like those of Burmah); only here and there rose an unwooded crest, crowned with its Cybeleian cornet of towers. Behind this were numerous other wooded islands, or isolated villages, and temples, and monasteries, rising directly out of the flood waters. Southward, across the river, was the old city of Ava, now a thicket of tangled gardens and jungle, but marked by the remaining spires of temples. On this side lay Sagain quite buried in a rich mass of tamarind-trees.

A great deal of the beauty of the scene was, doubtless, due to the singularly fine atmosphere of the evening. But our impression was that the Lake of Como could not be finer, and those who had seen Como said that it was not."

The following passages are interesting as shewing the past greatness of the Pegu Province as contrasted with the decadence from which, we may hope, it will soon revive under British Rule.

"In 1569 Cæsar Frederick, a Venetian merchant, was in Pegu, and gave a very interesting account of that country. That same "Brama of Toungoo" was on the throne, who was said to have twenty and six crowned heads at his command, and to be able to bring into the field a million and a half of men of war? "For people, dominions, gold and silver," Master Frederick hesitates not to say, "he far excels the power of the Great Turk in treasure and strength."

These expressions seem utterly preposterous, when we see what Pegu and Burmah are in our day. All the old travellers use similar superlative terms in speaking of the Peguan monarchy at this time. Yet Frederick, and Fitch, who followed him a few years later, are men who give a sober and true account of other matters, in which we still may compare their descriptions with facts as they are.

It may, perhaps, be remarked, that only at the end of the last century the spectacles of Colonel Symes appear to have shown him in Burmah a magnificent and civilized empire, including a population which he estimated at seventeen millions. Later experience has proved that the Colonel's view of the magnificence and civilization was as exaggerated as his estimate of the population.

But, making allowance for a similar tendency to the over-estimation of so distant a region by the older travellers, in reading their narratives it is impossible to resist the conviction that the lower provinces, at least of the Irawadi, exhibited in the sixteenth century a much more flourishing and wealthy community than now exists in the delta, and we have, in the subsequent history of the country, the causes of a great deterioration. The splendour of the Peguan monarchy was very short-lived. In the time of the son of the conquering Prince came a succession of internal and external wars, during which the country was harassed and devastated, both by the cruelties of the savage king, and by invasions from Arracan, Siam, Toungoo, and Ava, by all which Pegu was reduced to the depths of desolation and misery ; insomuch that Purchas, in a curious chapter " on the destruction and desolation of Pégu," collected from the writings of numerous eye-witnesses, his contemporaries, thinks it appropriate to observe, that " the natives of Pegu are not quite extinct, but many of them are fled into other kingdoms." Notices of the history of Pegu are defective during the greater part of the seventeenth century, and I do not know what further wars took place during that period. But towards the middle of the century following came its temporary re-assertion of independence and even of supremacy, and its rapidly succeeding subjection to the vengeance of Alompra. It is not surprising that Pegu should never have recovered from calamities so repeated and disastrous. History scarcely justifies the expectation that countries should recover, even in long periods of comparative repose, from such universal and thorough devastation. And the habits of the Burman races are not favourable to increase of population. A singularly small proportion of their children live to maturity."

"In March 1600, Boves, another Jesuit, writes that he was in the country when the king, besieged by the kings of Arracan and Toungoo, surrendered, and was put to death. "It is a lamentable spectacle," says the Padre, "to see the banks of the rivers, set with infinite fruit-bearing trees, now overwhelmed with ruins of gilded temples and noble edifices ; the ways and fields full of skulls and bones of wretched Peguans, killed or famished, and cast into the river in such numbers that the multitude of carcases prohibiteth the way and passage of any ships ; to omit the burnings and massacres committed by this, the cruelest tyrant that ever breathed."

Lastly we think that the following passage is a fine specimen of geographical description ; accurate, vigorous and comprehensive.

"The Burman territories, as they were in 1852, might be divided conveniently, but not with any great precision, into four parts. 1st, *Northern Burmah*, including a variety of sparse and alien population, Singphos, Shans, and what not, under more or less imperfect subjection. 2nd, *Burmah Proper*, inhabited by pure Burmans only, or by the descendants of foreign captives. 3rd, *Pegu*, whether taken as the Delta of the Irawadi, or as the Burman vice-royalty of Henzawadi, or as the original Talain kingdom. Taken as the British Province now bearing the name, it extends to lat. 19° 27′, and considerably beyond the largest of the former definitions. 4th, the *Eastern Shan tributary states*, extending in longitude from the mountains of the Red Karens to the Cambodia river.

The last possess a certain independence of jurisdiction, having more and more of the reality as they recede from the shadow of the Golden Palace.

The gorge, through which the waters of the sacred Brahmaputra burst out from the Brahmakoond into the valley of Assam, is formed by the convergence of two great mountain chains, which fence that valley from west to east.

The Northern chain, the Himalaya, stretching far beyond Assam, bounds that valley, but as it bounds all India with its awful barrier of unchanging snow. The southern, a chain of far less altitude and celebrity, and of no one name, is co-extensive with the valley which it limits and defines, and may conveniently be termed the Assam chain, as it has been, I believe, in some Atlases. Rising suddenly from the plains of Eastern Bengal, as from a sea, about 220 miles N. E. of Calcutta, it stretches eastward in a broadening chaos of woody spurs and ridges, and grassy undulating table-lands, taking successively the names of the races which inhabit it, Garos, Kasias, and Nagas of many tribes; ever increasing in the elevation of its highest points, from 3000 and 4000 feet among the Garos, to 6000 among the Kasias, 8000 and 9000 in the region north of Munnipoor, till, sweeping north-eastward in a wide mass of mountain of which the general direction only is known, it emerges to knowledge again as the Pat-koi, traversed by the Burman armies in their Assamese inroads; farther on abreast of the Brahmakoond it rises to a height of 12,000 and 14,000 feet, and then, coming in contact with the spurs of the waning Himalayas, lifts itself into the region of eternal snow, and stretching still eastward embraces its northern rival, and forms that amphitheatre of snowy peaks, glorious, doubtless, but unseen as yet by European eye, in which the Brahmaputra has its earliest springs.

This lofty prolongation of the southern chain, known now as the Langtang, sends down from the snows of its southern face the head-waters of the Irawadi. Beyond the eastern sources of the river it strikes southward a great meridian chain, snow-capt in places like the parent ridge, and from old time the bounding wall of China to the westward. It is called by the Singpho tribes, which cluster round the roots of all these mountains of northern Burmah, the Goolansigoung, and its offshoots stretch with a variety of breaks and ramifications, of which we know nothing precisely, but ever tending southward, between the Irawadi and the Salwen, till one of its great spurs almost reaches the sea near Martaban, where it parts the Salwen from the big-mouthed Sitang. Nearly abreast of Toungoo, and 170 miles north of Martaban, this chain is known to attain an elevation of 8000 feet.

The snowy range of Langtang projects its shorter spurs between the branches of the Irawadi, and this side the westerly branch it sends down an offshoot called the Shwé-doung-gyi, separating the Irawadi from the springs of the Kyen-dwen.

Still farther westward in the Naga country, between longitude 93° and 95°, a great multiform mass of mountains starts southwards from the Assam chain. Enclosing first the level alluvial valley of Munnipoor, at a height of 2,500 feet above the sea, it then spreads out westward to Tipura and the coast of Chittagong and northern Arracan a broad succession of unexplored and forest-covered spurs, inhabited by a vast variety of wild tribes of Indo-Chinese kindred, known as Kookis, Nagas, Khyens, and by many more specific names. Contracting to a more defined chain, or to us more defined because we know it better, this meridian range still passes southward under the name of the Arracan Yuma-doung, till 700 miles from its origin in the Naga wilds it sinks in the sea hard by Negrais, its last bluff crowned by the golden Pagoda of Modain, gleaming far to seaward, a Burmese Sunium. Fancy might trace the submarine prolongation of the range in the dotted line of the Preparis, the Cocos, the Andamans, the Nicobars, till it emerges again to traverse Sumatra and the vast chain of the Javanic isles.

Between these two great meridian ranges that have been indicated, the one eastward of the Irawadi and the Sitang, the other westward of the Kyen-dwen and the Irawadi, lie what have been characterised above as the first three divisions of the Burman territory, and these before the detachment of Pegu might have been considered as forming the kingdom of Bur-

mah. The divisions are, however, too undefined to be closely maintained in a general geographical description.

The tract enclosed by these ranges is not to be conceived of as a plain like the vast levels that stretch from the base of Himalayas. It is rather a varied surface of rolling up land, interspersed with alluvial basins and sudden ridges of hill. The Burman is himself nowhere a dweller in the mountains, though thus girt round with a noble mountain barrier.

With such a frontier, with neighbours who only wished to be let alone, with such a trunk line from end to end of his dominions as the Irawadi, with his teak forests, and his mineral riches and his fisheries, his wheat, cotton, and rice lands, a world of eager traders to the eastward, and the sea open in front, the King of Ava's dominion was a choice one, had not incurable folly and arrogance deprived him of his best advantages, cast down the barriers of his kingdom, and brought British cantonments and custom-houses within his borders."

Pegu and its sister Provinces are by no means destitute of representatives in the realms of light literature. Taking advantage of the general ignorance of the subject among the Home Public, more than one would-be litterateur has rushed into print with Burmah and the Burmese as a *cheval de bataille.* The productions of these bookmakers are for the most part contemptible, but as they rightly calculated, the readiness of the human mind to accept as truth what it cannot confute, has shielded them from the hostile criticism which they deserve.

Among the latest of these literary pretenders is one Mr. Marshall, who introduces himself to the public as "late Editor of the Rangoon Chronicle." His Book, "Four years in Burmah," is but a rechauffé of the Moulmein Almanack, dressed up by an ignorant and unpractised hand, with copious plagiarisms from Mason's Natural History and a few other books, the whole eked out with the personal adventures of the Author in Rangoon and Moulmein and flavoured with a strong dash of egotism. This gentleman too, appears to have escaped the critical castigation he so well deserved. Indeed he has been rather belauded than otherwise. In reading one notice of his work in a Home Literary Paper (the *Athenæum*) we were reminded of the good wife who declared that she was ready to believe in mountains of sugar and rivers of milk, but utterly sceptical as to the existence of "fish that could flee." The critic accepts with ignorant approbation all the flagrant blunders which abound in this book, wherever the author attempts to touch upon the history, religion or manners and customs of the country, but condemns his *penchant* for exaggeration, and singles out for special reprobation an account of the Mosquito Creeks of Burmah, where, says our author, sailors have been so persecuted by those annoying insects as to have jumped overboard in a fit of frenzy induced

by their bites. A description of an alligator 45 feet long is also cavilled at by our critic. Now the mosquito incident is a fact that has really happened, and the dimensions of the alligator are by no means impossible.

As Mr. Marshall and his cognate ephemera afford us no material from which to draw an opinion regarding the present state and prospects of our Burman Provinces, we turn to a less pretentious but more reliable source of information, viz., the yearly Administration Reports which have been prepared by Colonel Phayre and are found in the annual Indian Blue-Books. The first of these reports was published in 1856 and contained a resumé of the progress of the Province of Pegu from the time of annexation up to the date of publication. Since then the Reports have been published annually and from them we will extract a few facts regarding the material prosperity of this interesting Province.

Our acquisitions of territory from the "Lord of the Celestial 'Elephants, Master of many white Elephants and Great Chief 'of Righteousness" have been made on two occasions. In 1826 by the Treaty of Yandabo, we contented ourselves with taking (in addition to a war indemnity of one crore of rupees) the three poor and outlying Provinces of Assam, Arracan and Tenasserim, as compensation for 30 years of insults and annoyances suffered by us at the hands of the Burmese Government and its insolent satraps. Twenty-six years later in 1852 a second series of public and private wrongs forced us into the sequestration of the Province of Pegu, the earliest conquest of the gallant Aloung Bhoora, and the fairest jewel in the Crown of his descendants.

Of the 144,000 square miles which constituted the Burmese Empire at the acme of its prosperity under old Mengtaragyee in 1819, we are now in possession of 100,000 square miles,* whilst of the two and a half millions who probably constitute the whole of the Burmese population at the present day (and among them we include the Karengs, Taloings and other cog-

	Square miles.
* Pegu, ...	32,300
Tenasserim and Martaban, ...	37,000
Arrakan, ...	10,700
Assam, ...	20,000 (?)
Total	100,000

nate tribes) upwards of one and a half million now recognize the beneficent sway of Queen Victoria.*

Although the proclamation of Lord Dalhousie annexing Pegu to the British Territories in the East was promulgated at Rangoon on the 20th December 1852, the Province was not completely cleared of Burman troops and Burman banditti until the beginning of 1854. Powerless to resist the British troops in the field, the Burman Government, ostensibly acquiescing in, though not formally consenting to, the annexation of Pegu, long continued to foment those intestine disorders, for which their own former misgovernment of the country had provided them with ready instruments. Most of their inferior and many of their superior Civil officers were in league with all the bad characters of their districts, shielding them from punishment and sharing in their plunder. The capture of Rangoon in April 1852 was the signal for these men to release themselves from the slender bond of responsibility by which they had hitherto been bound to the Lord Paramount at Amerapoora, and they now took the open lead of those gangs of desperadoes at whose existence they had formerly connived. Each became a quasi-independent Robber-Chief, and for upwards of a year, the interior of the Province was a prey to anarchy and violence of the most ruthless kind. Although these excesses were committed without the authority of the present Burman King, the authors of them were patronized and secretly encouraged by various members of the Burman Government to continue their desultory attacks, though the object of them was not the invading British force—but their own unoffending countrymen. Two of the bandit-leaders who were pre-eminent among the rest were Moung Myat Htoon and Moung Goung-gyee. The former was the hereditary Thoogyee of a small circle in the Danoobu district. Even in the Burmese time he had been considered a rebellious character, and on the annexation of Pegu he harried the country round him, carried off all the population and established himself in a strong stockade situated in the midst of swamps and dense jungle, about 20 miles from the river-bank, determined apparently to hold his own against all comers. He succeeded in repulsing a force of seamen and sepoys under

	Population.
* Pegu, ...	900,000
Arracan, ...	362,000
Tenasserim and Martaban, ...	332,000
Total	1,594,000

The population of Burmah Proper probably does not much exceed one million.

Captain Loch, R. N., who was killed in the attack, and was only dislodged by a formidable force which was sent against him under Sir J. Cheape, K. C. B. He escaped across the frontier and owing to the spirited resistance he had made to the British, easily succeeded in making his peace with the Court at Amerapoora. The chief Goung-gyee had also been a local officer in the Tharawaddy district, and though he had been deposed by the Burman Government just before the war he maintained his position and defeated two Burmese Armies that went out against him. Having tasted the sweets of independence he refused, upon the downfall of the Burman power, to recognise the authority of the British. He kept up a spirited opposition to our arms until the beginning of 1855, when being hard pressed by our troops he escaped into the Burmese territory and was of course well received by the officials there. Some years later his restless spirit again conceived the project of disturbing the British authority in his old district—but the Burman Government, fearing the complications which might arise, discouraged the attempt. He persisted—and secret orders from the Burman Capital caused him to be decapitated just outside our frontier in 1858. Dacoity, to which the Burman is always prone, has been fostered by anarchy into a national characteristic, too deeply seated to be summarily eradicated, and though this propensity has now in a great measure been overcome by the steady energy of Colonel Phayre and some of his able subordinates, its existence is still prolonged by the organized bands of marauders, who now and then come over our frontier to plunder a village and hurry back again before they can be overtaken by our police—as well as by the proportion of bad characters who are comprised in the bands of immigrants who annually cross our frontier from the Northward. The returns of 1858 shew 50 cases of gang-robbery attended with murder within the Province, but of these no less than 37 were committed in the frontier district of Prome and chiefly by trans-frontier bandits. These attacks were unusually prevalent in 1858 and were no doubt secretly encouraged by a certain party at the Burman Capital, who were anxiously watching the progress of events in India, with reference to the possibility of a reconquest of Pegu. As we gradually retightened our grasp upon India, so did the Burman Dacoits relax their attempts to shake our authority upon their frontier. Although our nominal acquisition of Pegu dates from December 1852 we could not call ourselves undisputed masters of the country till the beginning of 1854. The last place to which the Burmans clung was the small but fertile district of Mengdoon upon the frontier. This was the appanage of the present king before his

accession to the throne, and from it he derives the name by which he is generally distinguished, viz. the "Mengdoon Meng." A Governor was deputed to this place from Amerapoora so late as September 1853 and he did not quit it till March 1854—marching out of the place only as Colonel Phayre marched in. From that time the work of pacification and civil organization proceeded apace. The Province was divided into six districts—Rangoon, Bassein, Prome, Henzada, Tharawaddy and Toungoo, each of which is under a Deputy Commissioner with a staff of Assistants and extra Assistants proportionate to the requirements of the district. An immense number of petty local offices which existed under the Burmese Government were abolished. The policy of that Government appears to have been to divide authority as much as possible. Many portions of the country were cut up into small tracts, only a few square miles in extent, each of which was assigned for the support of a particular war-boat, the "Paineng" or helmsman of that boat having almost absolute authority, extending even to the powers of life and death, within such tracts. Various other territorial divisions of the country existed presided over by officers of various denominations, each of whom had a different system of administration, but all with one common object—viz., to enrich themselves as speedily as possible by the oppression of the people. The relief afforded to the people by sweeping away this horde of petty tyrants was inexpressible. The different grades of native officials appointed by the British Government are as follows. Tseetkais—Myoo-kes, Thoogyees and Goungs. The Tseetkais, corresponding nearly to the Principal Sudder Ameens in Bengal, are merely judicial officers appointed at the sudder stations of each district to try simple criminal cases and civil suits up to a certain limit of value, which limit is generally fixed at Rs. 3,000. Their pay amounts to Rs. 200 or 250 a month. A Myoo-ke is placed over a "Myo" or Township within which he has powers of every description—Civil, Criminal, and Fiscal. He decides all civil cases which do not exceed Rs. 500 in value and can punish petty thefts or assaults by fine or imprisonment in the stocks. In the Revenue Department he exercises a general supervision over the Thoogyees who are the actual Collectors of Revenue. The area of a Township varies from 200 to 600 square miles. There are 65 Townships in the province. The pay of a Myoo-ke varies from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 per mensem. A Thoogyee presides over a "Toik" or circle, exercising within it both Revenue and Police powers. In the upper portion of the province the circles are mostly small (from 10 to 20 square miles) and the Thoogyees generally hereditary, holding their appointments under royal

grants made by king "Bhodan-Bhoova" in A. D. 1783, when a doomsday book of a large portion of the empire was compiled. On the annexation of the province it was of course advisable to confirm these hereditary headmen in their ancestral rights. In the lower portion of the province the succession to Toik-Thoogyeeships is not hereditary and the circles are generally large—from 100 to 250 square miles in extent. The Thoogyees are paid by a percentage upon their collections, a plan which so far as we are aware does not exist in any part of India.

"This System on economic grounds alone has much to recommend it, as it binds up the interests of the Thoogyee with those of Government. Any increase in the Government Revenue brings a proportionate addition to the Thoogyee's income, and he consequently exerts himself to the utmost to add to the cultivation and population of his circle. If in the receipt of a fixed salary the powerful motive of self-interest would be gone, and except when immediately under the eye of a superior, he would discharge his duties at the best in a perfunctory manner and would shirk all extra trouble and expense. National prejudices also point to this as the best way of securing efficient men for Thoogyeeships. The Burmans as a race have not only a want of zeal in, but a decided distaste to, any kind of employment for which they are remunerated by a fixed monthly salary which seems to them as it were a badge of servitude. While men of influence and substance will for the status which it gives them, gladly accept the Thoogyeeship of a small circle of which the annual commission does not amount to more than Rs. 40 or 50 per annum, it is sometimes difficult to obtain respectable individuals to fill the appointment of Village Goung on a salary of Rs. 10 per mensem, i. e., two or three times as much as his superior the Thoogyee receives."

This objection to the system of fixed monthly salaries is peculiar to the genius of the people and liked as little by master as by servant. Witness the remark made by one of the magnates of the Burman Capital to Colonel Phayre.—"If I am 'bound to pay a man a certain fixed salary, then I am his servant, 'instead of he being mine."

Subordinate to the Toik-Thoogyees are the "Goungs" (literally Heads) or rural constabulary, who are appointed over, on an average, every hundred families. Their salary, Rs. 10 per mensem, is less than a common coolie can earn in many portions of the province and is not sufficient therefore to secure efficient men for the appointments. In addition to these village Goungs there is a semi-Military Police Force of about 1800 men divided into three Battalions and stationed in the districts of Bassein, Prome and Tharawaddy. These Battalions are under the Deputy Commissioner of the district and have each two European non-Commissioned officers attached to them. The one at Prome has also two European Commissioned officers in charge of the Frontier Ports. The men are all natives of the Province. When the Madras Native Troops at present quarter-

ed in Pegu are got rid of the present Police will of course have to undergo a thorough remodelling. As soldiers or even as members of a semi-Military Police Force, the volatile and impatient Burmans will not succeed without a large admixture of other races. The Pegu Light Infantry Battalion is indeed kept in a serviceable condition by the exertions of its Commandant, Colonel Nuthall, but even in that Regiment cases of desertion and unfaithfulness have been not unfrequent. The Malay element is the best which it contains, but unfortunately these gallant little fellows are not procurable in any great numbers. As detectives Burmans must always be employed in Pegu, and in this branch of the profession they are no mean adepts, but for men who will satisfactorily discharge the less exciting but not less important routine duties of a Policeman, the recruiting officer must beat up amongst other nationalities.

For the first three years of our occupation of Pegu, the Revenue advanced with mighty strides. Since then it has exhibited a slower but still steadily progressive tendency. The annual collections and disbursements on account of Civil salaries, establishment, &c. up to 1858-59 are as follows:

	Collections.	*Disbursements.*
1853-54	Rs. 12,44,767	...
1854-55	„ 23,30,603	...
1855-56	„ 30,21,062	Rs. 17,01,181
1856-57	„ 34,90,418	„ 26,62,734
1857-58	„ 40,81,477	„ 26,13,906
1858-59	„ 45,31,120	„ 23,76,573

The population of the province may be taken in round numbers to be 900,000. The proportion of Revenue to population therefore amounts to about Rs. 5 per head. More than a fourth of the Revenue is derived from the land. This has risen from Rs. 3,63,620 in the first year to Rs. 12,08,408 in the fifth year of our rule. The average annual amount of direct land-tax yielded to the Burman Government is supposed to have been about Rs. 1,90,000 or about one-eighth of the total Revenue derived from the province. The land Revenue system which was followed by us in our first-acquired Burman provinces long remained in as crude and unsatisfactory a state as under the native Government.

" Land-tax was not taken by the Burmese Government in ' all the districts, but when it was established, a fixed amount ' was put upon each plough or yoke of oxen, which amount was ' paid in silver; or in some districts a rough calculation was ' made of the grain produce of each circle and the cultivators

'were required to convey a proportion, generally ten per cent. 'of their crop to the Government granaries."

On the first annexation of Arracan and Tenasserim the clumsy yoke of oxen tax was continued by the British officers placed in charge of those districts; but some years afterwards yearly land-measurements were introduced. In Arracan the standard land-measure adopted was the "doon," about 6¼ English acres and in Tenasserim the English acre was naturalized. Certain rates per doon or acre were then imposed upon all the lands within each Toik or Circle, according to the reports of the Thoogyee's as to what their respective lands could bear. But as these Thoogyees were men who knew not what an acre was and had very indefinite ideas regarding square measure, their reports were but unsatisfactory data to go upon. In Arracan it so happened that low rates varying from Rupees 6 to Rupees 10 per doon were imposed while in Tenasserim high rates of Rs. 2 or 3 an acre were adopted, in consequence of which the agricultural progress of the latter province was considerably retarded. On the annexation of Pegu the maximum rate, in the alluvial districts of Rangoon and Bassein the most fertile in the Province, was fixed at Rs. 2 per acre—while in the others districts rates varying from 8 annas to Rs. 1-8 were imposed. The rates having been fixed in each Circle, the Thoogyees with the aid of Land-measurers deputed by the Deputy Commissioners of the district are expected to measure all the cultivated land in their Circles once every year. The assessment is made with each cultivator separately and approaches most nearly therefore to the Ryotwari Tenures of India. The yearly Land-measurements are the great defect of the present system. The agricultural body being numerous and the average size of each man's farm being not more than 8 or 10 acres, the annual measurement of these small plots is productive of trouble and annoyance to the cultivators, expense to Government and chicanery and rascality on the part of the Land-measurers. A system of Revenue Settlement has now however being introduced into the province of Pegu, the objects of which are two-fold first—to fix discriminative rates of assessment upon much smaller areas than those generally included within the limits of a Circle, which may contain from 25 to 250 square miles—and secondly to introduce, if possible a system of decennial village settlements. It is plain that in an extensive tract of country like a Toik or Circle, there must be many differences of soil and advantages and disadvantages of situation affecting the various lands which will make one unvarying rate of assessment over the whole area quite inapplicable. To obviate this incon-

venience, certain natural and well-marked divisions of country, containing only a few hundred acres each, known by the generic term of "Kwengs," with a distinctive name for each, have been selected as units of assessment. Each Kweng is reconnoitred, its quality ascertained and the rate of assessment fixed accordingly. The maximum rate is Rs. 2-8, and this is imposed only on Kwengs of extraordinary fertility—the minimum being 4 annas. The yield of paddy may be said to vary between 25 and 100 baskets—(English Bushels*) per acre—but Kwengs which yield an average produce of more than 70 baskets an acre are rare. The price of paddy in the Rangoon market has varied during the last two years between Rs. 55 and Rs. 135. The average of the two years is Rs. 76 per 100 baskets. To a cultivator therefore who gets an average crop of 50 baskets per acre the Government rent of Rs. 2 is only about 5 per cent. on his gross receipts—or even were the current rate of paddy to fall to Rs. 30 per 100 baskets, the lowest it has been since annexation, the land rent would amount only to about 13 per cent. of the gross produce. As one-fifth of the gross produce is the legal Government share, the present rates of assessment are undoubtedly light, and the agricultural interest of the Province is at present in a state of plethoric prosperity. The principles of the Village Settlement system which has been introduced are as follows. All the cultivators in one village tract agree to pay to Government annually for ten years a sum equal to the land rent paid the year before the settlement is made. This annual jumma to be paid regularly whether cattle die or crops fail, but applications for remission on account of any very general disaster of this kind are duly considered. The rent to be raised among the cultivators by a committee chosen by themselves from among their own number. All waste lands within the village tract which may be brought under caltivation within the ten years to be tax-free. The advantages of these settlements have not yet been universally approved of by the cultivators. In the Delta the abundance of waste land lying ready to be cultivated is so great that its value is hardly appreciable. Hereditary property in land is a thing which, in the lower part of the Province, is almost unknown. Out of 3262 cultivators, the agricultural population of the Township of Thongwa, only 158 have been in possession of their land for more than one—only nine for more than two, and none can trace their ownership beyond the third generation. The people are in fact but squatters on the soil and a lengthened tenure of their lands offers

* The standard basket of unhusked paddy weighs 52 lbs. avoirdupois.

but few attractions to them. Though the system has been successfully introduced it will be some years before it takes firm root in the province—with a population of only 28 souls to the square mile—and only a twenty-eighth of her cultivable area actually under cultivation—with her vast alluvial plains teeming with fertility—and her magnificent slopes waiting only to be cleared in order to bring forth fruit abundantly, it is evident that Pegu offers a splendid field for industrious settlers. A very tiny stream of immigration now trickles into the province across the Northern frontier from the Burmese and Shan states—not expelled by want or increasing numbers from those sparsely peopled regions, but consisting only of a few individuals who prefer British to Native Rule, and who succeed in transporting their household gods across the frontier. The whole addition made to the population in this way since annexation does not exceed a few thousands. As yet nothing has been done to attract settlers from the swarming hives of the human race on the opposite coast of India. Nor indeed would any influx of poverty-stricken coolies be of much advantage to the province unless it were the result of and accompanied by British capital and skill. Rules for the grants of waste lands have been promulgated. Under these rules rent-free tenures are allowed for various periods from four up to thirty-two years, according to the nature of the land and the kind of jungle with which it is covered. One-fourth of the whole grant to be rent-free in perpetuity and the remainder to be assessed at the expiration of the rent-free tenure at the same rate as other lands in the neighbourhood. These grants however are saddled with various conditions. One-fourth, one-half and three-fourths of the whole grant must be brought under cultivation before the expiration of one-quarter, one-half and three-fourths respectively of the rent-free tenure. Grantees also are required to enter into a bond not to *allow any of the present cultivators of the Province to settle in or cultivate within their grant.* Should any of the rules not be complied with, the whole grant is liable to resumption by Government. Under such restrictions it is not astonishing that the waste lands of Pegu have not been popular objects of investment with European capitalists. In that province not a single application for a grant has ever been made, and in Tenasserim an enterprising European who experimented in one was nearly ruined owing to the penalties prescribed by the rules being strictly enforced. The mistake in the spirit of the rules has been that an increase of revenue from the bestowal of grants has been the primary object in view, whilst it should only be secondary. An increase of po-

pulation and cultivated area is the sole desideratum in Pegu, and increase of revenue will assuredly follow when those objects have been attained. Among the chief improvements which might be effected in the present rules are first—the removal of the prohibition against employing cultivators of the Province upon a grant, and secondly, permission to convert a "grant" into a freehold estate, *i. e.*, the power of purchasing exemption from land-rent in perpetuity by payment of a lump sum down—which power has already been conceded in parts of India. The rule requiring certain portions of the grant to be brought under cultivation within a certain time, may be necessary to prevent mere speculation in land, but its hardness should be modified by a saving clause authorizing the local Revenue Authorities to withhold the application of the Rule in cases where the omission to cultivate has been caused, not by wilful neglect on the part of the grantee but by circumstances over which he had no control. But these or any other modifications in the Rules will fail to attract British or Indian Capitalists into the fields of Pegu, whilst population is so scanty and labor so scarce, unless some means are devised for protecting the interests of the importers of labor. A speculator who would import a thousand laborers into Rangoon has no adequate means, or at least it is generally thought that he has none, and the effect is the same, of preventing them all deserting in a body the day after their arrival. The extension to Pegu of any of the existing Regulations would not meet the requirements of the case but it would be quite possible to frame such an enactment as would encourage immigration into Pegu by protecting alike the interests of the coolies and their masters. The principal productions to which European skill and capital might be applied in Pegu are Indigo, Cotton and Cocoanuts. Indigo has never yet been attempted within the province on a large scale, though it is grown in small quantities by the cultivators for Home consumption, but a manufactory which the king of Burmah has just established at his capital has turned out some fair samples of the article which sold on their first introduction into the Calcutta market for Rs. 150 per maund. Cotton we know will grow luxuriantly in Pegu. The indigenous species is grown on low alluvial ground or on hill clearings in a careless and slovenly manner. Its staple is short and it is worthless in the English markets. It used to be exported in considerable quantities to China viâ Yunan, but since that trade has been stopped owing to the disturbances in the latter country—the cultivation has declined both in Burmah Proper and in Pegu. In one Province there are now only about 10,000 acres under

Cotton cultivation, and the annual value of the produce, taking the yield of an acre to be about 100 viss, (365 lbs.) and the current rate Rs. 10 per 100 viss, will only be about a lakh of rupees. Various foreign kinds of cotton have been introduced by the Government and have thriven well. The best return was obtained from upland Georgia seed sown near Rangoon. The cleaned produce of this was pronounced in Calcutta to be worth about Rs. 14 per maund or about 4 pence a lb. The probability however of inducing the ignorant native cultivators to adopt the foreign kinds which require care and attention in the place of their own inferior variety which grows almost spontaneously is very small.

Next to the Land-rent, the Capitation or Poll-Tax is the main-stay of the Public Revenue in Pegu. It yields about nine lakhs of rupees per annum or Re. 1 per head on the whole population. It is levied at the rate of Rs. 4 for each married family and Rs. 2 for each bachelor or widower. Politicians who doubt the practicability of imposing a Poll-Tax in India would do well to consider why it is that this is the Tax which is most easily raised and the least objected to in Pegu and the other Anglo-Burmese Provinces.

The judicial system in Pegu has from the first been framed after the model of the non-regulation provinces of India. The popularity of the petty Burmese Courts in the interior of districts and of the Courts held by our English officers at the head quarters of the Districts, is best attested by the large number of suits which are annually brought and decided. The proportion of these suits to the population of Pegu, exceeds that which exists in the Regulation provinces of India, and even in those non-regulation provinces where justice is most cheaply administered.

In the Courts of the English officers, the record is in English; the witness is brought face to face with the Judge; is interrogated from the Judge's own mouth and the evidence is written by the Judge's own hand. There has been a Pegu Code published after the model of the Punjab Code. The procedure follows that improved system recently devised by the Legislature for the Regulation Provinces. But to this is added as abstract of Principles of Burmese Law.

At Rangoon as at Moulmein the want of a trained English Lawyer to decide cases in which European and commercial interests are concerned, is more or less felt. Still since Major Sparks has been in charge of the judicial work at Rangoon the Court there is well spoken of by all classes. And considering the difficulty of the business, or of much of the business, it is to Major Sparks' credit that he has done it so well.

The frequency of the divorce cases, is a clear index of a fact unhappily too notorious of the utter laxity of the marriage tie among the population of Burmah. With the Burmese marriage appears to be nothing more than a temporary contract. Whether the Courts are right in recognising these divorces with as much facility as they do, is, we think, doubtful. But the matter is one of delicacy and difficulty ; and the prevalence of this great social evil, merits the constant and earnest attention of the Pegu administration.

One matter of great interest and importance connected with Pegu is the *supply of Teak Timber*. In this respect however we are not yet able to chronicle any substantial progress. The most that can be said is that the best possible enquiry has been made, and the real facts of the Teak Forests, ascertained ; that the foundation of a sound system of forest conservancy has been laid. But the result, under British Rule, has as yet, been inconsiderable. For the first few years after annexation there was some supply, but it was drawn from the resources of previous years, that is from trees felled during the period of Burmese Rule. That supply was not however, on its exhaustion, succeeded by a fresh supply of newly felled trees. Consequently for some time past great disappointment has been felt by those private capitalists who have erected machinery or established agencies in the hope of Teak Timber being available. Moreover the various Public Departments have felt the same want ; and this becomes serious in a province, where all public buildings Military and Civil are, as yet, built of wood. It is not hence to be inferred that the Teak of Burmah regarding which such vivid anticipations were formed some years ago, is a myth. Teak there is, on the slopes of the Yoma ranges, in the wild and rugged vallies of the Sitang and the Salwen. So sure as British administrations and British enterprise shall endure, that Teak will sooner or later find its way into the market. But the plain fact is that at this moment there is but little Teak Timber available at Rangoon. The question is, how shall the Timber that really does exist be rendered available? This question has not been solved ; but we hope it soon will be ; as the Forest Department has been busy with its enquiries and operations and the attention of the English merchants has been drawn to this subject.

We trust that at some future day the able and interesting reports of Dr. D. Brandis, the Superintendent of Forests in Pegu and Tenasserim, may be reviewed. To high educational acquirements and scientific knowledge Dr. Brandis adds a noble zeal for the service, and great personal activity. With great labour

and in much hardship, he has marched through the most distant forests in the province; and has traversed mountainous and inhospitable regions. His proceedings have placed at the disposal of the authorities a mass of practical and valuable information which may indicate the way whereby on the one hand the supply of Timber may be made to meet the public requirements, and on the other hand, those resources which nature has lavished on the Province, and which Providence has entrusted to our keeping, may be duly preserved from premature exhaustion and husbanded for the future.

Under the firm and able and at the same time popular and considerate administration of Colonel Phayre, who, it is to be hoped, will yet remain for many years longer to rule over his interesting Province and to complete the work which he has so well begun, much has been done towards rendering Pegu among the most promising, as it is already one of the happiest and most prosperous Province of our Indian Empire. The chief benefits derived from British rule in Pegu are thus described by Colonel Phayre:—

"The most prominent of the material benefits derived by the people are, the abolition of forced labor, and the wonderful impulse given to industry from the free export of grain. The first measure has removed a load which bowed the people to the dust; the second has imparted a value to landed property, which, unless in exceptional cases, it had not before. Although the amount of taxation is now perhaps, greater than under the Burmese Government, and the collection of it more troublesome to the people, yet it is paid in with much greater ease, and the people know what they are required to pay. They have acquired firm confidence that a fair rate will be taken and no more. One great source of annoyance and loss to the people has been removed by the introduction of a coin of fixed value. Every payment formerly had to be made by weight of silver bullion, and the silver tendered had to be assayed whenever passed from hand to hand. The loss on this continual melting up was very great, and the frauds practised on the poor and ignorant may well be imagined. By the introduction of coin, dealings of every kind have become more certain and therefore more frequent. By this facility afforded to dealings and by the abolition of transit duties, internal trade has greatly increased, and the diffusion of wealth and comfort among the people is a subject of general remark. But the most important benefit conferred by the introduction of British rule, is the repression of crime, hitherto fostered and encouraged by Government Officers."

But not the least of the blessings conferred by British rule is the ameliorated condition of the savage tribes known as "Kareng Yaings" who inhabit the vast hilly district to the East of Toungoo. They formerly lived in a state of perpetual warfare with each other and with the Burmese. One tribe lost no opportunity of attacking another and carrying off prisoners to be sold into slavery. Their hands were indeed against every man and every man's hand against them. Thanks to the philanthropic exertions of Mr. O'Riley, the Deputy Commissioner of

the district, and the Rev. Dr. Mason, a Baptist Missionary, these benighted savages have not only been civilized but Christianized. Although many of them live within our boundaries, our Government from the first disclaimed all intention of imposing any taxes upon them, but a native agent was appointed to reside amongst them and endeavour to put a stop to their internal wars and feuds, no opportunity was lost in inspiring them with confidence in the benevolent intentions of the British Government. The result of the three years of intercourse with them may be best described by Mr. O'Riley. After describing the state of degradation into which these tribes had fallen through the tyrannous oppression of the Burmese, he says:—

"It might be too sweeping an assertion were I to state that the state of social relations, as above noted, has passed away generally, but I may safely aver that, of the large communities of these wild races who people the mountain ranges of the Poung-Coung, aggregating a total of from 55,000 to 56,000 souls, fully one-third have during the last three years, received the light of civilization through the combined agency of Government and the Kareng Missionary Quala, with his assistants, have cast aside their former evil practices, and cemented a bond of amity and brotherhood with their kindred tribes, have raised themselves in the social scale by the adoption of the pure faith of Christianity, and will eventually be found willing recipients of our laws to render them useful subjects of our Government."

ART. VIII.—1. *Ras Mala, or Hindoo Annals of the Province of Goozerat, in Western India.* By ALEXANDER KINLOCH FORBES *of the Honorable East India Company's Civil Service. With illustrations principally architecturul from drawings by the Author.* London. Richardson Brothers, 23, Cornhill. 1856.

2. *Travels in Western India, embracing a Visit to the sacred mounts of the Jains, and the most celebrated shrines of Hindoo faith between Rajpootana and the Indus, with an account of the ancient city of Aghrwala,* by the late LIEUTENANT COLONEL JAMES TOD, Author of "Annals of Rajasthan." London. Wm. A. Allen and Co. Leadenhall Street. 1839.

3. *Selections from Bombay Government Records,* No. 37, 1856.

"GOING to Kattyawar, are you?" says Bombay Society, "that is where you get lion-shooting, is it not?" "Been in Kattyawar, have you?" says Calcutta Society, "is that where Kattyawar horses come from?" Pertinent questions both of them; but it is clear our Indian friends like "angels, fear to tread" this Terra Incognita. People at home "step in" more promptly; here for instance is a writer in the *Daily Telegraph* who has done so—head foremost:—"In this mysterious region," he writes, "primal woods spread over the level country; the hills 'are pierced by vast, irregular, dangerous caverns; robber-fast- 'nesses, situated in spots difficult of access, are numerous; the 'climate, especially towards the close of the year, is deadly, and 'the only people who can bear it with impunity are the Seedees, 'emigrants from the coast of Africa. Every species of wild beast 'haunts this frightful wilderness, and there roam the Waghers, 'who long have been the terror of the entire sea board." To readers of the *Calcutta Review* we need not perhaps explain that this is about as true a picture of Kattyawar as if a literary Baboo were in the columns of the *Hindoo Patriot* to give a description of the British Isles, by combining in one harmonious whole the various features of the Forest of Dean, the Bog of Allan and the Grampians, and saying—there roam the Roughs, who long have been the terror of every Bazaar and Mela in the kingdom. Turning from the "browner horror" which these touches after Salvator Rosa have shed upon the land, we find the reality as follows:—

"The Country of Soreth"—as Kattyawar was called of old—"has always been one full of attraction for the Hindoo; it is to him an earthly paradise, a land of chur rivers, of well-bred horses, of lovely women,—it is more, it is a holy land, to the Jain the land of Adeenath and Urishthemee, to the orthodox Hindoo the country of Maha Dev and Shree Krishn. The

follower of the Teerbhunkers turns his pilgrim thoughts towards the holy mountains of Girnar and Shutroonjye; the servant of Vishnoo thinks of Soreth as each morning he places on his forehead the teeluk of Gopee Chundun; the worshipper of Shiva sounds with a conch shell of Soreth the praises of the victorious Shunkur; while the Rajpoot and the bard extol the gallantry of Ra Khengar, or lament the fate of Ranik Devee, or perchance, at evening, meeting beneath the village tree, when the hooka bubbles, and the wandering stranger tells his tale of other lands, repeat the verse,—

In Soreth are jewels five,
Horses, rivers, women;
Somnath the fourth;
Fifth, Huree's presence.

Nor is the Mahommedan less eager in his praise. "Fortune," says the Meerat Sekunderee, 'seems to have selected this territory from the most fertile spots of Malwa, Candeish and Goozerat; to present to the view at once all that was valuable in those countries; but to all the advantages which it derives from its soil in common with those provinces, it possesses in its ports another, which they cannot boast of, from which its merchants obtain wealth, and the inland countries many of those luxuries so much in demand.'"

Our own feeling on the subject is, that of the whole dominion where Sir George Clerk now holds sway there is no portion, whether to the archæologist, the lover of the picturesque, the sportsman, or the student of our relations with native states, so deserving of notice and yet at the same time so altogether unknown as Kattyawar. Further we have a notion that just now Kattyawar is at an important turning point in its career for future weal or woe. Thus a double motive arises urging us to attempt drawing a little general interest towards the country and its institutions; and our only regret is that our design has not been anticipated in these pages by him who alone could worthily discant upon the theme, who in his knowledge of Goozerat in its inner life both ancient and modern owns no rival near his throne, the Author of the "Ras Mala."

There are three maps of India now lying before us, and considering that the locality we would discuss is in one of them stamped with the letters G U Z that go to make up the name, GUZERAT, in another lumped with a mass of foreign territory supposed to belong exclusively to the Gaekwar, and in the third disguised under the spelling peculiar to Missionaries and the Madras Government as Kathiawad, it seems a not uncalled for preliminary that we should give geographical limits to our topic. Kattyawar then—for we despair of accustoming our readers to the more legitimate titles, Saurashtra or Soreth, the Good Land —is the peninsula of Goozerat; bounded on the South by the Indian Ocean, on the East by the Gulf of Cambay, and on the West by the Gulf of Cutch: Northwards towards the military

station of Deesa, and the large territory known collectively as Rajpootana it is in great measure cut off from the mainland by a couple of those peculiar compounds of salt marsh and desert locally known as Runns; these stretch in on either hand from the apex of each of the Gulfs, leaving a space of barely seventy miles open to invasion. And isolated as is even its present position, Kattyawar in the olden time was no doubt wholly an island. It is about 150 miles long by about the same distance broad, and contains an area of 22,000 square miles. The chief physical features of the province are the Burda Hills in the west with their southern continuations, the Alich range, and the Oshum; the lofty and holy mount of Girnar overshadowing the ancient fortress of Joonagurh; and lastly a remarkable tract in the South, stretching 50 miles East and West by 30 North and South, known as the Geer: it consists of a succession of ridges and hills which towards the South reach to a considerable elevation, covered with the densest forest trees and jungle, and full of almost inaccessible fastnesses which for ages have afforded shelter to robbers, outlaws and a sect of wild fanatics (Aghorees) reputed to be cannibals.

Would a man essay "the tale of Troy Divine," says the Horatian maxim, he need not hark back to Leda's eggs for a starting point. Acting on this advice, we will waive those prelegendary mists of time when the Black Race, whose supposed descendants are to be found in the still half savage Bheels and Koles, roamed their forests without one prophetic fear of the coming foe from Arya; nor shall there be any pause over the pastoral myth of Krishna, either as he Apollo-like tends his sheep and romps with rustic Daphnes, or as he subsequently emerges into the Hero, King and God of Goozerat, longer than may suffice to mark the confirmation hence accruing to the natural supposition that the Brahmanic races should have found a home and settled in Goozerat, many a long year before any outer ripple of their wave of emigration had spread onwards into the valley of the Ganges. Similarly the wonders of the Girnar inscriptions must be noticed only for the proof they give that in the third century before our era Goozerat was portion of an empire seated in Central India and stretching as far East as Cuttack. Onwards to surer ground and a light comparatively clear!

It is fortunate that almost the whole authentic history of Kattyawar is bound up with two or three sites, which to this day have a name wherein the past still echoes, and exhibit distinct material remains for the pilgrim who gazes on them to re-people with the shades of those mighty men of yore who there fought, loved, sorrowed and rejoiced even as men do now. It is not

until we walk under the tree from out of the shade of whose branches went forth the commands that won a battle, or touch the blackened walls which erst rang with brilliant banquetings, that the imagination fairly grasps the real life with which those scenes were once inspired. Let us suppose then that we have that famous carpet of the Thousand and One Nights at our command, and wish ourselves—

First, to a spot just outside the walls of the Gobel Thackoor's town of Wulleh, some twenty miles North Westwards of the flourishing little port of Gogo. Before us is a thicket of most ancient Peeloo trees, round which eddies a stream known to our guide as the Ghela or Mad River, and at our feet long tufted grass only half concealing masses of old brick-work or occasional fragments of granite over which it is not easy to avoid stumbling. A desolate scene in truth, and as the howl of the jackal is borne fitfully down on the soughings of the evening breeze, there is a something of sympathy we can readily accord to the local legend that tells of wailing Bhoots, who lurk here proof for ages against exorcism. Yet this is all that now remains of Wullubheepoor, a Metropolis* that during the seventh century of our era boasted the most brilliant Court in India. To see and admire it came from China the Boodhist priest, Howen Thsang, and from Arabia the no less famous geographer El Edrisi. Cyclopean walls, and a deep moat embraced within their circuit of thirty miles a city where rose the fair proportions of a hundred ornate palaces, glimmered cool depths of waters translucent from out the arched depths of many a spacious reservoir, clashed and clanged the call to prayer from the spires of 360 temples, and streamed in endless variety of color through eighty-four different Bazaars the myriad multitude that called these things their own. This splendid seat of Empire—be the credit of its subversion due to Scythians, as Colonel Tod would have it, to Indo-Bactrians according to another authority, or to Persians under Nousheerwan the Great, as Mountstuart Elphinstone opines—fell before an irruption of barbarians from the North at a date which conjecturally may be given as A. D. 770. How sudden and complete was the overthrow may be judged from the fact that the remnant of inhabitants which escaped death or captivity fled away to found new cities in Malwa without making one effort to rebuild their ancient homes; and that a still current legend ascribes the event to the operation of a miracle resembling that which whelmed Sodom and the cities of the Plain. From Wallubhee

* Bombay *Quarterly Review*, No. iv. Art. iii.

the sceptre of Goozerat departed to Unhilwarra Puttun, a city near the modern cantonments of Deesa, which, founded by Wun Raj, the Forest King, in 746, passed from the Chowra dynasty to the Solunkhees in 925, and from the Solunkhees to the Waghelas in 1172; the Waghelas in their turn being crushed and Unhilwarra as a seat of Hindoo power destroyed by Alla-ood-deen the Bloody, Emperor of Delhi, in 1294.

Fancy's flight the second is to a little bay on the South-West coast of Kattyawar, which Colonel Tod fondly declares to be the most beautiful in India. Inland loom the misty peaks of the Girnar, and seawards the deep blue Heaven and Ocean mingling without a discernible horizon are flecked with the white crests of rolling billows or barred with the long dun line of smoke that proclaims the stately sweep of a British war steamer passing upwards to Kurrachee.

The solemn litany which the powers of the deep are chaunting evermore, booms along golden lands sweeping in graceful curvature to yon North Western headland, where shine the white walls of Verawul raised of old to be a defence against pirates; and now topped by the dark slanting masts of a score of country shipping lying moored in the port beyond. Here are buglahs from the Persian Gulf, dows from Arabia, and pattamars that shall yet rejoice the heart of the Bombay merchant with screwed cotton bales, or help the Commissary General to defy combining dealers by a timely supply of hay. Verawul left behind, let us turn our faces towards the other horn of the bay: on our left we pass the Bal Khoond, where Krishna, as he lay sleeping under a bush, met the fate classic legends assign to Thisbe, and so onwards by a tall tottering Eedgah, which, with the innumerable graves around it, many of them wall-enclosed, dome-covered and tended by unmistakeable Fukeers, tells of a Mahommedan element in the neighbourhood for Western India unusually influential, we pick our steps through deep drifting sand to the towered double gates that rise sombre and venerable before us. 'Tis the city of Dev Puttun, and at our entrance we are met by a grave handsome Arab, who holds the surrounding district in hereditary lieutenancy from the Nawab of Joonagurh: he wheels his horse by our side and courteously points out each object of interest on either side of the narrow streets. The whole plan of the city is of the early Hindoo period; so are the mutilated images and architectural ornaments which ever and anon protrude from the masonry of mosque or private house into which they have been wrought in most cases inappropriately enough. Outside the Western walls of the city and as yet invisible we know that

there is the River Hurun, which, winding down from the wild Geer, is broadened near its mouth by the confluence of two smaller streams, and thus affords to the Hindoo pilgrim a Treevenee, or holy meeting of three waters, where foliage-shadowed steps lead down from Krishna's shrines to lustral baths of peculiar efficacy. Still pressing onwards through the cool shadow of the streets we emerge at length on a comparatively open space towards the sea, littered with rubbish and dust-heaps. Huge blocks of stone lie around, and fragments of once polished slabs mingle promiscuously with the flowered capitals of fallen pillars, the maimed trunks of what have of old been carven Caryatides, or the shattered half of that well known emblem of Shiva, the mysteriously obscene Ling. In the midst black with the age of centuries rises a structure of great solidity though (as compared with other celebrated haunts of religion) of inconsiderable dimensions. The bell shaped spire is wanting, and the central dome, massive as it appears, is obviously the work of more recent and less careful architecture than that which fashioned the jasper lintel of the entrance door, encrusted the outer walls with innumerable niched figures of shapely design, and made the coarse sand-stone droop in fringes delicate as lace work. There is a cow calving in the holiest penetralia, and on the inmost wall, the exterior base of which is within a few feet of the sea, a solitary splash of red paint attests at once the cow-herd's rude piety, and the completeness of the degradation to which Maha Kal's great oracle has fallen. For this before us is the far-famed Temple of Somnath.

"It was about the time when Canute the Great was employing himself in decorating the old minster at Winchester 'with such magnificence as confounded the minds of strangers at the sight of the gold and silver and the splendour of the jewels,' that another sovereign, as successful a soldier, and as enthusiastic a lover of architectural display, undertook in the far East, an enterprise in which he sought to perpetuate his name by the destruction of an idolatrous shrine, perhaps more splendid than that Christian temple, which the politic Western sovereign was engaged in founding." * * * * "Mahmood left Ghuznee on his expedition against Somnath in September A. D. 1024 : his numerous army was accompanied by crowds of volunteers, the flower of the youth of Toorkistan."

Ajmeer and Anhilwarra fell before him; but "it was against 'the Gods, and not the Kings of the Hindoos that Mahmood 'made war;" and he hastened on without a pause to Somnath. And whatever may be the present state of the temple, "to 'behold it as it met the eye of the army of Islam, we must 'recal its lofty spire rising far above the blue horizon of its 'ocean back-ground, the tawny banner of Shiva fluttering from 'its summit, the porticoes and pyramid-like dome, the courts

'and columned aisles that surrounded them, and the numerous 'subordinate shrines, which, as satellites, heightened the splendor 'of this chosen dwelling of the Lord of the Moon." Rapid as had been Mahmood's approach, he found an army ready to oppose him. His herald proclaimed defiance, the green ensign of the Prophet was unfurled, and the assault delivered. For two days his best efforts were vain, and the most devoted of his stormers, fast as they scaled the walls, were beaten headlong back by the valour of Rajpoots fighting for hearth and altar. On the third day when victory seemed still more decidedly turning in favor of the besieged and their relieving army, Mahmood himself, like Cæsar at the head of his Tenth Legion, led a furious charge that saved and won the day. Five thousand Hindoos lay dead at his feet and the city of Dev Puttun was his own. When the victorious Sultan

"entered the shrine of Someshwar, he beheld a superb edifice of hewn stone, its lofty roof supported by pillars curiously carved and set with precious stones. In the adytum, to which no external light penetrated, and which was illuminated only by a lamp suspended from the centre by a golden chain, appeared the Symbol of Someshwar—a stone cylinder, which rose nine feet in height above the floor of the temple and penetrated six feet in depth below it. Two fragments of this object of idolatrous worship were at the King's order broken off, that one might be thrown at the threshold of the public Mosque, and the other at the Court-gate of his own palace at Ghuznee. Other fragments were reserved to grace the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. While Mahmood was thus employed, a crowd of Brahmins, petitioning his attendants, offered an enormous ransom if the King would desist from further mutilation. Mahmood hesitated, and his courtiers hastened to offer the advice which they knew would be acceptable; but after a moment's pause the Sultan exclaimed that he would be known by posterity not as "the idol-seller," but as *the destroyer*. The work of spoliation then continued and was rewarded by the discovery, in the vaults below the adytum, of untold treasures."

And thus fell Somnath! Lord Ellenborough's wonderful bêtise in connection with the temple's putative gates brought back in triumph from Affghanistan is fresh within the public recollection. These trophies came on their way as far as Agra; and there we believe they still repose awaiting a chance of further adventures not likely soon to be granted them.

From the fall of Somnath to the destruction of Unhilwarra by a still fiercer storm of Islamism nearly three centuries afterwards, the story of Goozerat presents nought but a melancholy sameness of intestine strife; Rajpoot contending fratricidally with Rajpoot, and nowhere anything like union against the common foe. The Mahommedans had consequently little difficulty in conquering the country after a fashion. Conquer it thoroughly they never did; and Kattyawar, which, according to their own authors, fermented with a chronic insurrection,

at no time became to the Sultans of Ahmedabad that compact portion of a subject empire, which it had been to the dynasties of Wallubhee and Unhilwarra. It profits little to look into the successive struggles made now by the paramount power to confirm its ascendancy, now by turbulent tributaries to re-assert their independence; efforts in which neither side gained any material advantage, and which leave the general plot of the drama advanced scarcely a step towards final development. The Moslem in his turn bowed and fell before the Mahratta; but antecedent to the appearance of the latter comes an episode which—no less for the interest attaching to the first exhibition of the Christian cross in Kattyawar, than for the heroism of a people to whom, perhaps because of old they pressed us closely as rivals, and now seem to have fallen almost beneath our notice, we, the present lords of India seem ever inclined to mete scant justice,—deserves equally prominent mention with the tales of Wallubhee and Somnath.

Two marches South-eastward from the last named place, we come to camping ground on a narrow neck of land, across which, from the sea on one hand to the mud of a salt creek on the other, stretches a row of iron cannon, evidently marking a once disputed boundary. This line as it passes over a sandy attempt at a road in the middle of its course is additionally marked by two glaring white pillars, bearing inscriptions, which, as far as we can gather from their Latin-like Portuguese, inform us that we are passing from the limits of the Joonagurh territory to those, as defined by an Anglo-Portuguese Commission in 1859, of the colony of Diu. Presently a small stone erection on the beach to our left attracts notice, and it is with that strange thrill of alien pity and unreasonable interest which it is impossible to suppress at the sight of a fellow-countryman's solitary grave in a far foreign land, that we decipher the quaint old *Hic jacet* of an English Sea-Captain, who died and was buried here just one century ago. Fitting the bare name of the good ship "Hope's" Commander—he must have voyaged in the days of Clive—with a history of our own imagining, we stroll dreamily forwards till on a sudden all musings are broken by the sound of an eldritch-scream just in front. It is the cry of a sentry on guard at the gate of Gogla, and, as we approach, outtumble his comrades, a batch of neatly dressed little fellows in dark greenish blue, who carry arms to our English excellencies in mute surprise at the unaccustomed advent of a white face. The Havildar sends off a message in haste to warn the Governor of coming visitors, and himself escorts us through the streets of the village till we come out upon the brink of

the little creek, on the opposite shore of which we hail the yellow houses and dark rock built fort of Diu: the latter juts out into the sea from the eastern extremity of the island, and from its topmost citadel floats the tower-charged blue-and-white of Lusitania. Five minutes suffice to transport us past the little Panee Kotha, or Water Fort, rising from a rock in mid-channel to command the entrance of the port; and as our boat touches the shore, again comes the wonderful shriek of a sentry to our ears, and we pass under the gates of Diu with the same military honors which we had hoped to have endured once for all at Gogla. Here the Town Major joins us, and carries us off to pay our respects to the Governor. The latter is a dark, stout, little man of polite manners and energetic character, whose medals show that, as a Major of Dragoons, he has seen active service in Europe; he receives us at the top of his outer stairs, and leads us to a long apartment rather bare of furniture with a dais and gubernatorial chair at one end over which hangs a colored print of the young King of Portugal. His excellency seats us beside him on a red sofa of Spartan hardness, and, unless we have taken the precaution to bring an interpreter with us, jerky civilities are exchanged through the medium of a not slipperless Bunneea equally versed in our own Goozerathee and our host's Portuguese. The view facing us through the open windows is charming; it looks Northward across the sail-specked harbour to our tents on the white sandhills opposite basking in "the noon-day luminously calm;" near them at intervals may be marked those curious double-headed palm-trees peculiar to the Southern coast of Kattyawar, and, further beyond, the swelling outlines of the Nundevelee and other hills of the Geer hanging like a cloud in the horizon. We sip the Governor's 'mito,' and take our leave with a view to visiting the sights of the place. Pigs, churches, stone-quarries, Negroes, Sombrero straw hats, and brilliant-patterned pantaloons bulk largely among first impression of Diu. The pigs run untended about the streets, and, as we know by our previous experience at Damaun, share with the omnipresent pariah the duties and privileges of the public scavenger. Churches, churches everywhere—the majority in various stages of dilapidation, one turned into a hospital, and two or three still occupied for devotional purposes; of these last the largest is dedicated to St. Paul, a name which the natives of the island, many of them professing a convenient polytheistic form of Christianity, have converted into Shree Pâl. It is a large stone-building with a facade, which, but for its coat of yellow wash, would have been handsome, and an interior where the majestic effect of vaulted height is marred by most tawdry ornamentation.

Attached, and in fact forming part of the same pile is a convent, where welcome relief from the outer glare and heat may be found in the shadow of arched cloisters, pierced by windows, whose semi-transparent shells, supplying the place of glass, shed a dim religious light which harmonises delightfully with the murmur of a fountain lapsing among the cool dark foliage of the little arboretum in the centre. Here paces a spare elderly man in slippers and a gaudy cotton dressing gown, to whom we are introduced as the Burra Padre of the place, and he offers us a cigarito with a *bonhommie* quite captivating. On again venturing outside we are more than ever struck with the appearance of the stone-quarries: all Diu is honeycombed with them, and by the side of every edifice of any size one sees the hole in the rock out of which its materials have been hewn. Some of these quarries are of considerable depth and extent, families have settled at the bottom, and thus little settlements of Troglodytes have been created, nestling under tall old trees, the tops of which scarcely soar to the mouth of the pit. The numerous occurrence of African faces suggests the enquiry where they come from, and the response teaches us that what little commerce the decaying colony can still boast is chiefly with the Portuguese possessions in the Mozambique. Until the present system of passes for Malwa opium was introduced, a smuggling traffic in the precious drug diverted a good deal of money to Diu: but that source dried up, the place no longer paid its expenses, and although the present Governor has struck out a new channel for receipts by the establishment of a regular fishery, it is doubtful if even this ingenious device can avail in a financial point of view, to justify the retention by the Portuguese of this their ancient footing in the country. The fort is at present garrisoned by about 200 men and the guns it mounts are very old pieces of ordinance; but the position has certainly strong natural advantages for fortification. Near the harbour wall, and between the fort and the town stands a tall pillar commemorative of a Sultan slain in battle. And it is for the sake of the old days when this event occurred,—days of "A Nunba's Justice and a Castro's Sword" that we have given to Diu so prominent a place in our sketch of Kattyawar.

It was in 1837 that Nunboda Cunha, who had five years previously made an unsuccessful attempt on Diu, gained his object by the promise of aid to Sultan Bahadoor of Goozerat, then engaged in war with the Delhi Emperor, Humayoon. Bahadoor, when the war ended, wished to retract his gift, and became involved in desultory hostilities with his former allies. It was

then agreed that these differences should be settled by a personal interview with the Captain of the Feringhees. The parties had scarcely met each other on Diu beach, before mutual suspicions of treachery led to a scuffle at the boats in which the Indian Monarch and the European Commander were both slain. When we hear that in this encounter, the Portugese bullets having run short,* one soldier tore a tooth out of his mouth and fired that instead, and that another ran with a barrel of powder and a lighted torch into the midst of the Moslem bands, and then flew himself and forty of the foe to pieces, we feel that the pillar before which we stand is scarcely needed to give assurance that Victory remained with the handful of Vikings from the West. The events which follow have been too frequently narrated, we fear, to justify their repetition in this place; yet the temptation is indeed strong to let our enthusiasm be re-kindled over the tale of the two sieges of Diu. Either of them stands high in the red roll of Indian triumphs, but for the defenders on the first occasion it seems really not extravagant to arrogate a place of honor side by side with the "Illustratious Garrisons" of Lucknow and Jellalabad. In days which show us Goozerat portioned out into compact little fiefs of the same Empire, under the shadow of whose protection Turkey, Egypt and Portugal, each and all, retain their independent existence, how strange it is to read that in those days the Grand Seigneur, as Defender of the Faith of Islam, despatched from Suez 70 galleys, carrying 7000 Turkish soldiers, and a perfectly equipped train of artillery, under the command of the Governor of Cairo, to co-operate with 20,000 troops of Goozerat in exterminating the 600 Kafirs who held Diu for the house of Avis.

"What succeeds? The sound
As of the assault of an imperial City,
The hiss of inextinguishable fire,
The roar of Giant Cannon;—the earth-quaking
Fall of vast bastion and precipitated tower,
The shock of crags shot from strange enginery,
The clash of wheels, and clang of armed hoofs,
And crash of brazen mail, as of the wreck
Of adamantine mountains—the mad blast
Of trumpets, and the neigh of raging studs,
And shrieks of women, whose thrill jars the blood,
And one sweet laugh, most horrible to hear,
As of a joyous infant, waked and playing
With its dead mother's breast; and now more loud
The mingled battle-cry—ha, hear we not
"'*En touto vike*"—Allah, illah, Allah!" †

* Taylor and Mackenna's *Ancient and Modern India.*

† Shelley's *Hellas.*

It was something very different though from helpless shrieking that was done by two at least among the gentler sex; and this pair of instances must suffice to illustrate the dauntless conduct of the besieged Christians.* Donna Isabella de Vega assembled the women, told them that their husbands and brothers were all wanted for active operations against the enemy, and then herself led them out to work with mattock and spade at the ever crumbling parapets. Ann Fernandez passed from post to post, even while the assault ran hottest, cheering and encouraging the soldiers, and, when her son was slain, carried his body out of the press of battle and then returned to the *mêlée* where she remained till the repulse of the stormers allowed her to depart and weep over his burial. Hurra for the high memories of Ann and Isabella! each of them a right worthy ancestress in the race that gave Beresford his Cacadores at Albuera! Of course the last grand effort of the besiegers failed; what else could be the result against a defence of such desperate gallantry? The Crescent never gleamed more balefully, but it had to pale its ineffectual fires before the Cross. It was the 5th morning in November 1538 when the garrison, or rather

> "All that was left of them,
> Left of six hundred,—

that is, just forty men, haggard and war-worn but still unconquered,—stood on the seaward ramparts of their battered fort, and watched with the eager gaze of a joy that still could be scarcely realised, the white sails lessening and lessening in the clear early air that bore away from them for ever Solyman the Cairene, baffled and discomfited.

Seven years slipped away and then Diu, this time defended only by 210 men, sustained a second siege in the course of which to the usual horrors of war were added the miseries of Famine.

But at last there came rescue from Goa with Juan de Castro, good at need; and he not only relieved Diu, but attacked, the enemy in their fortified trenches, and routed them with great slaughter. He then carried the tide of battle inland, and so humbled the Kings of Goozerat and the Dekhan that they were fain to accept peace on any terms. De Castro's fame has been immortalized in the verse of Camoens. He too it was, who when in want of a loan to complete the fortifications of Diu, cut of his beard and enclosed it in a letter to Goa; the only security which his knightly patriotism had to offer, and one accepted by his countrymen with enthusiasm.

But we must hasten away from the brave little island of Diu,

* Hugh Murray's *History of British India.*

which from that time to this has remained the unmolested property of the Portuguese. The Mahomedans, whose yoke, as we have already noticed, had ever sat lightly on the half-conquered Rajpoots of Kattyawar were compelled in their turn to submit to the Mahrattas, and in the wake of the Mahrattas came the mightier sovereignty of England. In April 1755 the Peshwa and Gaikwar took possession of Ahmedabad, and proceeded to divide the revenues of Goozerat between them. Forty-five years afterwards the Peshwa granted his share in farm to the Baroda Government, and in this way the collective claim for tribute of both the Mahratta Princes against Kattyawar fell to the Gaikwar to collect. The business was performed in a mode eminently characteristic of the people, with whom, according to Grant Duff, "to collect revenue and to make war 'were synonymous." Bodies of three or four thousand predatory horse, unencumbered with camp equipage or artillery, would be let loose upon the country, usually about harvest time, and as they "approached the territory of the Chief from 'whom the tribute was demanded, it was his duty, if he meditated no opposition, to despatch an accredited agent to the 'boundary line, furnished with the means of affording security 'for his compliance with all reasonable demands." But it was a point of honor with the Rajpoots to resist as long as possible the levy of any tribute whatever; and the Mahrattas, for their part, ill-brooked any delay in yielding to their requisitions. What usually ensued therefore was that "the Pindharees were 'thrown out on all sides and the march of the army was 'thenceforth marked by every species of plunder and desolation; the ripe crops were swept from the fields, the villages 'were wantonly fired and destroyed, nothing was allowed to 'remain but the bare walls of the houses, and it frequently 'happened that every acre of his lands was left bare, and every 'hamlet in his territory reduced to a heap of smouldering ruins 'before the Rajpoot Chieftain condescended to the payment of 'the tribute demanded."

Such was what the Mahrattas called their Moolukgine, or circuit of the country. Apparently not quite aware of what it was to which we were pledging ourselves, we had become bound by treaty to give military assistance to our Baroda ally in these expeditions. But in the person of Colonel Alexander Walker the British Government of the day had a representative at the Gaikwar's Court, on whose tact and judgment they could thoroughly rely. By his intervention an arrangement was concluded which, while it not only more than redeemed our promises, at the same time satisfied the scruples of Christian

conscience and European Civilization, and legitimately expanded the sphere of our growing influence. The Gaikwar welcomed the idea of realising his dues without the trouble, uncertainty and expense of an armament specially despatched year after year; and the various states of Kattyawar, as soon as they had got rid of the notion that we intended a Moolukgine expedition on our own account, were not behind hand in expressing their satisfaction with any system that would rid them of the recurring Mahratta scourge. Given these feelings on either side, the problem was soon solved. The Gaikwar consented to forego his Moolukgine, and the Peninsular Chiefs, in lieu of all demands whatever that the Mahratta Suzerain might have against them, were severally rated at a certain fixed sum to be paid annually not to the Gaikwar, but to a British Agent who in his turn was to account for the sums so received to the Gaikwar. This triple bargain was ratified in the year Sumvut 1864 (A. D. 1808) and to this day, under the familiar title of the settlement of sixty-four, remains the most important landmark in the modern history of the Province. It is the foundation-stone on which the structure of British Administration has since been raised.

Our first appearance then in Kattyawar was in the character of arbitrators between a native ally and his unruly tributaries. But when we vanquished and deposed the Peshwa of Poona in 1817, we succeeded to his share in the tribute and thus became entitled to assume on our own account a commanding position towards the swarm of bold vassals, whom both Mogul and Mahratta had found it impossible to keep in permanent subjection. And now practically Her Britannic Majesty is sole Suzerain of Kattyawar, and though it may be as well perhaps, considering that the Peninsula is still accounted foreign territory, that the lands held in vassalage should be distinguished on the map by a different color from that marking the limits of the neighbouring Zilla Ahmedabad, yet as far as the nominally co-ordinate rights of the Baroda Government are concerned, "all red" would more truly denote where the real lordship lies. At present the gross revenues of the country may be estimated at rather less than half a million sterling: out of which about £100,000 is paid as annual tribute to the British Government and the Gaikwar, in the proportion say of two-thirds to the former and one-third to the latter. The population is about 1½ million.

Put simply, the duty of a Political Agent in Kattyawar is two fold, to collect the tribute, and to keep the peace. For ensuring the first of these objects he is entitled so far to interfere

in the internal management of every Talooka as to see that its owner does not endanger the realisation of the Government demand against him. To secure the second he, under certain limitations, administers Civil and Criminal Justice. A position, it will be seen, not adequately expressed by the title, Political Agent; for the word Political has in India come to signify Diplomatic; and tributaries neither are, nor have the right to be treated with that formal delicacy of suggestion characteristic of an embassy accredited from one august ally to another. The name Kattyawar too is a perpetual stumbling block, inasmuch as Kattyawar is not only not the proper name of the peninsula, but it is the name of something else, namely of one of the ten divisions into which the Peninsula is divided. The word, Soreth is open to a similar objection. Some such designation therefore as Warden of Southern Rajasthan would better denote both the country and the nature of the duties carried on by the British officer posted there.

Nevertheless payment of a tribute does not deprive the tributary of his independence. Even under our sway each Talookdar is supposed to possess exclusive jurisdiction within his own Talooka. Several of the smaller fry have little practical ability to enforce the execution of justice, and under these circumstances the right of taking cognizance of injuries lapses naturally to the paramount Power. But the majority are quite capable of dealing with most of the contingencies calling for interposition; and three or four of the more important actually retain the power of life and death within their own hands. As a general rule a subject can look for justice only to his own Talookdar; his grievance, if lying against a fellow subject, must be redressed by the common lord of both; if against the subject of another jurisdiction, it must be first taken up by his own Chief and only through him can it be prosecuted, the plaint in that case holding good not as against the particular defendant, but against the state to which such defendant may belong. Downright oppression, or denial of justice by a Talookdar is prevented by the operation of a grand old rule of Rajpoot hospitality, which the Agency never allows to fall into abeyance;—the Ryot can migrate into the lands of another Talookdar, who is then bound not only to give him shelter, but to espouse his quarrel against the oppressor and see it fought out in the British Courts. This provision, seconding the natural worldly wisdom of a landlord, who knows that his rent roll varies in proportion to the number of his cultivators, brings it about that the Talookdars do not generally indulge in those practices of tyranny and extortion towards their tenantry which, we are

too much given to believe, so markedly distinguishes the Native Revenue system from our own. There is but one class of men in the Province admitted to the right of direct litigation with their own Chiefs; these are the Grassias and Mool-Grassias, as they are called, who being either originally portioned cadets of the ruling tribe, or the less respectable descendants of some cateran who in the old time established his black-mail upon a village or district, have become possessed of certain proprietary rights in the land, which they defend with all the proverbial tenacity of the Rajpoot who freely takes and gives life for dirty acres.

Altogether there are no less than 224 Talookdars of sizes; each basing his right to the title upon the fact of the estate which he represents having been entered in the Doomsday Book of Colonel Walker's settlement as paying its quota of tribute by a separate and direct transaction with the British Agent. The following are the principal men.

H. H. the Nawab of Joonagurh „ „ the Jam of Nowanuggur „ „ the Rawul of Bhownuggur	Chief of the first rank.
The Rana of Porebunder ... The Raj of Drangdra ... The Thakoor of Moorvee ...	of the second grade.

Joonagurh is the premier state of the province. The city lies at the entrance of a valley, and at its north-eastern angle the dark bastions of the old Rajpoot Acropolis, the Ooparkote of Ra Khengar, still frown grandly over the "streak of gold," the river Sona Rekha; whilst high over city and citadel, its bold black granite bluffs and tapering peaks half concealed in mist and shroud, towers the temple-crowned mount of Nemeenath, the royal Girnar. Many a time did the old Choorasama princes, who held their Court here as Ras of Soreth, and whose memory is still cherished in the country, do battle with the Mahomedan invader. After a gallant resistance the last of the Ras was starved into submission and forcibly converted to the faith of the Prophet by Mahmood Beggurra in 1468. A century afterwards when Akbar overrun Goozerat, the place was still further Islamised, and became occupied by a garrison subordinate to the Soobah of Ahmedabad. Finally amid the general anarchy that preceded the subversion of the Moguls, Shere Khan Babee, a soldier of fortune, usurped the royalties of Joonagurh: and it is his descendant who still is seated on the *guddee*. The present Nawab, after a good deal of hard usage in his earlier years, was still in his nonage when his brother, Hamed Khan, died, a youth of

great promise. A Punchayut of administration was appointed, with special injunctions from the Court of Directors that not less attention should be paid towards the preparation of the young Chieftain for the position he was destined to fill in after life, than to the nursing of the Talooka's revenues in the interval. The result however has been—chiefly no doubt attributable to the crass nature, on which the Regency were expected to work, but also in some measure, we suspect, owing to crafty views of future ascendancy over an incompetent master—that while great general prosperity was attained for the estate, its owner grew up in the Zenana an ignorant, enervated and almost fatuous boor. The intrigues of a disreputable old slave-woman, who had been the indulgent nurse of his boyhood, led to the unjustifiable repudiation of his consort, a Princess of the house of Rhadunpoor, and to a degrading alliance with the slave-woman's niece. Soon the Durbar became rent by two factions; one behind the *Purda* aiming at an acknowledgment from the Bombay Government of the legitimacy of a son by the last mentioned connection; which, once obtained, would be the sure fore-runner of the Nawab's sudden demise; and another supporting the Dewan or chief minister, who, strong in the Agency's approval of his general administration, attempted to seat himself permanently as Major of the Palace over this *Roi Fâineant*. In the Dewan's case "vaulting ambition has over-leapt itself"; for having precipitated a rupture about two years ago by a too open contempt for his natural lord, he found that in the hopes of thick and thin support from Lord Elphinstone's Government, he was leaning on a bruised reed: he fell, and another has taken his stewardship. But he still intrigues for the recovery of power, and thus with a weak ministry *de facto* struggling against a powerful opposition, a fresh element of confusion has been thrown into the caldron. Altogether Joonagurh affairs are so disordered that the attachment of the entire Talooka under the supervision of a resident British officer, appears to be a mere question of time. "Puppet to a" mother's "threat, and servile to the shrewish tongue" of the slave-woman, poor Mohobut Khan is not worth the waste of further words.

It is a positive relief to turn from Joonagurh to Nowanuggur. The Jam is the head of the Kattyawar branch of the great clan of Jhareja Rajpoots, which surged into the country from Sindh about the middle of the fifteenth century; and another stem of which is represented by the Rao of Kutch.

Personally, though ignorant of the English language, and possessed of a high spirit of independence that chafes under a

yoke stricter than his fathers ever knew, the Jám has more of the essentials of an English gentleman about him than any Hindoo it has yet been our lot to meet. European society is not particularly courted at Nowanuggur, but no saheb, great or small, official or independent, has ever visited its well-ordered Durbar without carrying away a real feeling of hearty regard for the active little Princeling, whose punctilious courtesy, frank and easy assumption of perfect equality, readiness to join in the chase and liberal hospitality under social intercourse, give all unaffected pleasure. The Talooka is well managed and its large compactness is the chief reason why the Hallar district gives but little trouble to the officer in charge.

But the best administered Talooka and possibly the wealthiest belongs to the Rawul of Bhownuggur. Descended from a dashing sea-rover, Mokheraju, who in the fourteenth century had his eyrie in the fossil-famed Peerim at the mouth of the Gulf of Cambay, and whose shade is to this day propitiated by the passing mariner, the Rawul is the head of the Gohil Rajpoots, a race driven in from Marwar by the Rathors A. D. 1200.

Himself boasting neither abilities nor attainments, he has the fortune to command the services of the most enlightened and upright Karbharee in the Province, and the good sense not to quarrel with him. Commerce has been the traditional policy of the state for a considerable period, and on this common field of enterprise Bhownuggur has been brought into close and frequent contact with our own traders of Bombay and Surat; the natural consequence being that Bhownuggur has become honorably identified among Kattyawar feudatories with the cause of progress and civilization. Another influence that has simultaneously worked towards the same result is of a procedure not quite so satisfactory as the shipping of good cotton bales. Part of the Rawul's territories, ever since one of his ancestors put to death some unhappy wretch who, in a season of famine, had ventured on the sacrilege of killing a cow for its beef, has been placed by Government under the sway of English laws. And for purposes of jurisdiction it was originally incorporated into the Zillah of Ahmedabad. It certainly does seem hard that any offence, however heinous, should be visited by penalties extending to the third and fourth generation: at any rate Bhownuggur never ceased to bemoan its loss of dignity. Political Agent after Political Agent sympathised with the feeling, and the Bombay Councillors themselves would have yielded to it, but for their engrained belief in the blessings of Regulation Law, which, once accorded to the people, was it not cruel to recal? By Act

VI. of 1859 a middle course was adopted, of which it can scarcely be hoped that it is less mischievous in practice than it is palpably absurd in theory. Instead of altogether withdrawing from direct interference, a course which—as the Ryots would still have sufficient protection at our hands through the Political Agency—is really open to fewer objections than might be supposed;—instead of anticipating or taking the earliest opportunity for imitating Sir R. Montgomery's first glorious step towards the regeneration of India, by giving the Rawul magisterial authority within his own dominions;—the Government of Bombay thought fit, while they continued the Regulations, to commit the execution of them to other hands. The Magistracy and Police of Ahmedabad were lamentably brusque in their proceedings: let the Political Agent and his assistants be converted into special Magistrates for the occasion, and thus shall criminal laws be delicately and diplomatically administered. This extraordinary device is still in force.

We now come to chiefs of the second class. Foremost is the Rana of Porebunder, representing the Jetwas, one of the four ancient races still extant in the Peninsula. The Rana professes to trace his origin back to a patriarch got by Hunooman, the Monkey-God, out of a female alligator. His genealogy is asserted after a fashion that would have gladdened the heart of Lord Monboddo in the family title of Poncheria, or long-tailed, and the household bard in Colonel Tod's time "stoutly contended for a superfluity of down in Prince Sontan, only four generations ago." In the days of Ghuznevide invasion all the West and part of the North of Kattyawar belonged to the Jetwa Rajpoots, but the forays of Jhala and Jhareja have now narrowed their possessions to a small tract, called Burda, south of the shaggy range of hills of the same name. The Rana of to-day is a man of plain business habits, whose Brahmanic simplicity of attire strikes an eye accustomed to the blaze of jewels usually presented by his fellow chiefs, with an air of distinction something similar to that Talleyrand is said to have noticed in Lord Castlereagh at the Vienna Congress. Aforetime there was a British detachment stationed at Porebunder, its expenses defrayed by a cess on the Rana's port dues; but the troops have now been withdrawn, and nothing but the Christian cemetery raising its crosses by the calm blue waters of the bay, is left to tell of what has been.

The Jhalas, sprung probably from an off-shoot of Unhilwarra, on the extinction of which dynasty they obtained large territorial aggrandisement, own the Raj of Hulwud-Drangdra as their chief.

The Thakoor of Moorvee is a Jhareja, and deserves notice from the fact of his ancestor in Colonel Walker's time having been the first of the tribe who consented to abandon the fell custom of infanticide. The present incumbent of the Guddee possesses better abilities than has fallen to the lot of most of his peers, and retains the management of his Talooka considerably in his own hands. He keeps in tight check the landed proprietors under him, and from this circumstance has incurred the not wholly deserved odium of a grasping and oppressive policy. Having possessions in Cutch, he has been for long involved in various disputes with the Rao of that state, and some recent decisions of the Bombay Government in these cases have given him much dissatisfaction.

It now remains to notice generally the ten divisions of the Peninsula. These are

Five Southern.	Soreth, Babriawar, Oond-Surweya, Gohelwar, and Kattyawar Proper.
Five Northern.	Jhalawar, Muchoo-Kanta, Hallar, Burda and Okhamundel.

Soreth contains the Girnar Hill and Joonagurh city, the port of Verawal-Puttun and Somnath Temple—all discussed above. If we except the Shekh of Mangrole on the coast as too insignificant to glance at, the only other Talooka is Bantwa, a Mussulman township held by a junior branch of the Babees of Joonagurh. The two principal shareholders, Sir Boolund Khan and Kumuldeen Khan carry on a chronic feud, which in March 1859 was further embittered by a fight between their retainers of unusual ferocity; fifteen men killed and fifty wounded. A sham reconciliation was then got up with the object of tricking Government into a commutation of the penalties to which they had become liable; and finally they put the crown to their misdeeds by treasonably harboring the rebel Waghers. Nose to the grindstone should be the treatment of the Bantwa Talookdars for some time to come.

In *Babriawar* a small and poor district, lying between the Geer forests and the sea, and held by Babrias and Ahirs with land-tenures of singular complication, the only town of note is Jafferabad, or more correctly Moozufferabad, a fortified port said to have been colonised by the Turks, and now belonging to the Hubshee Chief of Zunjeera near Bombay, who deputes the management of his distant estate to a violet-bearded Foujdar of indubitably African physiognomy. In connection with this district may be mentioned the sulphurated hot springs of Toolseerham in the heart of the pestilent Gheer. Superstition has ascribed the phenomenon to divine agency, so by the side of it is

reared a diamond-eyed image of Krishna, tended by a small colony of monks.

Oond Surweya is no bigger than Babriawar, and even more insignificant.

Gohelwar at the mouth of the Cambay Gulf is occupied by the Rawul of Bhownuggur, and his Bhayat, or *Peerage.* Noticeable Thakoors are those of Walleh, Lathee and Pali. The town of Walleh has been already remarked as standing near the ruins of the once splendid Wallubheepore. Lathee gave a daughter in marriage to one of the low-born Gaekwars, a condescension repaid by that monarch agreeing to accept the yearly Nuzzerana of a horse in lieu of his former demands for tribute. But emphatically the glory of Gohelwar is the hill of Shutroonjye at Palitana, dedicated to Adeenath, the first of the twenty-four hierophants of the Jains. The beauties of this ancient haunt of Indian Buddhism are described by Mr. Forbes as follows:—"There is hardly a city in India, through its length 'and breadth, from the river of Sindh to the sacred Ganges, from 'Heemala's diadem of ice-peaks, to the throne of his Virgin 'daughter, Roodra's destined bride, that has not supplied at one 'time or other contributions of wealth to the edifices which crown 'the hill of Paleetana; street after street, and square after 'square, extend these shrines of the Jain faith, with their stately 'enclosures, half palace, half fortress, raised in marble magnifi-'cence upon the lonely and majestic mountain, and like the 'mansions of another world, far removed in upper air from the 'ordinary tread of mortals. In the dark recesses of each temple 'one image or more of Adeenath or Ujeeth, or of some other of 'the Teerthunkers is seated, whose alabaster features, wearing 'an expression of listless repose, are rendered dimly visible by 'the faint light shed from silver lamps; incense perfumes the 'air, and barefooted, with noiseless tread upon the polished floor, 'the female votaries, glittering in scarlet and gold, move round 'and round in circles, chanting forth their monotonous, but not 'unmelodious hymns. Shutroonjye indeed might fitly represent 'one of the fancied hills of eastern romance, the inhabitants of 'which have been instantaneously changed into marble, but 'which fay hands are ever employed upon, burning perfumes, 'and keeping all clean and brilliant, while fay voices haunt the 'air with voluptuous praises of the Devs." And in plain truth we believe that no fabric of man's workmanship in India, not excepting even the glorious mausoleum which sent away Dr. Russell "Taj-haunted for ever," is more calculated to arouse wonder, admiration and lasting remembrance than the vision of Palitana in its unique and mysterious perfection.

Kattyawar Proper is a large inland district, and, as its name denotes, the country of those redoubted freebooters, who, by the awe they inspired in the Marathas, have unwillingly given their name to the whole Peninsula. They immigrated into the country in the eighth century, A. D., and from their stature, facial lineaments, and blue eyes, have been by some authorities supposed to be of Scythian origin. Their religion is a loose form of Hindooism grafted upon an ancient veneration for the orb of day: the list of witnesses appended to any of their documents still leads off with "Shree Soorujnee-Shakh," the testimony of the holy Sun. Unlike the Rajpoots who enjoy a modified form of primogeniture, the sons of a Kattee inherit by equal partition; and the minute sub-division of estates with no recognised heads of houses effected by the operation of this custom, added to an innate turbulence in their blood, renders the Kattees the most troublesome tribe of all that the agency has to deal with. What they were in former times when they could act up to the good old maxim—"Thou shalt want ere I want," may be gathered from the following specimen embalmed for us by Colonel Tod:—"Jessa, or, with the more respectful 'post-fix, Jessagee, was a fair specimen of his race. After 'sitting at his ease, for some time, indulging, like a true Kattee, 'in the most unrestrained freedom of speech, I turned the 'conversation to his past life, by asking whether he had not 'carried the honourable profession of arms to some distance 'beyond his own sequestered abode. A mere 'trifle' replied 'the moss-trooper with the greatest *nonchalance* 'never fur-'ther than Bhownuggur, Puttun and Jhalawar.' If the 'reader will consult the map, he will find that Jessajee's three 'points form a triangle, embracing the most remote quarters 'of the Peninsula, East, South and West; and that a trifle be-'yond, in either direction, both the horse and his rider must 'have gone into the sea. On pushing him a little further, by 'observing that these were very confined limits, and inquiring 'if he had never tried the Northern or continental portion, with 'the same simplicity of manner and tone, he replied in his 'metaphorical diction, 'why, I have driven my lance into the 'gate of Ahmedabad.' I wanted no more; Jessajee, the Suze-'rain of Deolah, and of one dozen subjects, his township covering 'about as much soil as a good-sized mansion, had, single handed, 'insulted the capital of Goozerat!"

Of the Northern districts, *Jhalawar* is a large and fertile tract, rich in wheat and cotton, lying towards Cambay and Ahmedabad. The Jhala Chiefs ranking next after the Raj of Drangdra are the Raj of Wankaneer and the Thakoor of Wudwan. In

these parts there is a capital device for providing for every robbery either the detection of the robber or compensation to the party robbed. The village within the limits of which any such occurrence may have happened, becomes *ipso facto* bound either to produce the thief, make good the value of the property, or point out some other village whereto their own primary liability may be justly transferred. The last alternative is effected by tracking the footsteps of the robbers from the scene of their depredation into the limits of a neighbouring community, who again in their turn are at liberty, if they can, similarly to pass the responsibility on to a third village, the third to a fourth and so on, until either the fugitive offenders are run down, or their steps are no longer traceable. And where the track ceases, there the final liability rests. Large sums are not unfrequently at stake on questions arising out of this system, and, although the dexterity of the Jhalawar Puggees is such that, we suspect, even one of Cooper's impossible Red Indians might learn a wrinkle or two from them, the doubtful proofs upon which an estate is mulcted sometimes in penalties out of proportion to its means, makes these "Wultur" (compensation) cases among the most unsatisfactory which the officer in charge of the Northern districts has to adjudicate. Still in an unsettled country, the system is too valuable to allow of its being weakened by the admission of exceptional cases of impunity. And certainly great precautions are taken to exclude some obvious abuses to which its provisions are liable, by requiring every Puggee to pass a practical examination in his profession before being admitted to practice, and by largely cutting down or occasionally altogether disallowing the claim for compensation in cases where there may appear to have been want of proper precaution against loss.

Muchoo Kanta, or the banks of the River Muchoo, constitute a wedge-shaped district on the Runn of Cutch, the greater part of which is ruled by the Thakoor of Moorvee. The other Talookdar is the Thakoor of Mallia, a Chief of singularly limited authority. For the real masters of Mallia are the Meanas, who may be briefly characterised as the greatest rascals on the face of the earth. To the local Raja they own no kind of allegiance, but under their own Chowuttias, or Heads of tribes, form a special "imperium in imperio" of their own. The basis on which we deal with them is a formal agreement between the Agent on the one side and the Chowuttias on the other, by which in consideration of certain annual stipends the Chowuttias have agreed to consider every outrage committed within a certain circle round Mallia as necessarily the work of some Meana or other, and at

once without more ado to produce the culprit or make meet reparation for the offence. The Meanas do not confine their doings however to Mallia and its neighbourhood; numbers of them take service as Sepaees, and every boundary fight shows a Meeana or two among the killed and wounded. Mr. Forbes hits their character exactly in the following anecdote:—"One day, 'while an Arab soldier of the Gaekwar's was at his prayers, a 'Meeana passed by and asked him whom he was afraid of that he 'bent his head that way. The Arab replied with some indig'nation that he feared no one but Allah. 'Oh, then,' said the 'Meeana, 'come along with me to Mallia; we don't fear even 'Allah there."

Hallar on the gulf of Cutch belongs to the Jam of Nowanuggur, and the Cadets of his house seated at Goondul, Rajkote and other places. The Goondul Durbar is in a most disreputable state just at present. Rajkote derives its only importance from its central position having recommended it as the site for our own Civil and Military Head Quarters. The usual strength of the force cantoned there is one Regiment of N. I., one of Regular Cavalry, and a post of guns. It may be doubted whether a better base for military operations might not have been found somewhere on the cool south coast: a complete armament could then have been poured into the country at a moment's notice from Kurrachee or Bombay; as it is, Rajkote is nothing more than a weak outpost cut off from Ahmedabad by a swamp, which for four months out of the twelve render the passage of troops almost an impossibility.

Burda belongs entirely to the Rana of Porebunder.

Okhamundel is the last, and in point of value and extent, the least, of all the Divisions. It is the extreme Western clan of the Peninsula, and as it has the sea on three sides of it and on the fourth a Runn about 17 miles long, stretching from the gulf of Cutch southward to within a few hundred yards of the Indian Ocean, it is in fact a little peninsula on its own account, isolated from the rest of the province by the same physical features which serve to cut off Kattyawar itself from the continent of India. The inhabitants of this sterile and jungly district, which does not altogether contain 50 villages or 13,000 inhabitants, are the notorious Waghers. Their only important places are Dwarka and Beyt, the former on the west coast, occupying the site of one of the most ancient cities of the Aryan race, and possessing all that sanctity in the eyes of the Hindoo which its mythic origin at the hands of Krishna should confer; the latter on a small island of the same name a few miles to the North, boasting shrines of scarcely inferior holiness; and both until recent

events strongly fortified. The history of the Waghers is briefly this. Their buccaneering practices brought down on them a British invasion: we conquered the country in 1816, and finding it not worth retention made a merit of handing it over for a handsome consideration to the Gaekwar, who desired to clothe his humble origin in the prestige which lordship of their Holy Places would confer upon him in the estimation of the Hindoos. He was inducted into his new possession in 1817, and thenceforward managed it through his deputies with a happy mixture of weakness and bad faith of which his ne'er-do-weel subjects were not slow to take advantage. In 1820 it required a brilliant little campaign under Colonel Stanhope to put them down; and still their insurrection went smouldering on until in March 1858 it again broke into flame. By the end of that year they seemed to have been once more effectually coerced, but the following June brought a fresh outbreak more serious than the last. The British Government had now lost all patience with a Prince on whom incessant exhortations to better his administration had so long idly fallen, and insisted on the Gaekwar's handing over Okha to our own direct management. The rebels received timely notice of this change of masters, and had certain distinct terms of surrender offered them. These terms were dictated by the Resident of Baroda, and were perhaps needlessly severe: such as they were however the Waghers were allowed ample grace within which to consider them, and, as they refused to accept them, were, from that time to the termination of hostilities, rebels in arms no longer against the Gaekwar but against the Supreme power of India. Troops by land and sea were thrown into Okhamundel early in October. We attacked Beyt, and were for the third time within little more than half a century (1803 and 1858 being the dates of the two preceding disasters) defeated from its walls with severe loss. The Waghers evacuated the place during the night: our forces entered next morning, and proceeded to *loot* (as they were entitled) and to blow up (as they were in prudence bound to do) the rich buildings, which, temples though they might be called, had been to their captors fortifications manned yesterday by triumphant marksmen. The Waghers fled to Dwarka: we followed, and besieged them there. One dark November night they made a sally, cut their way through the pickets of H. M's. 28th foot, and escaped across the Runn into Kattyawar with all their families and baggage. They took refuge in the Burda Hills, and in a fort well supplied with water on the top of a precipitous and jungle-covered hill seemed at last to have reached a shelter from whence they might long defy our best efforts to dislodge

them. However their good fortune had now culminated. A fresh force from Kurrachee was disembarked at Porebunder, and a week afterwards the dashing *èlan* of Colonel Honner had stormed this inexpugnable position, taken 300 prisoners and broken the neck of the rebellion. The Waghers everywhere surrendered or where hunted down, and before the close of the hot weather of 1860 there remained not a dozen men still at large and unaccounted for. Civil authority personified in an Assistant to the Baroda Resident had been established in Okha almost immediately after our capture of Dwarka in 1859, and the whole rainy season of the following year was a period of repose during which it was hoped that the Waghers would settle down in their homes, and learn to reconcile themselves to their English Governor. But October last brought tidings of their again having risen, again having crossed the Runn, and this time done greater mischief in Kattyawar than they had ever dared to attempt during their previous incursion, by penetrating as far South as Korinar and pillaging that city,—it belongs to their old enemy the Gaekwar—with great ease and satisfaction of mind. All that can be said about this last outbreak is that the Assistant Resident had an extremely difficult task before him when he undertook the pacification of Okha, and that fortune has not smiled upon his efforts.

From first to last it will be observed the Kattyawar Agency have had nothing whatever to do with the Waghers.

And in making this statement we touch upon a running sore in our administration of the country, which urgently calls for knife or cautery. Besides Okhamundel there are two other estates, Umreylee in Kattyawar Proper and Korinar in South, over which the Gaekwar has by force or fraud, or both, managed to acquire the directly dominant rights of a Talookdar. Both have been subjected to the same misrule as Okha, and though a less headstrong population unaided by the advantages of isolated locality have had neither the daring nor the ability to rise in organised rebellion like the Waghers, yet both Umreylee and Korinar simmer with an unceasing anarchy fed not only by broils of an indigenous growth but by numbers of others imported into its congenial atmosphere, from neighbouring Talookas. The Gaekwar's Khass Mehals are the Alsatia of Kattyawar. The Political Agent is powerless to meddle with them; only the Resident of Baroda, who never visits Kattyawar and has necessarily but an imperfect knowledge of its condition, has any voice in their Government. It requires no conjuror to guess that they are fruitful sources of misunderstanding between the two offices; Rajkote for ever feeling peremptorily called

on to interfere, and Baroda with equal justice resenting the intrusion. We have no hesitation in asserting that had Okhamundel been under the supervision of the local Agency, these Wagher campaigns of the last three years, so damaging to our prestige, would never have occurred. When once they did occur the vehement protest of the military authorities against the anomaly of two political powers in the same country compelled Government to concentrate their representation in the single person of the Political Agent; and now again when a cry is raised that the Nuwab, the Jam, and the Rana give lukewarm or no aid in discovering the whereabouts of the fugitive rebels, does it not occur to those who have the ordering of these matters that if the pacification of the Waghers and the control of those who decline the trouble of catching them were both equal objects of consideration to one and the same officer, Englishmen might be spared the shame and expense of a wild-goose chase after a handful of miserable barbarians? There can be no shadow of a doubt but that the officer, be he personally who he may, who is put in charge of Okha, should bear the title and office of an Assistant not to the Resident of Baroda but to the Political Agent in Kattyawar. Umreylee and Korinar are as yet differently situated; their case stands in this wise: the Gaekwar, as an ally, has a right to demand that our representations on the subject of his estates and their management should be addressed to him through the sole channel of the Resident at his own Court; but this form of procedure has been found in its working to entail much bloodshed and unhappiness upon neighbouring states paying us tribute upon the condition of our protection. Is this, or is this not, sufficient reason for our saying to the Lord of Misrule,—" Henceforward 'your deputies in Kattyawar shall stand on the same footing 'and be amenable to the same control with all the other Ta'lookdars of the Peninsula?"

Yet another cause of quarrel with His Highness of Baroda. By treaty he is found to keep up an efficient Contingent of Irregular Cavalry for service in Kattyawar. And, as the wise founders of our rule foresaw, it is absolutely necessary for the peace of the country that there should be a body of light troops at the disposal of the Agency. To do the Gaekwar justice, he spends an enormous sum annually on the corps, but his disbursements are fruitlessly appropriated by courtiers in nominal command of squadrons, and the product is a batch of half-starved ragamuffins on foundered Rosinantes to whom it would be absurd to entrust any duty more important than that of carrying the dawk from camp to camp. All that we re-

quire is the fulfilment of a very plain engagement. If the Gaekwar cannot himself raise and maintain an efficient Contingent of Cavalry, let him hand us over the funds required for the proper redemption of his pledge, and we will do it for him. There is already a body of Irregular Arab Infantry, attached to the Agency, which, though now fallen into decrepitude, was originally raised for exactly that kind of flying service against small bodies of outlaws, wherein regulars suffer much and effect little. These footmen, together with a troop of mounted Police, called Mobsulee Sowars, require thorough reorganisation: they might then be combined with an improved Gaekwar Contingent into a really useful force of Irregulars; and so without the cost of a single sou to the state, the Political Agent might be invested with a strength and prestige which he very materially needs, and which would be the surest safeguard against the occurreuce of another "little war" like that of the Waghers. Disturbances in a country, which, like the Oudh of a few years ago, bristles with forts and is rich in jungle fastnesses, while her population is habitually armed to the teeth and largely interspersed with mercenary desperadoes from Mekran, Arabia, Sindh and Beloochistan, are no trivial matters. Our Model Corps would be raised on somewhat the same principles as the Punjab Guides; but the Commandant would be strictly confined to executive functions, never moving out his men without express order from the chief Political authority;—so firmly would we guard from all chance of infection the salutary rule of holding each Talookdar responsible for the peace of his own dominions.

Another reform that we would advocate is connected with an abuse, for which the local officers of the day are in no degree responsible. It is a traditional part of our policy in the country, having its probable origin, we are inclined to think, in the fact of an inefficient Contingent having left the Political Agent powerless to maintain the peace. We refer to a feeble method of dealing with disputes about land. In a Rajkote cutcherry the maxim seems to be that a "Grass-chass noo kam" or land-case can never be finally settled, and that the most unreasonably litigious of Grassias, whose shadowy claims may have been heard twenty times over, must still be secured with some temporising expedient, some "meetoo jawab" (sweet answer) that may turn away his wrath. This system not only serves to retard the administration of justice in cases of genuine urgency, but, as giving scope for the admission and retention on the file of cases that never can come to any definite issue, leads to the Agent's camp being followed about, month after month and

year after year, by a posse of people, for whom nothing ever can or ought to be done, but who still live on in hopes of interference some lucky day in their behalf, like Miss Flite in the Court of Chancery. All this has its secret spring, we believe, in a dread of Bahrwuttia. "This term," writes Colonel Walker, "is derived from *Bahir* outside, and *wat* a road. The 'offence consists in the Rajpoots, or Grassias, making their Ryots 'and dependents quit their native village, which is suffered to 'remain waste, and the Grassia with his brethren then retires to 'some asylum, whence he may carry on his depredations with 'impunity. Being well acquainted with the country, and the 'redress of injuries being common cause with the members of 'every family, the Bahirwuttia has little to fear from those who 'are not in the immediate interest of his enemy, and he is in 'consequence enabled to commit very extensive mischief until he 'may be extirpated, or his principal forced to compromise the 'dispute." In fact a Kattyawar Bahirwuttia is just what an Oudh Dacoit was in the King's time. Hitherto it has been usual to coax and wheedle the outlaw into surrender; and his crimes have been visited with slender punishment. Let us cite the first case that occurs to our memory. The date, we think, was in 1844, the Grassia's name Veesaju Oonurjee; at any rate he was "out" against the Thakoor of Palitana, and the Political Secretary for the time was Mr. J. P. Willoughby, now of the Home Council. Veesaju was tried on several counts by a Criminal Court presided over by the Political Agent with three or four natives of rank as Assessors. For want of judicial proof he escaped a general conviction, but on the first count, embracing the three crimes of *murder, arson and robbery,* he was unanimously found guilty. The Court sentenced him to a pecuniary fine, and detention until he furnished proper security. The Government of Bombay, in reviewing this decision, upheld the conviction, but mitigated the fine and directed that the prisoner should be at once released, adding that his conduct, *in the existing state of Kattyawar society, called for a merely nominal punishment!* The only comment we have to offer on the above is that if Sir George Clerk's Government intend, as we have reason to believe they do intend, dealing with Bahrwuttias for the future after a very different fashion, they must themselves undo what their predecessors have done. A local officer has not, nor ought to have, the power of inaugurating a change so momentous in a policy so inveterate. A proclamation should be issued by the Governor in Council and circulated with every circumstance of authoritative publicity through every city and hamlet in Kattyawar, warning the wild people that their prac-

tice of Bahrwuttia has been proscribed under the severest penalties. A wide margin of time should be allowed them to consider well the meaning of the words, but when once that interval had elapsed, woe to the first who dared to disobey! Three or four executions would soon put down the Bahrwuttias for ever.

Generally indeed, we are disposed to think, there has been too much leniency in Kattyawar. Colonel Lang, the late admirable Warden of the Chiefs, on this head merely kept going a policy originated before his time. Moreover in Colonel Lang's case, a clear intellect and warm sympathies devoted unreservedly for thirty years to the single study of furthering the happiness of his beloved Kattyawar, had justly invested him with an extraordinary personal influence that would have enabled him to work single-handed and successfully the craziest machine of state that ever was started. Almost worshipped by every class in the Peninsula, high and low, great and small alike, it is an absolute misfortune for any one to hold the invidious place of his successor. Yet the work must be done, and much of it, we fear, calls for the unpopular duties of a reformer, who shall abolish what has become effete, put new life into more useful principles that have been allowed to slumber, and at all points patiently, gradually and surely, brace up our rule to a state of stricter discipline. A constitution relaxed by a succession of *Sahib's Meherban* needs at last a course of tonics under a *Sahib Zubburdust.* Especially do we deprecate the false benevolence of interfering with the domestic affairs of a Talooka to save it from pecuniary embarrassment; so long as our tribute is safe, and the peace unbroken, let all else perish Coddled children have ricketty health; and a Chief, who after having imbibed the best education we may have been able to throw in his way, may once have discovered by experience that his prodigality will hurt no one but himself, and that if he takes to boundary-fights we shall infallibly make him smart for them, will be a far more valuable member of society, than one whom we have for ever been trying to keep out of harm's way. The latter is apt to get bored, hand over his affairs to a favorite, and take to noyeau or opium: the former may in time recognise his true position as a vassal of the British Crown, and as a landlord with duties to perform towards his state. Possibly he might even disband his tag-rag tail of sepaees, and awake to the advantages of growing cotton and owning a share in a Bombay newspaper; who knows? At present Kattyawar is a barbarism pure and simple, her people having just two virtues, patriarchal hospitality and comparative truthfulness.

And the first lesson to be installed into all ranks is the same Lord Canning taught the Khans of Peshawur: "You shall have justice, but your Suzerain will have peace."

A word or two in conclusion may be acceptable regarding the two species of Kattyawar denizens that have made the name of the country familiar to most people, viz., the lions and horses.

The famous old breed of horses that bore the thieving Kattees on this forays—they, by the way always affected mares for their singularly unfeminine qualities of superior silence—and that mounted H. M.'s 17th Dragoons in such a style that two successive Colonels (one of them being the same Honorable Lincoln Stanhope who suppressed the Wagher revolt of 1820) testified to the Regiment being better mounted than any other Cavalry corps in the service, is either extinct, we regret to say, or fast dying out. Now-a-days there is nothing to be found in the country with legs even decently strong boned. The half dozen Arab stations of the Government Remount Agency, scattered through the country, are too few to leaven the mass. A regular Stud-Farm, and a Race-Meeting at Rajkote in which the Chiefs of the province might be induced to take an interest, would effect real good.

From accounts still to be read in back numbers of the *Indian Sporting Review* it is clear that formerly lions were to be met with in any part of Kattyawar; now however these animals are only to be found in the Geer jungles; and consequently the sport they afford, like Tiger-shooting in the Oudh Terai, offers itself at the risk of fever from malaria and unwholesome water. Colonel Le Grand Jacob, who shot numbers, maintains that it is a mistake to suppose the Goozerat lion has no mane, and imagines that the hair is thinned by perpetual entanglement with the thorns and underwood of the forest; but on the other hand, a writer in the *Quarterly Review* describing a specimen presented to the Zoological Gardens of London by the late Nawab of Joonagurh, compares it with a young African lion that boasted a fine mane, and says:—"The full-grown animal from 'Goozerat is, on the contrary, comparatively maneless, and his 'tail takes a short curl upwards at the end. The caudal extremity 'of both is furnished with a rudimentary claw. This little appen-'dage was supposed by the ancients to be instrumental in lashing 'the lion into fury, and Mr. Gordon Cumming informs us that the 'natives of South Africa believe it to be the residence of an evil 'spirit which never evacuates its post until death overtakes the 'beast and gives it notice to quit. The Goozerat or maneless lion 'is supposed to be the original of the heraldic beast we regard

'with such respect as a national emblem, but which foreigners 'maintain is nothing better than a leopard." There are no tigers in Kattyawar: indeed they are seldom found anywhere, we believe, in the neighbourhood of lions. With this exception the sport all over Kattyawar is first-rate. The fanatical Hindoo and Jain inhabitants, who consider all virtue and religion to consist in the preservation of animal life, and who never stick at robbery to prevent the butchering of a sheep, and sometimes not at murder to revenge the death of a cow, are the finest game preservers in the world. In many parts you may shoot black-buck from your tent-door, or pick off a *chinkara* with your revolver while driving on the public road. Hog too are not wanting to be hunted, nor hares and foxes to be coursed. In the cold weather *Koolum*, bustard and wild-duck, are capital eating; and in the rains it is always matter of emulation at Rajkote who shall shoot the first purple crested florican. Quail and partridges abound all over the province.

One last word as to the climate. All the year round it is equable and temperate, and in the hot weather, when everywhere else in India doors and windows are barred to exclude the furnace puffs of outer air, the coast of Kattyawar is balmy with the wet breath of Ocean breezes blowing fresh from the South Pole. The whole Agency is under canvass, and the tent of each Political officer becomes a nucleus round which in pic-nic fashion gather the tents of everybody who can manage to slip away from dust and duty at Rajkote, with sometimes a stray sportsman from even the more distant stations of Surat and Ahmedabad, to bathe, shoot, hunt, eat pomfret and oysters, and enjoy that perfection of *dolce far niente*, which, as the song of the Lotus-eaters may show us, can be found only in the soft languid atmosphere of a summer sea.

Have we established our proposition that Kattyawar is both an interesting country and a pleasant? If anything could atone for a sacrilegious attempt to parody the glad choric outburst in the Colonean Œdipus, would not a Hindoo be almost justified in exclaiming?—" 'T is the fairest land in all the Orient, this 'land so rich in horses, black-cliffed Kattyawar, with her girdle 'of sapphire seas, and woods for ever haunted by the sweet 'jug-jug of the wandering Koel: still troops through her glades, 'leading a crew of laughing damsels, crowned with green leaves 'and faces all on flame, the God of many titles, Bacchus or 'Krishna, the shepherd-nurtured conqueror of Ind".?—

ART. IX.—1. *Military Despatch from the President in Council at Calcutta, dated 7th January* 1860, *No.* 6, *giving cover to Minutes recorded by* SIR JAMES OUTRAM and SIR HENRY FRERE *on the Question of the Amalgamation of Her Majesty's Indian Forces with the British Army.*

2. *Further Minutes by* SIR JAMES OUTRAM, SIR HENRY FRERE and MR. WILSON *on the organizaton of the Army, dated* 11*th February,* 1860.

OF late years, the condition of the soldier has excited considerable attention, and been the subject of numerous pens. It would appear, however, both from the impracticable nature of many of the schemes proposed, and from the neglect with which the small number which escape that stigma, have been received, that the subject is still in its infancy. This circumstance can raise no feeling of wonder in our minds when we consider, how much patient labour, how many years, how much earnest thought other objects of study have required before their arrival at comparative perfection. Social science as applied to the army, is a very young member of the fraternity of sciences; little systematic study has been devoted to the elucidation of its mysteries; and we ought, under all attendant circumstances, rather to rejoice that its vital importance is now assumed as a recognized fact, than to despond because a more advanced stage of progress has not yet been reached. The science appears to the cursory observer sufficiently simple; but when we take into consideration the heterogeneous mass of which our army is composed, an assemblage of men who, without losing the passions, prejudices, feelings, and notions of their brethren in civil life, have grafted on them—so to speak—a new nature; when we consider these circumstances, the difficulty of a due comprehension of the subject becomes sufficiently apparent. Man in the abstract has been the theme and the study of the philosophers and writers of every age. He has been analyzed, observed, dissected, by every class of mind; from the sages of ancient Greece, and our greatest modern politicians, down to Poet Laureates, and the authors of the latest French novels. The study has not been deemed too trivial by the most profound genius, or too deep by the merest man of fashion. There is nothing on which we value ourselves so much, as a real or fancied knowledge of the world; and what is that, but an insight into the minds and passions of the units which make up the mass. Pope says " the noblest study of mankind is man;" and no axiom was ever so thorough-

ly recognised as true, by all thinking men, and so readily accepted as a dogma, by that numerous class, who are content to accept the mental results of others, without troubling themselves to test their truth. The greatest British novelist of the present, perhaps of any age, one who has been eminently successful in clothing the instructive maxims of the profoundest philosophy in a dress attractive even to the merest trifler who ever relied on a circulating library for assistance to kill that arch enemy of fools, time—he has put into the mouth of one of his characters, "knowledge is power," and though demonstrating in the most impressive manner, that mere knowledge, unaided by religion, unsupported by principle, resembles a ship without ballast and can only bring destruction on the owner, yet experience teaches us that no great work can be accomplished without a knowledge of detail.

Have we obtained that knowledge of the additional soldier nature—if I may use the term—of the gallant men who have done so much for England's fame; and can we hope to influence them, that is acquire moral power over them, without intimate and detailed knowledge of their habits, thoughts, and feelings? To this question the candid reader can give but a negative reply. The subject till the last few years has not been deemed of sufficient importance to provoke investigation; and even *during* the last few years, those who have treated of it have been few in number and for the most part unqualified by experience to claim the attention of practical men. A different feeling and an awakened interest on a topic so important as the welfare of those to whom the honour of our country is entrusted, is now no longer a hope but a reality. It is no longer merely professional men whose thoughts are thus occupied; the general public clamorously demand that the interest they feel shall be responded to by our rulers in the adoption of any measures tending either to the physical or moral advantage of a class now recognised to have been too long neglected. Any delay in ameliorations of a life of mingled ennui and hardships now scarcely proceeds so much from a dislike of innovations, as from considerations of economy and the dread of people like Cobden and Bright; men who while complaining loudly if every department of, what may be termed, the National Honour and Safety Insurance Company be not carried to the highest possible perfection; yet, with ignorant inconsistency, grudge the expense necessary for effecting their desires. The pressure from without is, however, increasing in strength so rapidly, that mere financial considerations will no longer be admitted as excusing us from doing what our duty

and our interest equally demand. It is to be regretted that military men do not more frequently bestow on the public the results of their experience. To this omission must be attributed the crude and imperfect notions by which the public mind is possessed. The public is earnest but ignorant and, in these days of special correspondents, listens eagerly to the most unqualified teachers. It imagines that because a man is able to give a good resumé of the politics of a foreign court, to analyze the causes of a French revolution, to declaim on the baneful results of Papal tyranny—because he can do this, and do it eloquently if not philosophically and impartially, he is supposed to be perfectly competent to discuss questions relating to a class, of whom he has had no experience, and with whom he has held no intercourse. Such men accept without hesitation the confidence reposed in them, and are quite ready to pronounce the Duke of Wellington a fool and to call Napoleon their brother.

In times now happily passing away the soldier was looked upon as so much raw material, to be expended as the whim or ambition of kings and ministers might dictate. Guns, ammunition, and soldiers, were classed in the same category, or if any thing, soldiers were placed in a lower scale of value. Such ideas being prevalent, we cannot wonder if the nature of the material, except as to personal strength and health, and even that in an inferior degree to numbers, was little regarded. "Food for powder"—"Any man will fill a trench or stop a bullet"—these are phrases that are but now falling into disuse. Previous character or occupation was not enquired into, and moral influence ignored except when employed to excite the soldier's enthusiasm on the day of battle. The means employed to maintain coherence in a most heterogeneous mass, were thoroughly consistent with the ideas above indicated. A system of coercion, miscalled discipline, was adopted, which would have shamed the keepers of a menagerie. The revolting details have been too often brought before the public to render it necessary that we should enlarge upon so disgusting a theme. Under such circumstances the soldier could not fail to learn the lesson which his commanders appeared desirous of teaching him. His self-respect soon took flight, and he began to believe that in good sooth he *was* a degraded, valueless being. This opinion spread from military to civil ranks, and it became the feeling of even the lowest classes, that "to go for a soldier" was the climax to every vice, the completion of the greatest degradation. Among the lower and uneducated classes, especially in England, opinions frequently retain their hold on the public mind long after the causes from which they took their rise have disappeared; and to this memo-

ry of the past, must we, in great measure, attribute the excessive difficulty often experienced at the present day, in satisfactorily filling up the ranks of the army—an army, which both absolutely, and in proportion to the population, is the smallest maintained by a first rate power. The soldier is now both highly valued and well treated, but we still continue, in some measure, to reap the consequences of our former neglect. Did we not look to the past it would be difficult to understand the repugnance of respectable men to adopt a career which, at all events to the inexperienced and adventurous, possesses many brilliant attractions.

Setting aside the exaggerations or delusions of the fancy, a soldier *is*, generally, in a much better position than his brother in civil life. Opinions may differ as to the cause, but this much is certain as to the effect, that, neither do we in the advent of any emergency, obtain recruits with sufficient rapidity, nor is there at any time as much respectability comprised in their ranks as is desirable. We do not attribute this disinclination for the military profession, to the present treatment and condition of its members; it is in the recollection of the past that we recognize the cause. In the days we live in, the soldier holds a position which is not only an improvement on that occupied by his predecessors, but is in itself absolutely good, both as regards himself individually, and also as respects the estimation of the public. It is a mistake to suppose that *many* respectable men are deterred from enlisting by the small chance which exists of their obtaining a commission; and it is removed from the fact to imagine such to be a grievance in the Barrack room. Civilian writers are continually obtruding it as a deterring cause of great magnitude. Such is a fallacy, and one which is propounded equally from ignorance of the soldier's feelings, and a want of consideration as to its results. Doubtless this assertion will be met with many theoretical reasons exposing our error, and showing how utterly incompetent men are to give an opinion about a profession in which they have spent some years. We deal with facts not theories, and those Regimental officers who have always taken a warm interest both in their men and their profession will challenge enquiry. At this point we cannot avoid remarking that, while in all other professions, a special education with experience superadded is demanded, before any one treating of those professions is deemed worthy of attention: yet, when the army is in question, the man who has derived all his information from newspapers or reviews, and has never mixed with soldiers in his life, pours forth opinions in an *ex cathedrâ* manner, in this case received with approbation, but which in no other profession

would be tolerated. The public insist, and with justice, that officers shall receive a professional education combined with practical instruction, before they are allowed to perform any but the most elementary duties; and yet, in the face of this, those who are without either, discuss the subject with the confidence of professors and the ignorance of school boys. May we suggest to these reformers: "Ne sutor ultra crepidam." To return to our subject.

Not one man in five hundred, and in this we are overstating it, ever enlists with the idea of obtaining a Commission. Indeed many when acquainted with the service refuse the proffered advancement. We have both known and heard of several cases of this nature. In one of them we were consulted by the Non-Commissioned officer to whom the Commission had been offered. We laid before him the various advantages and disadvantages connected with the subject, leaving it to him to form his own opinion. The result was that the Commission was declined.* It was on the same occasion offered to other Non-Commissioned officers in the same regiment, and it was not till several had refused it, that one of comparatively inferior standing and merit was at last found to accept the doubtful boon. In considering the question of promotion from the ranks, it is not just to compare our service with that of the French. The circumstances under which it is found, or assumed by its advocates, to answer in France, are widely different from those under which it takes place in England. Owing to the system of conscription prevailing in France the ranks of its army contain many men who are gentlemen by birth, but a still larger number possessed of considerable education. The French are not rich, the cost of a substitute is a serious consideration; from which cause their army is filled with many men in every way fit for the position and duties of officers. Moreover in France officers hold a very inferior social position compared to that occupied by their professional brethren in England. The appearances and expenses which custom demands from the latter, are unknown to the former. Storekeeperships, Barrackmasterships, appointments in the Police, in the pensioner force, or on the Recruiting Staff, would in reality be much more advantageous both to the service and to individuals than the indiscriminate gift of regimental Commissions. We say *indiscriminate*, as we do not wish to advo-

* Subsequently, during active hostilities, which exceptional state of things, we presume, gave in his opinion a preponderating weight to the advantages, he accepted a renewed offer, and has since not only acquired distinction coupled with some rank but also the esteem of all his brother officers.

cate absolute exclusion from regimental Commissions. Experience teaches us that a gentleman in the ranks is generally more worthless than his more humbly born comrades, yet occasionally exceptions do occur, both amongst them and those who spring from the lower and middle classes. From the latter individuals, in particular, men may *sometimes* be selected who in character, mind, education, manner, and refinement, in short in every quality which fits for command, are equal to any and superior to some of the officers whom fortune has placed above them. To shut the door on the honourable ambition of such persons, would be equally impolitic and unjust. Unfortunately their number is much too small to justify the *system* of promotion, from the ranks to regimental Commissions. The system is bad, but exceptions may, with advantage, be occasionally made. Such promotion should however, only be viewed as incidental, and not as a component part of any scheme for raising the moral condition of the Army. Let us now proceed to review the question as it relates to the individual promoted. Imagine the position of a meritorious married Non-Commissioned officer—and a large number of them are married—promoted, with unusual good fortune, at the age of thirty to the rank of Ensign. In England deducting the cost of keeping up his uniform, his soldier-servant's wages, Band and Mess subscriptions, and the appearances which he and his family are obliged to maintain, scarcely sufficient remains to put mere bread into their mouths. As an officer he would be infinitely poorer than before his promotion. If appointed to the Adjutantcy his condition is certainly improved, but when we take into consideration the incidental expenses incurred by keeping a horse, and that in any case he must lay by money for the education of an increasing family, we must admit that, even then, his lot is not one to be envied. Fairly to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of the case, we must not lose sight of the years which will probably elapse before he attains even the rank of Captain, and the heart-burnings caused by seeing boys, young enough to be his sons, passing over his head. Taking every thing into consideration, it must be a sanguine mind indeed which can believe that his example, the sight of his struggles continually before their eyes, is likely to act as a very powerful incentive to his late comrades in the ranks. In India and some of the colonies he is better off than in England, but unless he hold the Adjutantcy or some other appointment bringing him in more than his mere subaltern's pay, or be without children, his lot is still a hard one. Suppose him to have a family; he is obliged to provide for their future education, and their main-

tenance in case of his death; also to defray the expenses incurred by moving his family, either when the regiment proceeds to England, or merely makes its ordinary periodical change of quarters—in both of which instances a considerable outlay is necessary—and those required in case he or any of his family should be compelled by ill health to seek to recruit it either by a trip to the Hills, or a more lengthened journey to their native land. The sources of expense here indicated cannot be termed suppositions, and money must be laid by to meet them. A Non-Commissioned officer appointed either Quartermaster or Paymaster is somewhat better off in England, and considerably so in India, than if he had been appointed to a simple commission. The remarks, therefore, which we have made as to insufficiency of income, must in this instance be considered as only applying in a modified sense. We must however bear in mind that in every case the promoted Non-Commissioned officer has nothing but his pay to depend on, and that he must make that provide for the cares of the future as well as the wants of the day; he must lay by money for the education and establishment of his children, as well as for the maintenance of his widow.*

If the Non-Commissioned Officer promoted be single, his circumstances are much easier; indeed in India and the colonies he can live with comfort on his pay as an Ensign, and if fortunate enough to obtain the Adjutantcy, or Paymastership, or to have been appointed in the first instance Quarter-Master instead of Ensign, he can not only live like his brother officers, but also save money. In England as Ensign, or even Quarter-Master on first appointment, he has to undergo—as any who has tried it can vouch for—a life of perpetual struggle and self-denial. As a Paymaster he can from his first appointment live on his pay, but the amount of security required before obtaining that office is very considerable,† and is likely to limit the number of men risen from the ranks who obtain it, to a very small number. The reader will observe that in considering this important subject in its various relations to the comfort of the individual promoted, we have given due weight to every favourable chance; but we cannot inaugurate a system which is dependent on favourable chances; still less can we—once having admitted the *principle* of promotion from the ranks—exclude men from advancement, even when involving certain misery, merely because they are married. If we wish to esta-

* The pension granted to the widow and orphans of a subaltern is very small.

† Himself in £2000 and two securities each of a similar amount.

blish a really sound system, we must legislate under the supposition of the most *unfavourable* instead of the most *favourable* chances. It may be answered, and with some plausibility, that a Non-Commissioned officer who is burdened with a family has it in his power to refuse. That is undoubted; but how many are acquainted with all the conditions of their future career, or *if* they *have* heard of them, are not too much blinded by the prospect of immediate advancement, to reflect on future trials and distant hardships. The lower a man is in the social scale, the less provident of the morrow he will be found. Is it real kindness to leave him a victim to his own inexperience and ignorance? We think not. Before quitting this division of the question, we would say that the objections we have urged against the proposed system, are to a certain extent modified, by the exceptional condition of a state of war. Having to keep up, as it were, two establishments, although his own cost him but little, his purse is severely taxed; but then there is the chance of promotion—with Lucknow and Delhi before our eyes we will not say of prize money—if he survives; that fatal *if*, for should death claim him, the widow's pension will be but a scanty pittance.

We have already discussed every possible circumstance connected with the *pecuniary* position of the individual; we now proceed to touch upon his social position and the inconveniences which attend the intercourse between himself and his brother officers.

By promotion to the rank of an officer, and the honorary position of a gentleman, he is thrown amongst a society where, to use a common phrase, he is of necessity "basketted." Between himself and his companions, there can scarcely exist one common topic of interest. His previous life, his limited means, both operate as a bar to any participation in their pleasures, and his want of a liberal education to a due share in their conversation. *They* talk of people he is unacquainted with, of a society of whose habits and customs he is ignorant, and of amusements or pursuits in which he has never indulged. Should the conversation at the mess table turn on general literature, how can he join in it? should politics be touched on, he is scarcely more at home; on sporting matters he is still abroad; on mutual friends—who are his? In short the hours, manners, and mode of life adopted by his brother officers are all new, all awkward, and he cannot himself but feel, or be ignorant that he is regarded by others as inferior in social position to the rawest lad who holds the rank of Ensign. When past the flexible period of youth; at an age when manners, habits, and tastes

are no longer easily acquired, he is called on to begin, as it were, his education afresh. Kindness and consideration at the hands of his brother officers he is certain to meet with; yet he cannot conceal from himself, that though among them, he is not of them. In the field his social position is infinitely more natural, much more agreeable. Little solecisms of manner and language are not regarded when any hour may be your last, when you are removed from every association connected with the amenities and polish of civil life. At such times the mask of conventionality is torn off by the remorseless hands of a stern and rough reality. It is then that intrinsic qualities and actions take a position high above the artificial and acquired graces, just as a stout earthenware tea-cup would, under the same circumstances, be preferred to one made of the finest Dresden. A man is on a campaign more valued for what he is than for what he seems. If he be married his case is still worse. Little failings of manner, expressions, and habits, are tolerated in the man whose personal merit has raised him to the position he occupies, but the same toleration is not extended to his wife; *she* shares the rank, not the merit which obtained it. Occupying a position, which she knows not how to sustain, cut off from former friends and associates, without being able to supply their place in her new sphere, she is indeed an object of sympathy. Her husband's brother officers may be kind and attentive, but it by no means follows that the conduct of their wives should be similar. Ladies are much less lenient than gentlemen to people whom they consider outsiders.

We have hitherto considered the subject only as it relates to the individual himself; it now remains to investigate the manner in which it affects both the public service, and those with whom he is brought into contact.

In the first place, as regards the Non-commissioned officers and privates. It is well known to all, the least acquainted with the feeling of the ranks, that the men much prefer gentlemen for their commanders to those who have sprung from their own class; and pay the former a much more willing and cheerful obedience than the latter. A not unnatural jealousy is to some extent, the origin of this feeling. "Who's he, I should like to know, that's ordering us about in this way;" "he's no better than any of us;" "why I remember him a private only the other day." Such are the unexpressed thoughts which rankle in many a bosom; and which not seldom find an utterance. In obeying the orders of a gentleman officer—we use the term in a distinctive, not an offensive sense—the soldier is only acting in obedience to an instinct with which he has all his life

been familiar. In obeying his officer, he obeys one of a class he has been trained from childhood to respect. It is not merely education and military rank, but also social position which he here recognizes, and to which he bows. We can venture to assert, that there are few who are greater aristocrats than the British soldier. Moreover a gentleman officer has always been accustomed to be surrounded by inferiors; therefore the power with which he finds himself invested in the army is not so new to him as to the officer promoted from the ranks, and is consequently exercised in a much more considerate and far less overbearing manner by the former than by the latter. Soldiers are particularly sensitive as to the manner in which they are treated; and a rough style of speaking to them is almost more resented than positive ill treatment. The bad effect, of suddenly acquired power, on uneducated or half educated minds, is too well known to render it necessary that I should here enlarge upon it. Again the officer promoted from the ranks, is very apt to overstep the line which limits his new duties, and to confound the position of Non-Commissioned officer and officer in a manner, which has a most harassing effect on the men, who prefer the greatest severity to being, what they call, 'humbugged about.' If he is Adjutant, he is often called upon to perform duties of a most unpopular nature towards the young officers; duties the comfortable and efficient performance of which demand the exercise of considerable tact. Now *tact*, is precisely the quality in which such a man is likely to be most deficient. An Adjutant requires every adventitious aid, to enable him to obtain that moral power, that feeling of personal respect, so requisite to his efficiency. The fact of the young officers being able to despise him for want of birth and manner is a great bar to his acquiring that influence, which when possessed renders their mutual career so much more pleasant, and contributes so greatly to the welfare of the regiment. All we have said respecting an Adjutant applies still more strongly to a Commanding officer. Depend upon it, that whether the question be considered with reference to the real interests of the individual, those of the service, or as an inducement to good conduct and emulation, and as a means of obtaining a better class of recruits, promotion from the ranks to regimental commissions will be found associated with so many practical evils as far to outweigh the theoretical advantages so much insisted on. The social improvement of the army must, as a general rule, be sought for in the adoption of other measures. We will proceed to touch slightly upon a few of the means which would tend to promote so desirable an object.

A more intimate connection and association between officers and men, and a constant endeavour to convince the latter that their officers are desirous to prove themselves friends as well as superiors, are desirable. A great deal may be done towards carrying out this purpose, by mixing in their amusements; such as cricket, foot ball, and theatricals. By such means not only is a kindly feeling created between the commander and the commanded, but an officer is enabled to make himself acquainted with the habits and dispositions of those under him. Such knowledge is the groundwork of all moral influence. It is a mistake to imagine that such a course endangers an officer's position, or renders him liable to that familiarity on the part of those below him which is generally supposed to breed contempt. That character must be of small calibre which cannot, under any circumstances, not in themselves degrading, assert a claim to the respect to which its possessor is by position entitled. He who is obliged to rely entirely on adventitious aid, and the habits of military discipline, for a proper comportment on the part of his inferiors, may obtain the obedience that will be paid to his commission—but can never hope for influence. When Officers take a part in their men's amusements no people can display more anxiety than the British soldier both to pay all due respect himself and also to enforce a proper observance of it on the part of others. We believe such a course to have been productive of mutual kind feelings, and to have created a tie which may or might be of the greatest utility. In adopting such a line of conduct, judgment and tact are of course requisite for success, but these qualities are generally present with the educated class from which the officers of the army are for the most part taken. The practice of looking on the British soldier as a mere machine destitute alike of gratitude, the finer feelings, or the higher qualities, is much to be censured. Such a view generally proceeds from their having devoted too little attention to the study of the class on whom they pass so unjust a judgment. The soldier is a man like his officer, with a nature of course modified by circumstances and education, but the groundwork of that nature is similar to that of his superiors. Let the Officer judge him by his own feelings, and he will be much more successful in his treatment than he is otherwise likely to be. The charge of ingratitude so often alleged against the soldier we believe to be without foundation. Indeed we will go farther, and say, that many an officer has received from his men benefits and attentions in the field which he had by no means merited by any kindness to them in quarters. Soldiers

are often *temporarily* unreasonable and unjust; who is not? and they may in the irritation caused by some necessary but irksome restraint, appear to have forgotten all former benefits. This soon passes away; they judge of their superiors by *habitual* conduct, and their sense of justice may, in the long run be safely trusted to. Indeed did we wish to know the real character of any officer we should expect to obtain the most exact information on that head from the men under his command. Such is the general mode of treatment we would recommend, but there are others more practical, more material, which in our opinion, would tend greatly to promote the success of the first, as well as to secure that end of which moral influence is only the means, namely, the welfare and efficiency of our army.

1st. Hold out to deserving and educated Non-Commissioned officers, a prospect of advancement through commissions as officers, on the Recruiting Staff, the Corps of Out-Pensioners, the Ordnance, Commissariat, and Barrack departments, appointments to the higher grades of the Police, Head Constableships and Governorships of prisons. For the three last—excepting the Metropolitan Police and the Irish Constabulary—the concurrence of the country gentlemen and county Magistrates, would be required; but when we contemplate the awakened military spirit, the increased interest in the army now pervading all classes of civilians, we feel assured, that in any scheme tending to the amelioration of the soldier, the most cordial co-operation, the most disinterested assistance, may be confidently expected.

2nd. Bestow—and here again civilian co-operation is required—on those who, though deserving non-commissioned officers or meritorious privates, are not equal, either in character or education, to holding the higher class of appointments we have mentioned, subordinate appointments, in the Commissariat, Ordnance, and Barrack Departments, as Porters or Messengers in Public Offices, Gate-keepers in the Public Parks and Masters of Workhouses.

3rd. Elevate the condition of the Soldier when serving, by giving him those means of healthy and innocent recreation, in default of which he will most assuredly provide himself with others of a less harmless tendency. Man cannot exist without *some* occupation, and is not specially prone to that which is bad; occupation and amusement of some sort, however, he must have, and if precluded from the good he will most certainly fly to that which is bad. The human mind in thus acting, is only fulfilling the laws of nature; it abhors a vacuum, and care should be taken that this vacuum is not left to undirected energy or

languid carelessness to fill. When the soldier is off duty, amuse him, occupy him, direct and stimulate the exercise both of his body and mind in due proportions, and the Bazars will be emptied, the bottle neglected and less time given for the entry of evil thoughts into his mind.

In a sanatory, and consequently an economical point of view, moreover, this subject claims the attention of the authorities. It is well known that the British Soldier costs a large sum before he can be considered as trained, and a still larger before he can be landed in India. Now it is in connection with this country that the subject not only possesses most interest for those whose eyes this article will meet, but also where the results aimed at are most important. It is a recognized fact that in India ennui is one of the chief enemies against which the European resident has to contend, and that want of success in this struggle bears directly on the question of health. Much has already been done by Government, more by regimental officers, to discover and provide new sources of amusement for the soldier, as well as to support those already established. Where such interests are concerned, it behoves however, all who value the efficiency of our army, and consequently the permanency of our dominion, to persist in calling attention to such an important branch of social economy, until a complete and methodical system is everywhere adopted. These amusements should be of two descriptions: indoor, and outdoor. All men are not constituted alike, and many both from want of health, and from idiosyncracy, take little pleasure in sedentary pursuits, while there are others who only care for active occupation and a still larger class who would wish to combine the two. We cannot be too careful in avoiding the very natural tendency on the part of highly educated men to give an undue preference to mental over physical occupations; for great as is the importance of the former, a moderate amount of exercise is in India absolutely essential to health. Recreation should be provided, suited to all the various tastes and habits necessarily existing in such a large body of men as compose a regiment. The details of such a scheme, might with advantage be left to the judgment of the officers of each corps. The authorities should confine themselves to insuring that the subject was neither discouraged nor neglected, and to affording aid, pecuniary or otherwise, for efficiently carrying out such measures as might be suggested, and which seemed on due examination to be worthy of support. The origination and details of the various schemes, might be permitted to proceed from a board of officers in each regiment, under the superintendence of the Commanding Officer, and sub-

ject to a general control by the Adjutant General of the Army. His principal province is discipline, and nothing is so intimately connected with discipline as such a provision of occupations as shall leave to the men neither taste nor leisure for crime and irregularities. We have scarcely space here to enter into detail as regards the amusements and occupations we would suggest. We will merely mention some of those which most readily occur to us. They are the following: Cricket, Rackets, Skittles, Theatricals, Football, Quoits, Scotch games of various sorts, Gymnasiums, Glee clubs, Reading rooms, and Libraries,—where not only trifling refreshments might be obtained but also a harmless game of dominoes, chess, drafts or backgammon might be indulged in—and Military work-shops. The advantages of Military work-shops are too great and numerous to be enumerated in these pages, so we shall not enlarge upon the subject farther than to say, that in them, not only could the trained artisan, keep up his skill, thereby increasing his income while serving, and enabling himself without difficulty to resume his former career on quitting the service, but also the man without a trade could learn one, and by this means place himself in a position to obtain a livelihood, on returning to civil life, without having recourse to that charity, which, to the discredit of the military profession is so often requested by men who have not served sufficiently long to earn a pension. Above all must education, and that without which education is more often a snare than a benefit, namely religion, be relied on, if we wish to see the ranks of the glorious British army filled by men, who besides intrepid conduct on the day of battle, show by their behaviour in time of peace, that the army is a school not a temptation; and that they who defend their native hearths, are equally fitted to adorn those native hearths when their patriotic duty has been accomplished. Let there no longer be a separation between the gallant soldier and the good citizen; and in the evening of our days, let those who have worn the Queen's uniform, on being pointed out any one remarkable for his social virtues, be able to say with pride, more frequently than at present, "He too has served."

ART. X.—1. *Sonthal Police Rules.*
2. *Rules for Civil Procedure in the Sonthal Pergunnahs.*
3. *Journal of the Asiatic Society.*
4. *Papers connected with the Sonthal Rebellion.*

IN the beginning of the year 1855 the Sonthal Pergunnahs were non-existent and the Sonthals to the world unknown. The tract of country now so called was then divided between the districts of Bhaugulpore, Berhampore and Beerbhoom. The Damun-i koh, a Government khas mehal, more thickly populated with Sonthals than any other part of the Pergunnahs, was under the fiscal and general management of Mr. Pontet subordinate to the Commissioner of Bhaugulpore, and in criminal matters in the jurisdiction of the Magistrate of Bhaugulpore. Thannahs were attached to Bhaugulpore, to Berhampore and to Beerbhoom.

Under the old system of management there was in all this extent of country, only one resident Magistrate at Deoghur, a station at the extreme North West boundary of the then Beerbhoom District and the great mass of the people had to go to Bhaugulpore, Beerbhoom or Aurungabad (a Sub-Division of Berhampore) for justice. It is true that Mr. Pontet during his cold weather tour through the Damun-i-koh did something to redress petty grievances between Sonthal and Sonthal, settling disputes about land, division of property, &c., but he was powerless to redress the wrongs of the Sonthals against more powerful oppression and so they were left to the Bhaugulpore Courts for what they could get.

The distance the people had to go to Court, though an inconvenience, was not the material objection to their attending. But what was a semi-savage Sonthal to do when he reached the Court? He found a Magistrate surrounded by an almost impregnable barrier of Amlah, and Court scrupulously guarded from gratuitous entry by a horde of Peons and Burkundazes; and a set of Mooktears, representing the only medium through which he could hope for a hearing, who wish to sell him at any stage of his case if it proved worth their while; or who would decline to act for him altogether if he had not the wherewithal to pay his way—a way paved every inch with what to the poorer class is gold.

While the Sonthal saw justice in the shape of the Magistrate so far off and so terribly difficult of access, he found justice nearer home in the shape of the Darogahs and Thannah police, the au-

thorized agents of the distant Magistrate, but found it only to find it his bane, and to learn that his first object was to avoid not seek it.

What wonder then that the Sonthal, cut off from the fountain head of redress and avoiding as a pestilence the muddy polluted sources from it which reached him, should fall an easy victim to the cunning and oppression of the Bengalee Mahajun. He saw his crops, his cattle, even himself and family appropriated for a debt which ten times paid remained an incubus upon him still. He found his simple memorandum kept in knots upon a piece of string no match against the Mahajun's arithmetic supported by pen, ink and paper, and if he comprehended the gross injustice of the case he gained but little in an argument which was concluded by the Mahajun's peons summarily carrying off whatever they could lay their hands on, or by as effectual a process performed through the more legal but perhaps equally unjust agency of a Moonsiff's decree.

The Sonthal is patient enough, and to a regretful extent phlegmatic, but the worm will turn at last. For years he bore the oppression that robbed him of the produce of his labor, that took him and his family captives for debt and worked them in slavery, that respected not the honor of his wife and daughters, and then he rose against the tyranny and became a rebel. It is said that the Sonthals gave notice to the Commissioner and Magistrate of Bhaugulpore that unless their grievances were redressed they would rise; but be that as it may it came like a thunder-clap upon those who heard of it, that in the centre of Bengal there was rebellion; and that a race of people almost unheard, and certainly unthought of, were in arms, murdering and running riot through the land.

Kanoo and Seedoo, two brothers with two other less notorious brothers, became the leaders of this insurrection. They professed to act upon divine inspiration and were dubbed soobahs. They appointed their Naibs, Darogahs and other officers and proclaimed themselves masters of the country. So little was known of them, so well had they combined and so unanimous was the feeling among them, that the rebellion broke out and spread over the whole of the country, now known as the Sonthal Pergunnahs, and beyond into Monghyr and other parts of Bhaugulpore and Beerbhoom, before one note of preparation had reached the ears of any one not in the secret.

Their first act was to kill the Darogah of a Thannah near Rajmahal, and with the Darogah fell his Burkundazes. If report speaks truly the Darogah merited his end, and the Sonthals only took what to them was a legitimate revenge for dishonor

brought upon their women and oppression done to men and women alike. After the Darogah fell mahajuns, who closed by their deaths long standing accounts that had left the Sonthal life only, and then mad with long suppressed passions and the thirst of the blood they had tasted the Sonthals sought out and killed every one connected, as they thought, with their oppressors.

The first report that reached the Europeans in the neighbourhood was that large bands of Sonthals were marching about the country, killing and plundering, that they performed pooja in their villages, putting up a trophy consisting of a sheep skin, a bhursa (a battle axe) a drum—bow and arrow and fife, and then leaving the villages to take care of themselves went forth on their invasion; that a Darogah had been murdered and all villages not Sonthal plundered. This report was at first too vague and improbable to be relied on, but before those who listened to it dubiously had satisfied themselves whether a Sonthal was a particular caste of Hindoo or some sort of animal, there came corroboration in the shape of flying villagers, carrying with them all that they could move, pushing in frantic haste towards the Ganges to put the river between themselves and the rebels, ere long up to the station of Rajmahal and everywhere above the line of Railway from Rampore Haut to Colgong there came the ominous beating of the digdiggi or Sonthal drum.

The Magistrate of Bhagulpore and Mr. Pontet proceeded at once to Rajmahal where, taking up their quarters at the house of the District Engineer, they waited the arrival of troops. Rajmahal was threatened with an attack and rewards offered by the Sonthals for the head of Mr. Pontet, who had heretofore been styled by them their Raja, and other heads of less importance. The District Engineer with a few other Railway Engineers who fell back upon Rajmahal when their own houses had been burnt and plundered held the Sungidelan, which with the Ganges on one side and two large swivel guns commanding the front, defied the rebels until the troops arrived, and the rewards for the heads of Mr. Pontet and others were never disbursed.

On intimation reaching Bhaugulpore of the outbreak a detachment of the Hill Rangers was sent to Colgong. The commanding officer however could not march without the civil authority being in attendance—and consequently a party of 9 or 10 Railway officers went out to meet the Sonthals taking with them a large number of Burkundauzes and peons. The Sonthals gave fight; the Burkundazes whose tight girt loins and lofty threats had promised gallant conduct ran away; and a scrimmage took

place, in which 3 of the Europeans were wounded and 2 of their horses killed on one side while the rebels lost 8 or 9 killed and wounded, and from which the Europeans escaped with their lives, only because the Sonthals did not sufficiently speedily recover the check to follow them.

Two days after this the Hill Rangers came to the scene of this scrimmage, but only to be beaten off the field with the loss of a Serjeant Major and 10 or 12 sepoys and a European volunteer who accompanied them. Immediately after this the detachment returned to Bhaugulpore leaving the rebels masters of the position. For a short time the Sonthals continued in unchecked possession of the country from Colgong to Pulsa on the Ganges side and nearly to Beerbhoom and Raneegunge to the West. The first check they received was from Berhampore whence some Companies of the 7th N. I. under Mr. Toogood, the Magistrate, made a forced march on elephants, and reaching Mohespore, near Pulsa, unexpectedly came upon the rebels in a tank and inflicted a severe loss on them, taking nearly all their plunder.

Troops then poured in from all sides and the rebels fled in every direction never to rally again. Brigadier Loyd, who commanded, on one occasion hemmed the rebels in and could have inflicted the most disastrous loss upon them; but whether influenced by merciful orders from Government or inspired by the same influence that prompted him in the more recent emergency at Dinapore, he certainly allowed the opportunity to pass and the rebels escaped by driblets—to be hunted like dogs and starve or die of disease until reduced to half their original number and to subjection.

A terrible vengeance attended the Sonthal for his rebellion —his house was burnt, his store of grain burnt in his house or plundered, the crops on his land destroyed or lost for want of attention to them, his flocks and herds scattered, seized, sold and plundered, and himself become an attennuated, half starved, miserable wretch, with only half his family left to him.

At this moment a Sonthal beggar is unknown, but after the rebellion hundreds in every direction sought charity, where it was to be found, and it is only now that they are recovering the shock received from conflict with a Government of whose power and resources they never dreamt.

But with all this it is questionable whether the Sonthal has not benefited by the course he took. He fought for justice, and although the cost at the time was terrible and unthought of he has got it. The difficulties of seeking justice are swept away, he finds a Court where Amlahs only exist, as Amlahs should, to be machines obeying the will of the authority they serve, a

Court free of costs, presided over by a Hakim who is accessible at all hours; and where every man pleads his own case and stands equal before his adversary whatever their relative positions may be. The police who erstwhile persecuted him are swept away, and in his village the Sonthal is represented by his own race instead of some grasping harpy whose sympathies are with the Sonthal's foe and profit rather than with justice.

On the country becoming quiet after the rebellion the Sonthal Pergunnahs became a separate district,—extra regulation. Divided into 5 Divisions each under an Assistant Commissioner with a Sub-Assistant, the whole was made subordinate to a Deputy Commissioner, who in his turn was subordinate to the Commissioner of the Bhaugulpore Division as Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs. This arrangement still exists.

The Assistant Commissioners have generally full powers of a Magistrate and in civil matters try suits up to 1,000 Rs. in value. The Deputy Commissioner has the same powers but hears appeals from the orders of the Assistants, and the Commissioner has the same power in civil suits, but in criminal cases his powers extend to transportation for life. All capital sentences are referred to the Lieutenant-Governor and the Sudder. During the time of the late Lieutenant Governor capital sentence was passed by him without reference, but the present Lieutenant Governor, after a little sparring with the Sudder on the subject, maintained his point that the executive was not paramount in judicial matters and that the subject of life and death was one for the consideration of the highest Criminal Court of the country, and so the Sudder determines all sentences of death.

It may appear singular that the Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs with powers in criminal matters so little resticted, should not have higher powers in civil matters. It cannot be that the liberty of a fellow creature for life is valued at less than any sum of money, even above a thousand Rupees, and yet so it would appear, and the anomaly is still more striking when it is remembered that the Commissioner has been a Judge, and was probably promoted for his merit. That the limitation to suits of 1,000 Rs. exists as an evil in the system of the Sonthal Pergunnahs that should be done away with is a question without doubt. Its existence causes confusion in jurisdiction between two systems as wide as under as the poles, and leads, or indeed opens a road, to discovery and evasion of justice. It may be that an Assistant Commissioner has not sufficient experience to decide civil cases with all the acumen of an experienced Judge, but there is a speedy and inexpensive appeal to a Com-

missioner who may be assumed to be a tolerable judge, and the result of such appeals will shew that of the orders passed in cases in which the evidence is taken direct by the hakim in his own language, on a judgment formed by him to the best of his ability and conscientiously, without any interference from the pen or tongue of a Sherishtadar or Amlah, such a proportion are upheld as would compare very creditably with the appeal returns of the Judges, Sudder Ameens and Moonsiffs of the Regulation Provinces. Another point to be considered is whether if the officers of the Sonthal Pergunnahs are not allowed to try suits beyond 1,000 Rs. they should have the power of trying those below. The value of a case does not make it more difficult of decision. A case for 50 Rs. may possibly exhibit as much intricacy, and call for as much judgment, as one for Rs. 50,000, and above all it is to be remembered that a suit of Rs. 100 may be of as much vital importance to Ram Ghose a poor Gwala as one of lakhs would be to Ramkishto Roy, the proprietor of an estate as large as an English county. Why then should the wealthy litigant escape to a Court where his money cannot fail to aid him and where the poorer man cannot effectually follow, instead of being made subject to the jurisdiction of a Court which is held to be good enough for his lowlier brethren.

On the establishment of this system the Moonsiffs' Courts were at once abolished, but the Thannah Police maintained. But Mr. Yule, the present Commissioner, whose heart has been in the perfection of the system, knowing the police to be the obstacle to the attainment of justice and a thorough understanding between the hakim and the people direct, knowing them, as all do who have any experience on the subject, to be a body whose object it is to keep the authorities and the people equally in the dark, whose retainment would nullify all the good effects to be attained from a purified Court, met the difficulty as Alexander settled the Gordian knot and cut them with a stroke—not of his sword but his pen. In May 1858 the Thannah Police were abolished. The village chowkedars only being retained, the Darogahs, Mohurrirs, Jemadars, Pharidars and Burkundazes were discharged and the people were left to be their own guardians. It was a bold step to take in an age when the Thannah police is looked upon as an institution of the country and part and parcel of it; when every body, admitting it to be a curse, thinks it a necessary one, and can devise no means for improving or doing without it: but it was one well matured, it was one in which Mr. Yule had the fullest support of his subordinates, and it was one which success has guaranteed to have

been prudent and far-seeing beyond the anticipation of the most sanguine well-wishers.

It may be said that if desirable in the Sonthal Pergunnahs the abolition of the police must be equally to be desired elsewhere, and we think that few who know the police and have the opportunity of judging how successful the no-police system proves, would argue that a more extended trial of it is not advisable. It may be said that a police so severely punished for their oppression by the Sonthals and so closely watched by European officers, in the ratio of 1 officer to 3 Thannahs, might have been expected to keep in bounds; but one instance of many will suffice to shew how little the warning of a Sonthal's revenge and the close supervision of an active European officer tended to check the rapacity and peccancy of the police, and this instance we have from one well acquainted with the facts.

A Sonthal under trial for complicity in the rebellion escaped from Jail, and a reward of Rs. 100 was offered for his capture. An Engineer of the E. I. Railway who arrested several of the active members and murderers concerned in the rebellion, procured information of the fugitive's place of hiding and arrested him. A police Jemadar thirsting for the reward was also hot in pursuit, but being on the wrong scent went to the fugitive's village to arrest him at the very time that he was safely in keeping in the Engineer's camp. The family of the Sonthal unhappily were unaware that the capture had been made, and when the question came as to his place of concealment they met it with evasion or silence. It would not beseem the pages of this *Review* to say *what* the Jemadar did to the unhappy women he found in that family; but let the reader imagine every torture that the ingenuity of a demon could suggest—every insult to woman that lust could prompt—let him picture to himself bleeding, fainting women led off to incarceration, and further torture and insult in the Pharee—and he will have before him a correct although a faint representation of the guilty scene in which that Jemadar proved the excellence of the system of which he was a worthy though humble representative. The end of this drama is pleasanter in its character. The Engineer on his own authority and contrary to law, sent down his Burkundazes to the police station and released the captives, (one of whom however was *never found*) provided them with funds, and sent them with their witnesses and a letter describing the occurrence to the Assistant Commissioner of the Division, and the Jemadar was shortly afterwards sentenced by the Commissioner to 14 years' imprisonment with labor in irons.

Surely a police the members of which are such as this Jema-

dar are better swept away from the land; and who will venture to say that this Jemădar checked fortuitously in his career was the solitary spot on the sun's disc, the very rare exception to the rule? Does not experience tend contrariwise to prove that oppression in a greater or lesser degree is the rule?

That the abolition of the police is a boon to the people cannot be denied, that it makes the duties of the Magistrate more satisfactory to himself, every officer who has tried it can say, and that without the Police the duties they were paid to perform are better performed by an unpaid community we will try to shew.

First then as to the repression of crime; has crime increased in those districts where the non-police system has been introduced since the abolition of the police or not? We have no general statistics to shew this result as far as concerns the whole of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, but we have (thanks to the courtesy of friends who are in a position to give them) statistics of portions of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, and we may fairly infer that what is true for a large tract of the country is not very incorrect for all.

The statistics we have then shew that during the years 1856, '57 and '58, during which time the Police existed, taking an average of 4 murders and 43 dacoities, there were only 3 murders and 18 dacoities in 1859, when the Police had been abolished, and that the year just passed of 1860 exhibits a further decrease in both; they also shew that a similar decrease has appeared in thefts with violence, wounding, and extensive thefts and burglaries.

So far then, as well as figures can guide us, it is proved that the people are capable of self-protection. We will next consider whether crime is better reported now than during the time of the Police.

On looking up our statistics again we find that in 1856 and 1857 to an average of 41½ dacoities the average of burglaries was 90, of thefts 131, and of other offences 94, or in other words, and taking rougher figures, there were 2 burglaries, 3 thefts, and two other offences to every dacoity. Now does this ratio seem probable, and viewing it in another light is it possible that among a people tolerably well governed, and with anything approaching to redress, there should be 6 felonies to 2 cases of personal injury? In looking at the crimes reported in 1859 we find a very different result, the burglaries being as 15 to 1, the thefts as 21 to 1, and other offences 54 to 1. The felonies being 3 to 4 cases of personal injury.

We have not included the year 1858 in this comparison, because the police were only abolished in May of that year,

and the system of no-police in its transition was not so perfected as subsequent experience has made it.

From this comparison we must then draw the inference that the hakim is now made acquainted with much that was heretofore suppressed, and it is reasonable that this should be so. For under the present system while suppression of the report of crime is punished every inducement is held out to the heads of villages and Chowkedars to make a speedy report of every occurrence. The Chowkedar who comes to Court for this purpose is not detained, the occurrence is noted down by the hakim as it is described, and in trifling cases the prosecutors and heads of villages are left to take the necessary steps to bring the offender to justice. In cases brought to trial the prosecutor with his witnesses, defendants and everything required come up a complete case, and on their arrival are heard and dismissed without annoyance, detention or the most trifling expense.

In serious cases immediately on the occurrence being reported the hakim goes to the spot and makes the necessary local enquiry, but the enquiry is judiciously carried out, the villagers are not harassed to supply the hakim or a horde of myrmidons, no pressure is made to extort a false representation of facts, and the people, even if the case does not end in detection of the criminals, have not sustained an additional loss by a fruitless enquiry.

Contrast this with the conduct of a Darogah. On hearing of any occurrence, accompanied by a troop of Burkundazes and Mussaibs, Darogahjee lolling in his palkee is conveyed to the village where the occurrence happened, there, domiciled in the best house to be found, the great man rests his wearied limbs and hears with sufficient non-chalance the particulars of the case which he, a worthy scion of the Bow Street detective, has come to investigate. Then the wants of this imperial Nemesis must be attended to and, the capacity and delicacy of his capacious maw being considered, his exhausted system must be refreshed before he enters upon the business before him. His myrmidons meantime permeate the village, and the few inhabitants who have remained to face the invasive force give up their substance to feed the shadows of justice.

After some time the meal has been discussed and its contingent chillum has assisted digestion,—and then the case is heard in earnest. It is true that no clue exists to the offenders, they having perhaps got off unseen leaving no sign behind, and the property stolen is in all probability of such a nature as to defy recognition, but what of this? There are several Bourees, Dhuns and other low caste budmashes in the neighbourhood and will not they

do to make a satisfactory chellaun to the Magistrate? What was easier in times happily passed away than to get a confessing prisoner? Dhuns no more than Brahmins can stand a pressure of 50 pounds on the square inch when that square inch consists of the epidermis of the Dhun's chest, and the pressure falls upon his heart and crushes life out of his miserable low caste frame—and under some such pressure probably a confessing prisoner is procured—some property is found where the prisoner is led to point it out—and *voila* a good case.

But not here ends the infliction on the villagers, there are fees to pay at every stage of the enquiry, fees to avoid the search of this man's house, fees to prevent the arrest of that man's wife, fees to buy immunity from every kind of oppression which are heavier and easier of realization in proportion to the respectability of the victims.

What wonder then that the villagers only reported to the Police such cases as must leak out and became known, and of a consequence that dacoities and murders were reported while burglaries and minor offences were not. But another reason tends to reconcile this discrepancy between dacoities and thefts, and this is that every Darogah naturally considers his character for vigilance at stake in the result of the cases he investigates. To report the occurrence of 50 thefts and only bring five to trial would in his opinion be to exhibit his own worthlessness, and infallibly prevent his rising to the 1st grade or mar the accomplishment of some dear dream of his heart (if a Darogah has such an organ.) And consequently the report of occurrences has to be ruled by the number of cases which by hook or crook he can concoct for the Magistrate.

It appears then that under the Police system there are two obstructions to the Magistrate's having crime fully reported, the greater that arising from the dread of the people reporting to the police in the first instance—the other that which occurs from the police reporting select cases only. But in the no-police system the latter of these has been, as coetaneous with the police, abolished with them—and the former has been, as we have shewn, removed by conciliatory and patient practice.

The only other question that remains is whether the necessary local enquiry in petty cases, the chellaun of prisoners and parties required, the production of unclaimed property and other duties of the police, are performed as well by the people as by the Darogah and his assistants, and this question may be briefly replied to by the assertion that they are better performed. The heads of villages conduct the search of houses for stolen property and the arrest of defendants with intelligence and moderation:

they despatch parties required and chellaun unclaimed property with regularity and promptitude, and they conduct the duties of a Darogah generally with more effect and infinitely more integrity than was the case under the old *regime*. In one department the improvement is very marked—this is the production in Court of any well to do man who is wanted against his will. The difficulties thrown in the way of the arrest of such a man by a Darogah are legion. As long as the desiree has the funds, he can purchase returns to the Magistrate's Perwannahs in which the Darogah laments his inability to catch the desiree who has gone to Benares, to Cabul, to Jericho, or anywhere else out of the Darogah's Thannah, and is consequently not to be found in spite of all the energetic exertions made for his capture by the Magistrate's slave and servant to command.

Of course there are a few exceptions to the rule, and among the heads of the community there are rascals just as among Darogahs there are honest men—but the exceptions are rare. The offenders are not sufficiently practised to err in safety and the hakim is too much master of the country in which his jurisdiction exists for wilful breach of the law or failure of the trust imposed to go unpunished.

As an instance in point of the service rendered by the people being superior to that of the paid police we may mention the capture and utter extinction of a gang of Paharea dacoits who had for nearly four years infested the country lying between the Tecoor and Phooljooree Hills in the South Western portion of the Sonthal Pergunnahs. These dacoits numbered some 30 to 40 Pahareas, men and women; they lived in the neighbourhood of Phooljooree and when pushed took refuse in that hill and its neighbour the Mahra hill, where pursuit was next to impossible. They had an almost equally inaccessible fastness in the Tecoor Hill and played between one and the other to the utter confusion of the police. These dacoits committed between 1855 and 1858 about 80 dacoities and gang robberies, two or three attended with arson, and five or six murders, and during the existence of the police only stray members of the gang were caught. But in July 1858 after the police had been abolished two months the people captured the leader and several of the gangs, and drove the rest out of that part of the country so completely that they have never revived.

So far the system conferred a double benefit on the people—it made Amla subordinate to the will of the hakim and it swept the police away altogether. But Mr. Yule whose conception, it is only fair to say, the system is, and to whom its success is

mainly attributable, went yet further in the course of amelioration of the condition of those under his rule.

A great step towards bettering the condition and raising the social standard of the lower orders was gained when Kumeoti was abolished formally. It is a subject of regret, and has been made matter for discussion in the House of Parliament, that in the Regulations there should exist no sufficient check on the traffic in and keeping of slaves. The latest act that has reference to the subject is Act V. of 1843, and this is purely a negative one—it provides no penalty for the sale, or hire, or other connection with slaves and slavery, but it gives the slave the privileges of a free man in Courts of justice—it rules that an injury done to him shall be treated in the same manner as though it had been done to a free man—and it ignores the right of the master in his slave in any of its Courts.

But in the Sonthal Pergunnahs the Kumeoti system was actively discountenanced. The bonds by which they were bound were held invalid and every one filed in Court was cancelled and declared null and void. In a short time Kumeoti died out and free labour with fair wages was substituted.

It may be as well to go more fully into the Kumeoti question to prove how just and righteous was the step that put a stop to it. A Kumea was a man in needy circumstances who bound himself and family down by a bond to serve until he paid the sum due upon this instrument. Perhaps a poor man had occasion for a few rupees to marry his daughter, he went to the mahajun and asked for the loan, the mahajun gave the money, 10 or 15 rupees, but like Shylock insisted upon flesh in his bond, and the needy borrower, with the wonted apathy of his race, sold himself and family for the few pieces of silver that would be gone beyond redemption in a few days. From that time he was a slave, neither he nor his family knew what liberty was—they could not cultivate or improve their condition by their own industry for that industry was pledged to another who claimed it whenever it was necessary to him and could have been of service to them, and this labor was taken as interest for the money due upon the bond. It is true that the Kumea was fed when he worked—but who was to feed him when he did not, and whence was to come the principal due to his owner, the payment of which only could release him from his bondage.

As a matter of course the Kumea, not having cultivation or any certain means of livelihood, supported himself by theft when not in the actual employ of his owner, and theft was not sufficiently profitable to a man who stole for food—the actual neces-

saries of life for his family and himself—to admit of his saving the sum that was required to clear him.

If the yoke galled him so severely that he rebelled the master was master still, he had the bond the principal of which was yet unsatisfied, and on this he sued in Court and obtained a decree. The execution of this decree soon brought the slave to kneel again and plead that the yoke might be put upon his neck once more, for as he had no property, the only option left him was between imprisonment in his master's service or imprisonment in the Civil Jail, and with all the terrors of the latter which the master's subtle tongue could instil in his mind, the Kumea naturally chose the former.

But when it became known that the bonds on which the Kumeas were held were pieces of waste paper, to file which was only to cause their destruction, the Kumeas asserted their right to liberty; and working on the Railroad and, with more liberal wages, for their old employers, with their time at their own command, to give to their own patch of land and other affairs, instead of being claimable at all seasons by a hard task master whose purpose it was to keep the Kumea a slave for ever, in the course of time they rose to a feeling of independence and self-reliance which their improved circumstances will retain them in against all the masters in the world.

The last great and substantial benefit the active care of Mr. Yule could confer upon the people was the introduction of his Civil procedure rules and abolition of imprisonment for debt.

The Civil procedure rules are so admirable for the comprehensiveness embodied in so little space that, without commenting upon them generally, it will perhaps not be out of place to give some idea of what they are as a whole reserving special remarks for one or two points.

The Rules are 33 in number, they occupy a little more than 7 pages of foolscap in print.

Rule 1—is, that all claims shall be preferred *vivâ voce*, the whole record and every order passed in the case being written by the Hakim in English, a claim being only made by proxy when the Plaintiff is a *purda nusheen* woman, a native of rank, or any one of respectability not resident in the Sonthal Pergunnahs.

Rule 2—provides penalties for false suits and evidence.

Rule 3—directs that all documents shall be produced when a claim is brought.

Rules 4, 5 and 6—shew the mode of procedure with the suit.

Rule 7—how the decision is to be written in English and explained to both parties, copies being claimable by either.

Rule 8—costs shall be paid by the party by whose act or omission they were incurred.

Rule 9—arbitration.

Rule 10—service of summons on Defendant.

Rule 11—on production of witnesses.

Rule 12—comprehensively disposes of the subject of subsistence allowance payable by parties to their witnesses and the course to be adopted if either party fail to pay.

Rule 13—gives the rate at which peadas are to be paid i. e. ½ anna per coss and 3 annas for an extra day allowed for serving process.—One or more extra days allowed if Defendants and witnesses reside in different villages, and only 3 annas allowed if the process is served within 3 coss of the Hakim's Cutcherry, the peadas not being allowed to bring in any parties.

Rule 14—prescribes the penalty for non-service of notice by a Plaintiff.

Rule 15—directs that security shall not be demanded from Defendant during progress of suit, but the Hakim may, if he sees reason, direct the village authorities to prevent a Defendant making away with his property until the suit against him is decided.

Rules 16, 17 and 18—clearly and definitely lay down the rules on the subject of distraint and Rule 19 the punishment for distraint without cause (Vejai Kooshi) or forcible or other illegal removal of distrained crops.

Rule 20—relates to execution of decrees for less than Rs. 50 of which rule and those concerning execution that follow, more hereafter.

Rule 21—directs how claims by a third party to attached property are to be disposed of and the penalty to be avoided for a false claim.

Rules 22 to 27—are on the subject of execution of Decrees.

Rule 28—"imprisonment for debt is altogether abolished."

Rule 29—relates to transfer of property and what punishment is to be awarded for fraudulent transfer.

Rule 30—to an insolvent debtor's release for Sonthals.

Rules 31 and 32—lay down the course to be adopted in sales

held in execution and the time and manner of paying the proceeds to decree-holders.

Rule 33—directs that the officers of the Sonthal Pergunnahs shall be guided by the spirit of these rules in all contingencies not actually provided for.

The last rule however is almost superfluous, so comprehensive is the code; so much to the point is disposed of in a few graphic words and so intelligible is the whole, that there is almost nothing left to be supplied by parity of reasoning.

Of these rules probably No. 28, which is given word for word, was the most effectual for good. The Mahajun now having taken most of his debtor's property cannot take his liberty also. The family of the prisoner are not driven to beg, borrow or steal, probably the last, the wherewithal to release their captive relative; and a system of imprisonment, strongly resembling the *lettre de câchet* of the Capet rule, by which the wealthy native broke the spirit of the poor man who opposed him, is gone for ever.

There was a great outcry among the Mahajuns when this rule became law, and the Civil Jail being pulled down, the prisoners were released. It was said that all credit must cease, that no one was to be trusted when the Civil Jail could not be held *in terrorem* on him, and that, considering this and the lenient rules prescribed for sale of property in execution of decrees, it would be useless seeking to recover through the Courts. But experience has shewn the fallacy of this; credit still exists, and if with more discrimination so much the better, the Mahajun's money and grain do not lie idle, and the Courts where redress was said to be inaccessible are filled with suitors on the civil side.

So also was it said that Mookteärs not being allowed to institute and plead in suits would be felt as a hardship and keep back many respectable (?) men from Court. But the respectable portion of the community has adapted itself to circumstances, unless it is to be announced that when everybody comes to Court there is no respectability, and the increasing shew of work of the civil file proves that justice is not despaired of even by those whose advantages are most curtailed by the existing procedure.

We have no exact figures to illustrate what we have stated, but taking approximate ones, which may be considered not very far wrong, the Civil file of the years 1857, 1858, and 1859 have shewn 800, 1000 and 2400 cases respectively, and no stronger argument could be adduced to prove that the system equally protects the creditor and debtor.

The rules with regard to execution of decrees also afford great relief to the poor man. Decrees are not allowed to be held for years, their amount accumulating by interest: terrible instruments of scourge to the debtor. Decrees for less than Rs. 50 for money, delivery of goods, performance of contract or transfer of personal property, unless some settlement approved of by the Hakim be made, shall be executed at once: if no property be found it shall be struck off the file, the decree-holder being allowed to take out execution at any other time within 6 years, provided that if there is a return of noproperty to three successive orders of attachment the decree shall be become void. All such decrees become *ipso facto* paid after 6 years.

If the decree-holder shews reason why a decree of this nature should not be executed as prescribed he may execute it any time within six years, it being provided however that interest does not accrue during such time. Execution of other decrees must be taken out within a year unless sufficient reason be shewn for neglecting to do so, and if execution is not so taken out suit does not accrue in other respects the same rules apply to these decrees as to those above mentioned. Thus there is relief for the debtor in every way. The decree against him is speedily disposed of. The amount of that decree does not increase by interest till it overwhelms him, there is a moderate limit to its duration, and if he be in such impoverished circumstances that three fruitless attempts at attachment are made, he is released altogether.

That the debtor by making away with his property by transfer or otherwise shall ensure three fruitless attachments and so defraud the creditor, is provided against by the rules prescribing penalties for such offences, and the creditor has full protection and assistance in realizing his decree when there is property to realize it from. But the property attachable in execution of decree is so limited that the debtor shall not be sent forth naked upon the world, creditless and bereft of hope. Kutcha houses, agricultural implements, plough cattle to the extent of three pairs, the grain required for seed, and for the consumption of the family till next crop, and the necessary metal cooking and water-pots of cultivators; the tools or instruments of the artisan, the fisherman's boats and nets, the carter's cart and bullocks, in fine those properties by which the debtor earns his livelihood, all are declared not liable to attachment except in realization of penalties prescribed in these rules.

By this rule the roof is preserved above the head of the debtor and he is not cast forth shelterless, the provision for his family till next crop is spared that he may not be driven by hunger

and the pleadings of his children's starving cries to crime, and his means of livelihood are saved to him that he may recover his position and not be thrown out of his natural employment to become a useless criminal burden on society.

The whole system of administration smacks more of that fraternity of character which the Government is supposed to assume than any other. The Hakim is of, as well as over, the people, he descends from the bench to the level of the people before him, and, without loss of dignity to himself, reasons to them, argues with them, and learns more of them than any officer in a Regulation province can hope to do. By these means he gets a knowledge of things as they really exist and by his influence succeeds in arranging differences, soothing recalcitrant factions, softening obdurate creditors and bringing evasive debtors to book in a manner that as a judicial officer simply he could not hope to do.

The absence of all interference on the part of amlah effectually adds to the influence of the Hakim. Sitting in a room apart the amlahs are only employed in writing perwannahs, processes, &c., from recorded English instructions translated to them by an English writer. There is no room for writing even a perwannah to the order of some suitor, for its nature has been placed on record in English, and the power of the amlah to miswrite and misread evidence, to alter the record or interfere with the case in any way, is gone.

There is a direct hearing, a speedy termination to the suit, and an equally expeditious appeal. And of 100 civil suits decided 50 at least are decided by the lower and appellate Courts, and, if decreed, execution is completed by the time that such suits in a Regulation Court would have been half completed in the Court of first instance; and this at so trivial cost that, let the case go how it may, neither party is a sufferer. There are no costs for stamps, and although peadas are mentioned in the Civil procedure their employment is only exceptional, the parties themselves in almost every instance serving their own processes, and thus the expense of a suit is limited to the diet of witnesses, and the average amount of costs may be about 12 annas or a rupee. So much for legitimate expenses, and we have shewn that fees to amlah and other costs of the kind not taxable do not exist.

Of course it has been argued that such a system answers very well for a simple people like the Sonthals, although with other races it would prove a total failure, but it must be remembered that of the population of the Sonthal Pergunnahs probably one-third only are Sonthals, and that the remaining two-thirds of every class and creed, number among them some of

the most difficult and litigious characters that the Courts could have to deal with, and this average of one-third Sonthals applies to the whole district of the Sonthal Pergunnahs. Let it be seen whether in that portion of it where the average is reduced to one-sixth or less the success of the system is greater or less.

As far as the Sonthals are concerned, as long as protection from oppression is afforded them, they trouble the Courts very little; crime among them, now that witch murder has been successfully suppressed, is little known, and as long as the landlord and Mahajun take their dues only the Sonthals pay up so regularly that application to the civil Courts is seldom necessary. The Courts are consequently mainly occupied in business concerning other classes.

Having disposed of the history of the Sonthal Pergunnahs and given some idea of its administration, we may proceed to say something of the people from whom the district derives its name.

The Sonthals have always been known for their simplicity, and until the rebellion had the character of great patience and kindness of heart. That they are simple, truth telling, patient and kind of heart still applies to them in spite of their conduct in the "hool." They are also honest and ingenuous, but they are reserved and phlegmatic to a degree. "Leave me alone and I will leave you" would appear to be the Sonthal's axiom to people not of his own race, and so it comes about that, living mixed up together, the Sonthal is an enigma to the rest of the population who in their turn are objects of distrust and contempt to the Sonthal.

The religion of the Sonthal is peculiar to himself. He believes in the existence of an all prevailing deity called "Chandaboonga," but his devotions to this deity are few and far between, consisting in the sacrifice of a goat once in 3 or 5 years as the case may be, and strange to say always on a Sunday. This sacrifice is not attended with any great ceremony, the Sonthal standing on one leg holds the goat under his arm and calls on Chandaboonga to whom he turns his eyes heavenward, and having done so kills the goat and eats it. The great poojahs attended with tamasha and feastings are those of the 4 wood gods, the Dryads of the Sonthal's mythology. These 4 are called "Jaihirira," "Monikoh, "Marungbooroo" and "Gosaieera." They are four stones buried in a clump of trees called the "jairthan" and no Sonthal village can be settled till the "jairthan" is established. The feeling of the Sonthal appears to be that these 4 deities are familiar spirits like the Lares and Penates of the Roman, and very convenient for

poojah which affords an excuse for revelry and eating and drinking.

There is one other familiar deity whose name is Manjeeharam. This, in the shape of a stone, lies buried in a small open shed about 6 feet square in some central part of the village, and there assemble the punchaiyuts to have what the Sonthals call a "booj." This shed is known to others than Sonthals as the Boodathan, and Manjeeharam is irreverently called Booda Manjee, which being rendered means Old Sonthal, a Manjee and Sonthal being synonymous.

The Sonthal, reserved as he is to outsiders, likes a large gathering of his own people as well as anything. In the months of April and May when nature is parched and dried up, the trees leafless, and the grass and under growth burnt, the great Shikar parties of the Sonthals assemble for their "Seudra." 2,000 to 4,000 Sonthals collect with hunting dogs, drums, bows and arrows and sticks and encircle a large tract of jungle, then beating in a circle, the circumference of which rapidly decreases, they drive in the game to a central point, and when the birds and animals find out their position and attempt escape, sticks, arrows and dogs are let loose at them until all have run the gauntlet and escaped or been killed. Tigers are generally allowed to make a dignified retreat unmolested; sometimes a similar license is given to leopards and bears, but wild pig, deer, hares, pea fowl, jungle fowl, partridge, foxes, civet cats and vermin generally are mobbed, and if possible killed. It must not be supposed that the Sonthal kills the fox or civet cat from mere wantoning for he does it to eat, all being flesh that comes to his lot; nor must it be thought that he lets the tiger, leopard and bear go because he does not consider them edible, on the contrary he eats them all, and esteems the flesh of the tiger as a great delicacy because it is crisp and has more body in it than more legitimate meat. For which reason perhaps his most solemn oath is taken while touching a tiger skin.

The Sonthal dances cause the collection of a large number of people, men and women both joining in the nautch, which is as peculiar to the people as anything else about them. The principal dance requires a large *corps de ballet*; a hundred to two hundred women hand by hand form a ring, about half that number of men make an inner circle and, playing their drums and fifes to a wild and gloomily exciting monotonous air, go round one way while the outer circle of fair ones goes the other. The men simply step to time without much action, but the women drum their heels and toes in a slow time double shuffle, bend their bodies forward to a half-kneeling position, as though

paying homage to the men, and so bending and raising their bodies to time, always double shuffling, they by an imperceptible progressive movement sideways go round and round as long as the music lasts. The strictness with which time is kept and the originality of the dances make it worth seeing, but as it lasts rather longer than two ordinary ballets the non-performing spectator (not being a Sonthal) wearies of it. The other dances of the Sonthals are similar in character. Peacocks' feathers enter largely into the paraphernalia required for some, and drums, the digdiggis of the Sonthal, are paramount in all.

The marriages of the Sonthals are contracted in a sensible manner, a man and woman like each other and having no doubts about their income admitting of the step they marry, very much in the same fashion as obtains among civilised nations. But in the matter of divorce they long anticipated the divorce and matrimonial court presided over by Sir Cresswell Cresswell, for man and wife having found out that they were not suited to each other a punchaiyut, after a little booj, releases them from the fetters in which, the roses having faded and fallen to pieces, only the thorns remain.

On a Sonthal dying the body is burnt and a small portion of the ashes is taken, when convenient to his relatives, to the Damooda, the Sonthal's sacred river known by him as the Nai, into which it is thrown.

With a people so truthful and free of all caste prejudice as the Sonthals, with a religion so primitive and little invested with the mythical network that holds the Hindoo captive, it is palpable that a Mission thoroughly supported and encouraged would rapidly effect the conversion of thousands. It is true that the Bhaugulpore Mission has gone the right way to work and done much towards this good cause, but that Mission has only local support and is not recognized by Government or at any rate is not greatly encouraged, and the labours of two or three worthy men in such a Herculean task must make it a work of a weary, weary time. The last report of this Mission shews that there are eleven schools in the Damun-i-kooh or its neighbourhood, attended by above 300 boys. As yet the instruction of these boys chiefly tends to prepare their minds for the reception of the great truths they have yet to learn. The more advanced read the gospels and all learn Bible passages, the Ten Commandments and Christian Hymns in Hindi. There can be no doubt that many of these 300 will be converted, and if the funds of the Mission were larger and the members for the performance of its work more numerous the 13 schools might be increased

tenfold and the number of those led into the proper path might be told by thousands instead of hundreds.

The Sonthals thoroughly appreciate the education given to their children, and would not exhibit any opposition to their conversion. In one instance a Pergunnait (or headman of several villages) asked one of the Missionaries to procure an order from the Assistant Commissioner that all fathers *who neglected to send their boys to the school should be fined.*

There is one observation in this Mission report that we cannot endorse, the writer says "that the Sonthals in the 'Damoon through better administration are placed in such favora-'ble circumstances, that, for some time to come, it will be diffi-'cult to make them understand that they are badly off without 'schools, and miserable without the gospel, and consequently 'that schools and Mission work will prove more successful 'elsewhere." But it seems to us that the better the government and the more improved the condition of the people governed, the better inclined will the people be to adopt the religion of their governors.

Besides the Sonthals the only other people in the Sonthal Pergunnah calling for special notice are the Pahareas. These people are divided into two tribes, the Pahareas who live in the Rajmahal range of hills, and the Naiga Pahareas who live in the plains west of Rajmahal.

Of these the former live by what crops of Indian corn and grain they can rear on the table land and slopes of the hills, and for all other necessaries they barter the hill bamboos, grass and timber which grow in luxuriant profusion in every direction. In religion they are supposed to be Hindoos, in character they are peculiar for nothing unless it be lying and drunkenness. The Bhaugulpore Hill Rangers is principally composed of this people, and besides the pensions received by some as retired veterans of this distinguished corps, many receive pensions, settled by Cleveland many years ago, for the safe keeping of the ghats in the hills and ensurance of safety from raid and plunder in the plains—a species of black mail in short paid to these hill men to keep them quiet in their hills.

The Naiga Poojhurs are very much like their hill brethren in religion, perhaps they have rather less of it, and make up the deficiency by increased cleptomania, drunkenness and dirtiness. They have not the advantage of right of forest in a long range of well wooded hills and consequently are worse off and more readily driven to brigandage to supply their wants.

Both tribes of Pahareas are low indeed in the social scale, as are many of the lower orders of Hindoos in Sonthal Pergunnahs.

The Coles, Mussohurs and others among the Hindoos, are far beneath the Sonthal in intelligence and position, and for all of these people who are free from caste prejudices and ignorant of religion a Mission might do much.

The Sonthals and Pahareas being deducted about one-half of the people of the Sonthal Pergunnahs are accounted for, the remaining half are principally Hindoos of every degree from the Brahmin downwards—the few Mussulmans living here and there complete the tale.

At present the officers of the Sonthal Pergunnahs are short-handed, and additional assistants are required. Two or three divisions have no sub-assistants : and all the officers are overwork-ed. From 8 to 10 hours a day, and sometimes more, is too much for most men when the *pen* has to be employed as well as the brain *all* the time ; and what with the records in cases, decisions, books of occurrences and registers of various kinds that the Hakim has to keep in his own writing, less than 8 or 10 hours a day would not accomplish the work in some divisions.

If the revenue of the Sonthal Pergunnahs is such as not to afford an expensive establishment and yield a profit, surely loss of good administration should not be the consequence of its poverty, and if a comparison of expense be made between any re-gulation district and an equal extent of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, even allowing twice as many officers as now exist in the latter, the economy will remain with the Sonthal Pergunnahs. The comparison of expense of the Beerbhoom District and the Deo-ghur Division of the Sonthal Pergunnahs would show that the latter does not cost, more than 1-7th of the former, and for a tract of country half as large again and for the most part equally populated.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

CONTENTS OF No. LXVI., DECEMBER 1859.

I. Melanesia and the New French Settlement.
II. The Mahomedans in the Punjab.
III. English Life in Bengal.
IV. The French Courts of Justice.
V. Military Hygiene in India.
VI. Lord Dalhousie.
VII. Forbes Ras Mala.
VIII. India as a Career.
IX. Critical Notices of Works on India and the East.

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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

We almost always have occasion to speak well of the *Calcutta Review;* the number now before us for December is, we think, a better one than usual. It contains several very good articles, some of which we shall take occasion to notice.—*Delhi Gazette, 14th January* 1860.

The new number of the *Calcutta Review* is a good one. The articles are nearly all of a lighter character than usual.—*Phœnix, 2nd January* 1860.

The *Calcutta Review*, since its establishment in 1844, has steadily adhered to the rule, which has largely contributed to its success, of refusing to become the organ of any particular section of Indian politicians, and accordingly we shall find almost every important question, affecting the administration of this country, discussed by the best informed men of all parties with considerable freedom in its columns. The December Number, now lying upon our table, is a pretty fair illustration of this. The third article, *English Life in Bengal*, seems to have been written by as independent an Anglo-Indian as the most ardent reformer could desire; while the following article on *The French Courts of Justice* will please the most inveterate opponent of the Supreme Court and the English legal system of administering Justice. There is also a rather bold article in favor of Lord Dalhousie and Annexation, which will be read with much interest by both the friends and foes of His Lordship's policy.—*Hurkaru, 2nd January* 1860.

UNIVERSAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY,

ESTABLISHED IN LONDON AND CALCUTTA 1834,

CONFIRMED BY SPECIAL ACT OF PARLIAMENT.

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OF WHICH ONE-HALF IS
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The marked success which has for upwards of twenty years attended the operations of this Society justifies the Directors in calling the attention of the public to the *following peculiar advantages* held out to all classes desirous of effecting Assurances on Lives.

1*st.*—The Insured in the Society have a most satisfactory guarantee for the settlement of claims in the *large Capital of the Institution,* not merely subscribed, but actually invested, *exceeding* £670,000, of which one-half is held by the Indian Branch, being an amount greatly in excess of the Capital of any similar Society in India, and their rates have recently been carefully investigated by two eminent Actuaries in London, (*viz.* Messrs. Peter Hardy and Charles Jellicoe,) and are declared to be as moderate as is deemed consistent with perfect security to the Assured.

2nd.—One-fifth of the ascertained profits of the *five preceding years* is divided *annually* between the Policy-holders and Shareholders—three-fourths to the former, and one-fourth to the latter. The remaining four-fifths are set apart to enter into the average of the succeeding years, and *thus to provide against unforeseen contingencies.*

It is most satisfactory to the Directors to state that, *notwithstanding the unusual losses occasioned by the Mutinies in India,* the amount of profits declared on the last annual division, *viz.* in May 1859, was *equivalent to a reduction of thirty-six per cent. on the original annual premium.*

3rd.—The Tables of Premium have been framed with the greatest care, and those applicable to Indian Lives have been deduced from actual and reliable experience obtained from the records of the India House.

4th.—Proposals are received for Assurances for the whole term of life, either on the participating, or on a non-participating scale, at a lower rate of premium. Also for short periods, varying from one to seven years, on the most moderate terms.

5th.—Rates of Annual Premium for an Assurance of Rupees One Thousand :—

CIVIL.

Age.	1 year.	3 years.	5 years.	7 years.	Life with profits.	Life without profits.	English rates.		
20	22	22	23	24	42	32	£1	18	0
30	27	28	28	29	48	39	2	8	0
40	32	32	32	33	59	49	3	3	0
50	38	40	40	43	74	62	4	5	8

MILITARY.

Age.	1 year.	3 years.	5 years.	7 years.	Life with profits.	Life without profits.
20	26	27	28	28	47	36
30	32	32	33	34	54	45
40	39	40	40	40	63	53
50	45	46	48	47	77	64

6*th.*—On return of an Insurer to Europe, either for *a temporary or permanent residence*, and *without reference to the state of health on return*, subject however to notice being given at the London Office, the premium is reduced to the English rate corresponding with the *age when the Assurance was originally effected;* and in the case of participating Policies, the profits are allowed on the *English rate of premium*, whereby Indian Assurers can continue their Policies in England on *most favorable terms.*

7*th.*—Military Officers holding Civil appointments are allowed to subscribe at the Civil Rate of Premium, on notice being given to the Agents of the Society.

8*th.*—Premiums are payable either annually, half-yearly, quarterly, and on certain conditions *monthly*, and a grace of 28 days is allowed for such payments.

9*th.*—Policies for the whole term of life, which have been in force for five years, will be purchased by the Society, or loans granted thereon to the extent of two-thirds of their estimated value.

10*th.*—Medical referees are remunerated by the Society by a fee of *Sixteen Rupees* on proposals for assurance *not under Co.'s Rs.* 2,500 :—but for any less sum, the fee to be settled by the applicant.

Tables of rates, forms and instructions for effecting Assurances, can be obtained on application to the Secretaries, or the Agents at Allahabad, Agra, Meerut, &c.

BRADDON & Co.,

Agents and Secretaries.

Calcutta, April 1860.

The Office of the Universal Life Assurance Society is No. 14, *Strand.*

INDIAN RATES OF THE UNIVERSAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

Table No. 1.—Civil Service.

Annual Premiums required for the Assurance of 1,000 Rs. for periods from One to Seven Years, on the Lives of persons in the H. C. Civil Service, and others not exposed to the hazards of Military and Maritime occupations, *without participation* in the Profits of the Society.

Age.	One year.	Two years.	Three years.	Four years.	Five years.	Six years.	Seven years.	Age.
18	21	21	22	22	23	23	23	18
19	22	22	22	22	23	23	24	19
20	22	22	22	23	23	24	24	20
21	22	22	23	23	24	24	24	21
22	23	23	24	24	24	24	24	22
23	23	24	24	24	24	24	25	23
24	24	24	24	24	25	25	26	24
25	24	24	24	24	25	25	26	25
26	24	24	25	25	26	26	27	26
27	25	25	26	26	27	27	28	27
28	26	26	27	27	28	28	28	28
29	27	27	28	28	28	28	28	29
30	27	27	28	28	28	28	29	30
31	28	28	28	28	29	29	29	31
32	28	28	29	29	29	30	30	32
33	28	28	29	29	30	30	30	33
34	28	29	29	30	30	31	31	34
35	30	30	30	30	31	31	31	35
36	30	30	30	31	31	32	32	36
37	31	31	31	31	32	32	32	37
38	31	31	32	32	32	32	32	38
39	31	32	32	32	32	32	32	39
40	32	32	32	32	32	32	33	40
41	32	32	32	32	33	33	34	41
42	32	32	32	33	34	34	35	42
43	33	33	34	34	35	35	36	43
44	34	34	35	35	35	36	36	44
45	34	35	35	36	36	37	38	45
46	35	35	36	36	36	37	39	46
47	36	36	36	37	38	39	40	47
48	36	36	37	38	39	40	40	48
49	37	38	39	39	40	40	42	49
50	38	39	40	40	40	41	43	50
51	40	40	40	41	42	43	44	51
52	40	41	42	43	44	44	45	52
53	42	43	44	44	44	46	47	53
54	43	44	44	45	46	47	48	54
55	44	45	45	47	48	48	48	55
56	45	46	47	48	48	49	50	56
57	46	48	48	49	50	51	52	57
58	48	48	50	51	52	52	54	58
59	49	50	51	52	54	56	56	59
60	51	52	52	54	56	58	60	60
61	52	53	55	56	59	61	64	61
62	55	56	57	60	62	66	70	62
63	58	60	61	64	66	71	76	63
64	62	64	66	68	71	77	84	64
65	67	69	72	75	77	84	91	65

Table No. 2.—Military and Naval.

Annual Premiums required for the Assurance of 1,000 Rs. for periods from One to Seven Years, on the Lives of persons exposed to the hazards of Military and Maritime occupations, *without participation* in the Profits of the Society.

Age.	One year.	Two years.	Three years.	Four years.	Five years.	Six years.	Seven years.	Age.
18	25	25	25	26	26	27	27	18
19	26	26	26	27	27	28	28	19
20	26	27	27	28	28	28	28	20
21	27	28	28	28	28	28	28	21
22	28	28	28	28	28	29	29	22
23	28	28	28	29	29	30	30	23
24	28	28	28	29	29	30	30	24
25	28	29	29	30	30	31	31	25
26	29	30	30	31	31	32	32	26
27	29	30	30	31	31	32	32	27
28	30	31	31	32	32	32	32	28
29	31	32	32	32	32	33	33	29
30	32	32	32	32	33	34	34	30
31	32	32	33	33	34	35	35	31
32	32	33	34	34	34	36	36	32
33	33	34	35	35	36	36	36	33
34	34	35	36	36	36	36	37	34
35	35	36	36	36	37	37	38	35
36	36	36	36	37	37	38	38	36
37	36	37	37	38	38	39	39	37
38	37	38	38	38	39	39	40	38
39	38	39	39	39	40	40	40	39
40	39	39	40	40	40	40	40	40
41	40	40	40	40	40	41	41	41
42	40	40	40	41	41	42	42	42
43	40	40	41	41	42	42	43	43
44	41	41	41	42	43	43	44	44
45	42	42	42	43	43	44	44	45
46	43	43	43	44	44	44	44	46
47	43	44	44	44	44	45	45	47
48	44	44	44	45	45	46	46	48
49	44	45	45	46	46	47	48	49
50	45	46	46	47	47	48	48	50
51	46	47	47	48	48	48	49	51
52	47	48	48	48	49	50	50	52
53	48	48	49	49	50	51	52	53
54	49	49	50	51	52	52	52	54
55	50	51	51	52	52	53	53	55
56	51	52	52	53	53	54	55	56
57	52	53	53	54	55	56	56	57
58	53	54	55	56	56	57	58	58
59	54	55	56	57	58	60	60	59
60	56	56	57	59	60	62	64	60
61	57	58	59	60	63	65	68	61
62	60	60	61	64	66	69	73	62
63	62	64	65	68	69	75	80	63
64	66	68	70	72	74	80	87	64
65	71	73	76	78	80	87	94	65

UNIVERSAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

WHOLE LIFE.

Age.	CIVIL.		MILITARY AND NAVAL.		ENGLISH RATES.		
	TABLE No. 3.—Annual Premiums required for the Assurance of 1,000 Rs. with participation in profits, and reduction of Premium on return to Europe.	TABLE No. 5.—Annual Premiums required for the Assurance of 1,000 Rs. *without participation in profits, but with reduction of Premium on return to Europe.*	TABLE No. 4.—Annual Premiums required for the Assurance of 1,000 Rs. with participation in profits, and reduction of Premium on return to Europe.	TABLE No. 6.—Annual Premiums required for the Assurance of 1,000 Rs. *without participation in profits, but with reduction of Premium on return to Europe.*	Annual Premium for assuring £100, for the whole of life, with participation in profits. Inserted as a guide to persons insured in India under Tables Nos. 3 and 4.	Annual Premium for assuring £100, for the whole of life, without participation in profits. Inserted as a guide to persons insured in India under Tables Nos. 5 and 6.	Age.
18	41	31	45	34	1 17 2	1 13 6	18
19	42	32	46	35	1 17 11	1 14 2	19
20	42	32	47	36	1 18 8	1 14 10	20
21	43	33	48	37	1 19 6	1 15 7	21
22	43	34	49	38	2 0 5	1 16 5	22
23	44	35	49	39	2 1 4	1 17 3	23
24	44	36	50	40	2 2 3	1 18 1	24
25	45	36	51	41	2 3 3	1 19 0	25
26	46	37	51	42	2 4 4	1 19 11	26
27	46	38	52	43	2 5 5	2 0 11	27
28	47	38	53	44	2 6 7	2 2 0	28
29	48	39	54	45	2 7 8	2 2 11	29
30	48	39	54	45	2 8 10	2 4 0	30
31	49	40	55	46	2 9 11	2 5 0	31
32	50	41	56	46	2 11 0	2 5 11	32
33	51	42	57	47	2 12 3	2 7 1	33
34	52	43	58	47	2 13 7	2 8 3	34
35	53	43	58	47	2 14 11	2 9 6	35
36	54	45	59	49	2 16 5	2 10 10	36
37	55	46	60	50	2 18 0	2 12 3	37
38	56	47	61	51	2 19 7	2 13 8	38
39	58	48	62	52	3 1 3	2 15 2	39
40	59	49	63	53	3 3 0	2 16 9	40
41	60	51	64	54	3 4 9	2 18 4	41
42	62	52	65	55	3 6 6	2 19 11	42
43	63	53	66	56	3 8 3	3 1 6	43
44	65	54	68	57	3 10 2	3 3 2	44
45	66	55	69	58	3 12 2	3 5 0	45
46	67	57	70	60	3 14 5	3 7 0	46
47	69	58	72	61	3 16 9	3 9 1	47
48	70	60	73	62	3 19 4	3 11 5	48
49	72	61	75	63	4 2 3	3 14 1	49
50	74	62	77	64	4 5 6	3 17 0	50
51	76	65	79	67	4 9 1	4 0 3	51
52	79	68	81	70	4 12 10	4 3 7	52
53	81	71	83	73	4 16 11	4 7 3	53
54	84	74	86	76	5 1 2	4 11 1	54
55	87	76	89	78	5 5 10	4 15 3	55
56	89	79	91	81	5 10 10	4 19 9	56
57	92	81	94	83	5 16 2	5 4 7	57
58	96	84	98	86	6 1 10	5 9 8	58
59	99	86	101	88	6 7 7	5 14 10	59
60	103	88	105	90	6 13 2	5 19 11	60
61	108	94	110	96	6 18 0	6 4 3	61
62	113	99	115	101	7 4 1	6 9 9	62
63	118	104	120	106	7 9 11	6 15 0	63
64	124	109	126	111	7 16 7	7 1 0	64
65	131	114	133	116	8 3 7	7 7 3	65

MEDICAL, INVALID,

AND

GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY,

ESTABLISHED 1841.

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6. It enables Partners in Mercantile Firms to provide against loss by the death of their Co-partners.

7. It reimburses the Purchasers of Life Annuities for the sum invested.

8. In general it affords certain means of Indemnity against any probable claim or pecuniary loss to which Public Bodies or Individuals are exposed, in the event of the death of others.

Reference is requested to this Society's detailed announcements in most of the Indian Papers and Serials, including the Friend of India, Englishman, Hurkaru, Mofussilite, Delhi Gazette, Lahore Chronicle, Bombay Times, Madras Athenæum, and Ceylon Times. Prospectuses sent to any part of India.

By order,

P. M. TAIT,

Secretary.

Calcutta, 15th March 1860.

MEDICAL, INVALID,

AND

GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY,

ESTABLISHED 1841.

Empowered by Special Act of Parliament.

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Head Office, 25, Pall Mall, London.

TRUSTEES:

C. Hopkinson, Esq., Sir Thomas Phillips,

Charles Grenville Mansel, Esq., H. E. I. C. S.

PROGRESS OF INDIAN BRANCH.

The Indian Branch of this Company has in less than eight years effected Assurances for Rs. 2,70,13,002, or nearly TWO AND THREE-QUARTERS MILLIONS STERLING, and paid Lapses amounting to 23½ LAKHS.

The Annual Income is now upwards of 6½ LAKHS, about one-half of the Policies in force being for short terms.

The Investments in Company's Paper and real Securities at this Branch amount to about 10 LAKHS.

About 50 AGENTS have been appointed at Up-country Stations.

In the year ending 30th June 1859, 449 NEW POLICIES were issued, insuring Rs. 26,75,815, and yielding Annual Premiums Rs. 1,20,317-6-8.

Reference is requested to the Director's Report for the year ending 30th June 1859, *and detailed announcements of the Company.—Prospectuses and Forms sent free to any part of India.*

By order,

P. M. TAIT,

Secretary.

Calcutta, 15*th March* 1860.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

PRICE PER NO. Rs. 5.

——— ANNUM ,, 20.

The Review is sent Post free to all parts of India, on receipt of payment in advance.

RATES OF ADVERTISING.

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CONTENTS OF No. LXVIII., JUNE, 1860.

I. Capture of Lucknow.
II. Christianity in India.
III. Oudh.
IV. The Ryot in Bengal.
V. Clavijo's Embassy to Timur.
VI. Calcutta in 1860.
VII. An Indian Staff Corps.
VIII. The Indigo Blue Book.
IX. The British Soldier in India.
X. Critical Notices of Works on India and the East.

UNIVERSAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY,

ESTABLISHED IN LONDON AND CALCUTTA 1834,

CONFIRMED BY SPECIAL ACT OF PARLIAMENT.

INVESTED CAPITAL—£670,000.
OF WHICH ONE-HALF IS
HELD BY THE INDIAN BRANCH.

INDIAN BRANCH.

DIRECTORS:

WILLIAM H. SMOULT, Esq.
JOHN N. BULLEN, Esq.
GEORGE BROWN, Esq.
ALEX. WALKER, Esq.
JAMES WELCH, Esq.

LOCAL DIRECTOR AT ALLAHABAD.
CECIL STEPHENSON, Esq.

PHYSICIAN.
ALLAN WEBB, Esq., M. D.
J. P. BROUGHAM, Esq., M. D.
(Acting.)

AGENTS AND SECRETARIES.
Messrs. BRADDON and Company.

MADRAS AGENTS.
Messrs. BAINBRIDGE and Co.

BOMBAY AGENTS.
Messrs. LECKIE and Co.

The marked success which has for upwards of twenty years attended the operations of this Society justifies the Directors in calling the attention of the public to the *following peculiar advantages* held out to all classes desirous of effecting Assurances on Lives.

1*st.*—The Insured in the Society have a most satisfactory guarantee for the settlement of claims in the *large Capital of the Institution*, not merely subscribed, but actually invested, *exceeding* £670,000, of which one-half is held by the Indian Branch, being an amount greatly in excess of the Capital of any similar Society in India, and their rates have recently been carefully investigated by two eminent Actuaries in London, (*viz.* Messrs. Peter Hardy and Charles Jellicoe,) and are declared to be as moderate as is deemed consistent with perfect security to the Assured.

2*nd.*—*One fifth* of the ascertained profits of the *five preceding years* is divided *annually* between the Policy-holders and Shareholders—three-fourth to the former, and one-fourth to the latter. The remaining four-fifths are set apart to enter into the average of the succeeding years, and *thus to provide against unforeseen contingencies.*

It is most satisfactory to the Directors to state that, *notwithstanding the unusual losses occasioned by the Mutinies in India*, the amount of profits declared on the last annual division, *viz.* in May 1859, was *equivalent to a reduction of thirty-six per cent. on the original annual premium.*

3rd.—The Tables of Premium have been framed with the greatest care, and those applicable to Indian Lives have been deduced from actual and reliable experience obtained from the records of the India House.

4th — Proposals are received for Assurances for the whole term of life, either on the participating, or on a non-participating scale, at a lower rate of premium. Also for short periods, varying from one to seven years, on the most moderate terms.

5th.—Rates of Annual Premium for an Assurance of Rupees One Thousand :—

CIVIL.

Age.	1 year.	3 years.	5 years.	7 years.	Life with profits.	Life without profits.	English rates.
20	22	22	23	24	42	32	£1 18 0
30	27	28	28	29	48	39	2 8 0
40	32	32	32	33	59	49	3 3 0
50	38	40	40	43	74	62	4 5 8

MILITARY.

Age.	1 year.	3 years.	5 years.	7 years.	Life with profits.	Life without profits.
20	26	27	28	28	47	36
30	32	32	33	34	54	45
40	39	40	40	40	63	53
50	45	46	48	47	77	64

6th.—On return of an Insurer to Europe, either for *a temporary or permanent residence,* and *without reference to the state of health on return,* subject however to notice being given at the London Office, the premium is reduced to the English rate corresponding with the *age when the Assurance was originally effected;* and in the case of participating Policies, the profits are allowed on the *English rate of premium* whereby Indian Assurers can continue their Policies in England on *most favorable terms.*

7th.—Military Officers holding Civil appointments are allowed to subscribe at the Civil Rate of Premium, on notice being given to the Agents of the Society.

8th.—Premiums are payable either annually, half-yearly, quarterly, and on certain conditions *monthly* and a grace of 28 days is allowed for such payments.

9th.—Policies for the whole term of life, which have been in force for five years, will be purchased by the Society, or loans granted thereon to the extent of two-thirds of their estimated value.

10th.—Medical referees are remunerated by the Society by a fee of *Sixteen Rupees* on proposals for assurance *not under Co.'s Rs.* 2,500 :— but for any less sum, the fee to be settled by the applicant.

Tables of rates, forms and instructions for effecting Assurances, can be obtained on application to the Secretaries, or the Agents at Allahabad, Agra, Meerut, &c.

BRADDON & CO.,
Agents and Secretaries.

Calcutta, October, 1860.
The Office of the Universal Life Assurance Society is No. 14, *Strand.*

INDIAN RATES OF THE UNIVERSAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

Table No. 1.—Civil Service.

Annual Premiums required for the Assurance of 1,000 Rs. for periods from One to Seven Years, on the Lives of persons in the H. C. Civil Service, and others not exposed to the hazards of Military and Maritime occupations, *without participation* in the Profits of the Society.

Age.	One year.	Two years.	Three years.	Four years.	Five years.	Six years.	Seven years.	Age.
18	21	21	22	22	23	23	23	18
19	22	22	22	22	23	23	24	19
20	22	22	22	23	23	24	24	20
21	22	22	23	23	24	24	24	21
22	23	23	24	24	24	24	24	22
23	23	24	24	24	24	24	25	23
24	24	24	24	24	25	25	26	24
25	24	24	24	24	25	25	26	25
26	24	24	25	25	26	26	27	26
27	25	25	26	26	27	27	28	27
28	26	26	27	27	28	28	28	28
29	27	27	28	28	28	28	28	29
30	27	27	28	28	28	28	29	30
31	28	28	28	28	29	29	29	31
32	28	28	29	29	29	30	30	32
33	28	28	29	29	30	30	30	33
34	28	29	29	30	30	31	31	34
35	30	30	30	30	31	31	31	35
36	30	30	30	31	31	32	32	36
37	31	31	31	31	32	32	32	37
38	31	31	32	32	32	32	32	38
39	31	32	32	32	32	32	32	39
40	32	32	32	32	32	32	33	40
41	32	32	32	32	33	33	34	41
42	32	32	32	33	34	34	35	42
43	33	33	34	34	35	35	36	43
44	34	34	35	35	35	36	36	44
45	34	35	35	36	36	37	38	45
46	35	35	36	36	36	37	39	46
47	36	36	36	37	38	39	40	47
48	36	36	37	38	39	40	40	48
49	37	38	39	39	40	40	42	49
50	38	39	40	40	40	41	43	50
51	40	40	40	41	42	43	44	51
52	40	41	42	43	44	44	45	52
53	42	43	44	44	44	46	47	53
54	43	44	44	45	46	47	48	54
55	44	45	45	47	48	48	48	55
56	45	46	47	48	48	49	50	56
57	46	48	48	49	50	51	52	57
58	48	48	50	51	52	52	54	58
59	49	50	51	52	54	56	56	59
60	51	52	52	54	56	58	60	60
61	52	53	55	56	59	61	64	61
62	55	56	57	60	62	66	70	62
63	58	60	61	64	66	71	76	63
64	62	64	66	68	71	77	84	64
65	67	69	72	75	77	84	91	65

Table No. 2.—Military and Naval.

Annual Premiums required for the Assurance of 1,000 Rs. for periods from One to Seven Years, on the Lives of persons exposed to the hazards of Military and Maritime occupations, *without participation* in the Profits of the Society.

Age.	One year.	Two years.	Three years.	Four years.	Five years.	Six years.	Seven years.	Age.
18	25	25	25	26	26	27	27	18
19	26	26	26	27	27	28	28	19
20	26	27	27	28	28	28	28	20
21	27	28	28	28	28	28	28	21
22	28	28	28	28	28	29	29	22
23	28	28	28	29	29	30	30	23
24	28	28	28	29	29	30	30	24
25	28	29	29	30	30	31	31	25
26	29	30	30	31	31	32	32	26
27	29	30	30	31	31	32	32	27
28	30	31	31	32	32	32	32	28
29	31	32	32	32	32	33	33	29
30	32	32	32	32	33	34	34	30
31	32	32	33	33	34	35	35	31
32	32	33	34	34	34	36	36	32
33	33	34	35	35	36	36	36	33
34	34	35	36	36	36	36	37	34
35	35	36	36	36	37	37	38	35
36	36	36	36	37	37	38	38	36
37	36	37	37	38	38	39	39	37
38	37	38	38	38	39	39	40	38
39	38	39	39	39	40	40	40	39
40	39	39	40	40	40	40	40	40
41	40	40	40	40	40	41	41	41
42	40	40	40	41	41	42	42	42
43	40	40	41	41	42	42	43	43
44	41	41	41	42	43	43	44	44
45	42	42	42	43	43	44	44	45
46	43	43	43	44	44	44	44	46
47	43	44	44	44	44	45	45	47
48	44	44	44	45	45	46	46	48
49	44	45	45	46	46	47	48	49
50	45	46	46	47	47	48	48	50
51	46	47	47	48	48	48	49	51
52	47	48	48	48	49	50	50	52
53	48	48	49	49	50	51	52	53
54	49	49	50	51	52	52	52	54
55	50	51	51	52	52	53	53	55
56	51	52	52	53	53	54	55	56
57	52	53	53	54	55	56	56	57
58	53	54	55	56	56	57	58	58
59	54	55	56	57	58	60	60	59
60	56	56	57	59	60	62	64	60
61	57	58	59	60	63	65	68	61
62	60	60	61	64	66	69	73	62
63	62	64	65	68	69	75	80	63
64	66	68	70	72	74	80	87	64
65	71	73	76	78	80	87	94	65

UNIVERSAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

WHOLE LIFE.

Age.	CIVIL. TABLE No. 3.—Annual Premiums required for the Assurance of 1,000 Rs. with participation in profits, and reduction of Premium on return to Europe.	CIVIL. TABLE No. 5.—Annual Premiums required for the Assurance of 1,000 Rs. *without participation in profits, but with reduction of Premium on return to Europe.*	MILITARY AND NAVAL. TABLE No. 4.—Annual Premiums required for the Assurance of 1,000 Rs. with participation in profits, and reduction of Premium on return to Europe.	MILITARY AND NAVAL. TABLE No. 6.—Annual Premiums required for the Assurance of 1,000 Rs. *without participation in profits, but with reduction of Premium on return to Europe.*	ENGLISH RATES. Annual Premium for assuring £100, for the whole of life, with participation in profits. Inserted as a guide to persons insured in India under Tables Nos. 3 and 4.	ENGLISH RATES. Annual Premium for assuring £100, for the whole of life, without participation in profits. Inserted as a guide to persons insured in India under Tables Nos. 5 and 6.	Age.
18	41	31	45	34	1 17 2	1 13 6	18
19	42	32	46	35	1 17 11	1 14 2	19
20	42	32	47	36	1 18 8	1 14 10	20
21	43	33	48	37	1 19 6	1 15 7	21
22	43	34	49	38	2 0 5	1 16 5	22
23	44	35	49	39	2 1 4	1 17 3	23
24	44	36	50	40	2 2 3	1 18 1	24
25	45	36	51	41	2 3 3	1 19 0	25
26	46	37	51	42	2 4 4	1 19 11	26
27	46	38	52	43	2 5 5	2 0 11	27
28	47	38	53	44	2 6 7	2 2 0	28
29	48	39	54	45	2 7 8	2 2 11	29
30	48	39	54	45	2 8 10	2 4 0	30
31	49	40	55	46	2 9 11	2 5 0	31
32	50	41	56	46	2 11 0	2 5 11	32
33	51	42	57	47	2 12 3	2 7 1	33
34	52	43	58	47	2 13 7	2 8 3	34
35	53	43	58	47	2 14 11	2 9 6	35
36	54	45	59	49	2 16 5	2 10 10	36
37	55	46	60	50	2 18 0	2 12 3	37
38	56	47	61	51	2 19 7	2 13 8	38
39	58	48	62	52	3 1 3	2 15 2	39
40	59	49	63	53	3 3 0	2 16 9	40
41	60	51	64	54	3 4 9	2 18 4	41
42	62	52	65	55	3 6 6	2 19 11	42
43	63	53	66	56	3 8 3	3 1 6	43
44	65	54	68	57	3 10 2	3 3 2	44
45	66	55	69	58	3 12 2	3 5 0	45
46	67	57	70	60	3 14 5	3 7 0	46
47	69	58	72	61	3 16 9	3 9 1	47
48	70	60	73	62	3 19 4	3 11 5	48
49	72	61	75	63	4 2 3	3 14 1	49
50	74	62	77	64	4 5 6	3 17 0	50
51	76	65	79	67	4 9 1	4 0 3	51
52	79	68	81	70	4 12 10	4 3 7	52
53	81	71	83	73	4 16 11	4 7 3	53
54	84	74	86	76	5 1 2	4 11 1	54
55	87	76	89	78	5 5 10	4 15 3	55
56	89	79	91	81	5 10 10	4 19 9	56
57	92	81	94	83	5 16 2	5 4 7	57
58	96	84	98	86	6 1 10	5 9 8	58
59	99	86	101	88	6 7 7	5 14 10	59
60	103	88	105	90	6 13 2	5 19 11	60
61	108	94	110	96	6 18 0	6 4 3	61
62	113	99	115	101	7 4 1	6 9 9	62
63	118	104	120	106	7 9 11	6 15 0	63
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	111	7 16 7	7 1 0	64

MEDICAL, INVALID,

AND

GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

ESTABLISHED 1841.

Empowered by Special Act of Parliament.

Capital, £500,000 Sterling.

HEAD OFFICE, 25, PALL MALL, LONDON,

With Agencies throughout the United Kingdom, and in some of the Principal Towns on the Continent of Europe, and Branches and Agencies throughout India and Ceylon.

FOR GRANTING ASSURANCES ON LIVES, ENDOWMENTS AND ANNUITIES.

INDIAN BRANCH.

THIS Office has resumed active operations in all parts of Her Majesty's Dominions in India at ordinary rates of premium on approved lives. Life Assurance has the following among other advantages.

1. It enables Persons by paying a small sum of money periodically, to secure an independence for their families.
2. It is specially convenient to officers in the Army and to Professional Men of every description, whose incomes depend on their lives.
3. It facilitates transactions for raising money on loan.
4. It is available to secure the ultimate payment of bad or doubtful Debts.
5. The fulfilment of the conditions of Marriage Settlements.
6. It enables Partners in Mercantile Firms to provide against loss by the death of their Co-partners.
7. It reimburses the Purchasers of Life Annuities for the sum invested.
8. In general it affords certain means of Indemnity against any probable claim or pecuniary loss to which public Bodies or Individuals are exposed, in the event of the death of others.

Reference is requested to this Society's detailed announcements in most of the Indian Papers and Serials, including the Friend of India, Englishman, Hurkaru, Mofussilite, Delhi Gazette, Bombay Times, Madras Athenæum, and Ceylon Times. Prospectuses sent to any part of India.

By order,

P. M. TAIT,

Secretary.

Calcutta, October, 1860.

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AND

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TRUSTEES:

C. Hopkinson, Esq., Sir Thomas Phillips,

Charles Granville Mansel, Esq., H. E. I. C. S.

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The Annual Income is now upwards of 6½ LAKHS, about one-half of the Policies in force being for short terms.

The Investments in Company's Paper and real Securities at this Branch amount to about 10 LAKHS.

About 50 AGENTS have been appointed at Up-country Stations.

In the year ending 30th June 1860, 407 NEW POLICIES were issued, insuring Rs. 24,10,804, and yielding Annual Premiums Rs. 1,05,223-0-8.

Policies issued by this Society free of charge for Stamp Duty.

Under the present Income Tax Act, it is provided that any person who effects Assurance, or purchases a Deferred Annuity on his own life, or that of his wife, shall be entitled to deduct the premium from the sum in which he is assessable for Income Tax, and that he shall pay Tax on the balance only. A further encouragement is thus given by the Legislature to the extended adoption of Life Assurance by all classes, and the Directors call attention to it, as an additional inducement to the public to make provision in this way, for their families, seeing that they thereby relieve themselves wholly of the Tax on such portion of their Income as they set aside for this purpose.

Reference is requested to the Directors' Report for the year ending 30th June 1860, and detailed announcements of the Company. Prospectuses and Forms sent free to any part of India.

By order,

P. M. TAIT,

Secretary.

Calcutta, October, 1860.

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II. Our Tea Gardens in Assam and Cachar.
III. Darwin on the Origin of Species.
IV. Life and Remains of Bishop Wilson.
V. The Administration of Oudh.
VI. Calcutta in the Olden Time—Its People.
VII. Havelock.
VIII. Critical Notices of Works on India and the East.

THE ALBERT

AND

MEDICAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

Notice of Amalgamation on last page hereof.

ESTABLISHED 1838.

HEAD OFFICES, 7, WATERLOO PLACE, PALL MALL, LONDON ;

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FOR GRANTING ASSURANCES ON LIVES, ENDOWMENTS, AND ANNUITIES,

AND

GUARANTEEING THE FIDELITY OF PERSONS IN SITUATIONS OF TRUST.

FUNDS EXCEED	£500,000 Stg.
ANNUAL PREMIUM INCOME	£220,000 Stg.
SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL	£447,180 Stg.
PAID UP CAPITAL	£137,792 Stg.

DIRECTORS.

ALBERT.

WILLIAM BEATTIE, Esq., M. D.
CAPT. THE HON. S. T. CARNEGIE, R. N., C. B.
LIEUT.-COL. J. CROUDACE.
SWYNFEN JERVIS, Esq.
WILLIAM KING, Esq.
G. GOLDSMITH KIRBY, Esq.
JAMES NICHOLS, Esq.
REAR ADMIRAL THE RIGHT HON. LORD GEORGE PAULET, C. B.
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W. P. T. PHILLIPS, Esq.
THOMAS STEVENSON, Esq., F. S. A.
JAMES WHISHAW, Esq., F. S. A.

BANKERS.

The London and Westminster Bank, St. James's Square.
The Bank of London, Threadneedle Street.
Messrs. C. HOPKINSON AND Co., Regent Street.

DEPT. OF MEDICAL STATISTICS.

WILLIAM FARR, Esq., M. D., D. C. L., F. R. S., General Register Office.

ACTUARY.

HENRY WILLIAM SMITH.

SECRETARY.

C. DOUGLAS SINGER.

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